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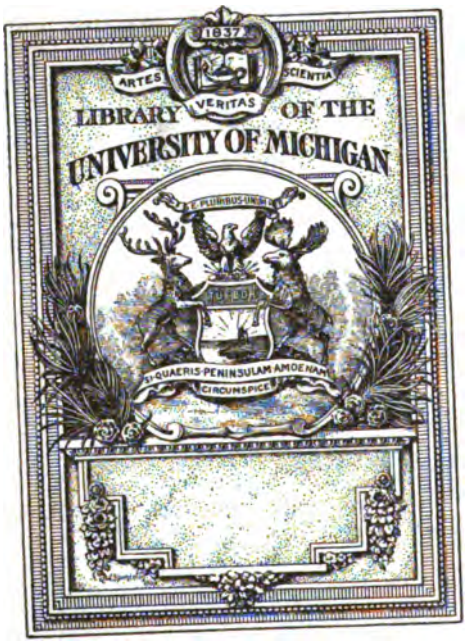
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I am very truly
your friend
Philip F Thomas

GOVR OF MARYLAND

THE

UNITED STATES MAGAZINE,

AND

DEMOCRATIC REVIEW.

EDITED BY

THOMAS PRENTICE KETTELL.

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* ERRATA.—*Page* 173, line 10 from bottom, dele the words *Schenck, of Ohio*, and instead of *Hubble, of Texas*, read Haskell, of Tennessee. *Page* 174, Mr. McLane is said to have been on the *Committee of Commerce* in the 30th Congress—this is a mistake. *Page* 175, line 2d from bottom, for Major John *P. Kennedy*, read Major John *R. Kenly*. *Page* 176, line 21 from bottom, for *compromised*, read compromise.

THE

UNITED STATES MAGAZINE,

AND

DEMOCRATIC REVIEW.

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ABOLITION vs. CHRISTIANITY AND THE UNION.

Those who look upon the slavery question now at issue between the north and the south as a mere temporary struggle for political equality or political ascendancy, and abolition as a hobby horse, on which to ride into power, and afterwards thrown aside as a piece of lumber, no longer serviceable or useful, take but a superficial view of a subject that involves the most momentous consequences to present and future generations. Not only is the Union staked on its issue, but other results, if possible still more vital, to the peace and happiness of the United States and the world at large. It involves a war of extermination between two great races of mankind; it involves dissensions in the Christian church, highly injurious to its salutary influence, if not fatal to its existence; and finally, it involves a complete subversion of the social state, as it subsists at present, and has subsisted since the advent of the Saviour, and the establishment of His doctrines. These are startling conclusions, which ought not to be adopted without proof; and we shall proceed to adduce the facts and arguments by which they are sustained.

It is only necessary to revert to the proceedings of the abolitionists for the last twenty years, and to the consequences they have already produced, in order to perceive at once that they tend directly to a deadly and exterminating war between the whites and the blacks in the south—aye, and the north too, whenever the latter shall become sufficiently numerous to make it with any prospect of success. It would display a profound ignorance of the great moving springs of human action, to suppose that the descendants of the African race will remain quiet under the perpetual stimulants of the abolitionists, until they have been emancipated, and placed on terms of political and social equality, or that even this will satisfy them. We perceive indications of this peeping forth every day, and from every quarter. The blacks already begin to aspire to a superiority over the whites, and Mr. Giddings, the representative of Africa in the House, distinctly avows his preference for thick skulls and woolly heads.

There is not the least reason to doubt that here in the north at least, this idea of African superiority is fast gaining ground among the negroes. It is not to be wondered at. People who make the most noise in the world naturally consider themselves of the greatest importance: and when these ignorant and conceited beings see themselves occupying the entire attention of the Congress of the United States for more than a year past, to the exclusion of all great questions of external or internal policy, it is not to be wondered at if they are inflated with an idea that themselves and their interests are paramount to all other considerations. In fact, they are daily taught this by the abolitionists.

But equality in political rights would not satisfy the African race in the United States, for nature herself has stamped them with the brand of inferiority. They might even mingle their blood with the whites to a certain extent, and still they would constitute a distinct race, subject to all the mortifications of the Indians of Mexico and Peru, who, though blended with the Europeans and their descendants, and nominally exercising the same rights, never have, and never will, thoroughly amalgamate with them, so long as they retain a single trace of their original race, and so long as that origin is preserved by tradition or memory. The pure-blooded white man, nay—even the swarthy European Spaniard—looks down with contempt on all those mixtures, Mestizos, Quadroons, and even Quinteroons; and though he may mingle with them, or admit them to social and political rights, he never considers them as equals. The others, on the contrary, secretly hate the white men, and this feeling becomes more aggravated the nearer they approach to equality. There is no cordiality between them; one looks upward with envy and hatred; the other downward with contempt, mingled with fear. They still constitute different races, though originally approaching much nearer each other in physical analogy than the negro and the white man. In body and mind they are inferior; and in spite of abolition this inferiority will necessarily place them in a state of subserviency to the more vigorous, energetic, and intellectual white man. This is the law of God—the law of nature, reason and necessity; and if to-morrow, or next year, or a thousand years hence, they were placed on the top of the pyramid of society, they would slide to the bottom, and there remain until they underwent a physical and intellectual transformation. If they could not assimilate to the society into which they had been elevated, they would bring it down to their own level by an irresistible process. The mixture of alloy in gold depreciates the whole mass of purer metal; and so it would be with amalgamation, as is clearly proved by all past experience.

It may be urged in reply to this, that the same principle will apply to the struggles now going on among the masses of Europe for equality; and that a mixture of the higher and lower orders would produce a deterioration of the former, without producing a corresponding elevation of the latter. It may be also argued that a perfect amalgamation of the two classes would still carry with it the same feeling of superiority on one hand, and inferiority on the other; and that, consequently, the same antipathies or repulsions would exist between them as between the white man and the emancipated negro. But this would not be the case. The higher and lower classes of men in the different countries of Europe are of the same race in almost every state; they are of the same color, and all their outward physical characteristics correspond with each other; there is nothing

to distinguish them but a difference in dress, manners, and modes of living; and when these become assimilated, they naturally mingle together on terms of perfect equality, with the exception of distinctions created by accidental circumstances—such as a difference in wealth, position, talent, and virtue. If separated at all, it is by artificial distinctions, whereas the white man and the negro are divided by natural, palpable, and irreconcileable differences, which address themselves not merely to the imagination but the senses. Hence, were one to be elevated, or the other depressed to a common standard, they would never thoroughly amalgamate until they ceased to be distinguished by their physical peculiarities. They would never rest until one had obtained the ascendancy over the other, or driven them away, or exterminated them, according to the custom of our North American Indians. The proceedings of the abolitionists tend, therefore, directly and inevitably, not to an amalgamation of the two races, but to a still wider separation, leading to perpetual struggles, which can only end in the absolute subjection, banishment or extermination of one or the other.

If we are right in these premises—and they are exemplified in every stage in the history of mankind—a war between the two races in the Southern States is gradually maturing in that quarter, under the auspices of the abolitionists and their allies, which must necessarily extend to their neighbors of the North, who will irresistibly be drawn into it as auxiliaries of one or other party. They cannot remain neutral, and must necessarily choose the alternative either to aid their white brethren, or aid in their extermination. What a terrific state of things would then be presented! We shall not dwell on it, in its consequences. It is sufficient to say, that there is nothing in the history of the past that will afford a parallel to its horrors. It will not be merely a dissolution of the Union, but a dissolution of the ties of humanity.

But it is not a mere dissolution of the Union and a war between two great races of mankind that is contemplated by the abolitionists, who are gradually approaching to, if they are not already arrived at, a union with socialism and infidelity. It is evident from the late indiscreet disclosures of their principles, produced by the anticipation of a speedy triumph by the aid of their political auxiliaries, that they aim not only at Christianity itself, by fomenting divisions in the various denominations of the Christian church, and thus impairing its influence, but by undermining the basis on which it is erected; and that, strange to say, they have found allies even among the preachers of the Gospel, who, while calling on their congregations to obey the precepts of the Saviour, are associated with those who trample the Bible and Christianity under foot. Having, in the presumption of their ignorance, at their first outset, quoted the sacred Scriptures as their authority for denouncing slavery as a gross violation of the law of God and the rights of nature; and having since discovered, or been told, that so far from denouncing, it recognizes that institution through the mouth of the Deity himself,* they have turned round and denounced the Bible for tolerating it. At the late meetings of the National Abolition Society in New-York and Boston, a Mr. Wright affirmed, that when the Bible gave its sanction to slavery, it lied; but on being questioned by a spectator on the subject, after some hesitation, he qualified his assertion by saying, that "if it did so, it lied." Other speakers, distinguished

* See 25th chapter of Leviticus.

leaders in the society, took equal, nay still greater liberties with the sacred volume, and uttered blasphemies with which we will not stain our paper. Thus the foundation on which Christianity rests, is torn up by the roots, by the hands of a set of ferocious blockheads, ten times more ignorant than the Apostles, and without their inspiration.

Having demolished the Bible, they next proceeded to attack the New Testament; and this being the strongest entrenchment, the onset was committed to William Lloyd Garrison, the ostensible and redoubtable leader of the crusade against the people of the South, the Bible and Christianity; and who, in the eyes of his followers, is the Mahomet whom disunionists denominated "the sword of God." We say ostensible leader, because we are convinced that this hybrid, half-breed, is a mere puppet, whose wires are pulled in England, and who probably knows no more what he is really about than Punch and Judy at a fair. He will do very well for a leader among the females enamored of amalgamation; and who, it seems, are about forming a union of the gown and the petticoat, to usurp the breeches;* but it is sufficiently evident, that he is nothing more than a wooden sword in the hands of an expert harlequin, and that his intrepidity is not derived from a clear conviction of right, but is merely the insolent presumption of ignorance. He is a blind idiot in leading strings; he merely flourishes the fire-brand placed in his hand by others of deeper views, and more malignant purposes; and it seems strange that he should have become an instrument in designs of such magnitude in which the great interests of two worlds are concerned. But the vast continents of the deep, which at times peer above its surface, are formed by the agency of the most insignificant insects; and the destinies of the world have been frequently directed apparently by men who knew no more where they were going to strike than the weapon with which they gave the blow. The worm that feeds on the timbers of the ship is merely following his instinct, and little dreams of the wreck he is preparing.

But those by whom he is stimulated and directed, to wit, the politicians, cannot plead the ignorance of Garrison, when leaguing themselves with him and his followers in their excesses. They stand justly charged with hostility to the Constitution and the Union. The Christian churches which have enlisted under his banner cannot avoid the imputation of hostility to the hitherto universally recognized doctrines of Christianity; nor can the abolition leaders who pull the wires behind the scenes, free their skirts from the infamy of co-operating with the socialists, and all the varieties of fanaticism which are forming a combination against all social obligations, the constitution, the laws, the sanctity of the marriage tie, and the divinity of religion itself. That these are among the principal objects of their hostility, will distinctly appear by reference to the proceedings at their late meetings in New-York and Boston, to which we call the special attention of the reader. We have already stated what they say of the Bible, and will now proceed to give their exposition of the New Testament.

Heretofore, Christianity has been considered by its professors, of every sect, as a complete system of piety and morality, embodying all our duties to God and our fellow-creatures—all harmoniously co-operating with each other, and all carrying with them the sanction of divine

* See proceedings of the meetings of the devotees of the Rights of Woman, in Ohio and Boston.

authority. But Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, the inspired oracle of the abolitionists, has discovered and announced to the world, at the meetings aforesaid, that Christianity, its duties, obligation and essence, all are condensed in one single comprehensive tenet, not to be found in the New Testament; that the entire creed of Christianity resolves itself into one point, and concentrates on one single object. According to his notion, it has nothing to do with the Ten Commandments, as a great comprehensive code for the direction of human conduct; nor with the two great precepts of the Saviour, embodying their essence; nor with the expositions of the inspired apostles. It enjoins one single duty to the exclusion of every other, and is entirely independent of all moral, social, or religious obligations. It has no connection whatever with the love of God, or of our neighbor—with our duties as citizens—with domestic ties, or the rights of property, as guaranteed by the principles of Christianity as well as law. All these are mere humbugs. William Lloyd Garrison, the New Messiah, affirms that "*there is no other test of Christianity in these latter days but abolitionism, and that all others are nugatory.*"* Thus Christianity and abolition are inseparable; they are one and indivisible; they constitute an identity, and the Christian creed at once resolves itself into a fanatical dogma.

It follows that all who do not act upon the belief, that "all those laws recognizing slavery are before God null and void;" that all the negroes throughout the world, and especially in the United States, should be instantly set free and admitted at once to social and political equality; that "the Constitution of the United States is a gross violation of the law of God and the rights of nature;" and that "the condition of slavery absolves us from all the obligations of mankind"—all these reprobates are no Christians, for the inspired Garrison has decided that these are the only true doctrines of Christianity, and that there is no other test of orthodoxy. These miserable backsliders, whose ancestors and themselves had remained almost two thousand years in the gall of bitterness and the bonds of iniquity, are at once expelled that Church into which they have so long intruded, and cast into outer darkness, there to gnash their teeth in despair. They are proper subjects for the application of the beneficent precept that "the condition of slavery absolves us from all the obligations of mankind." They are fair game for the happy rogues thus at once freed from all the restraints of law and gospel; and every slave—nay every free gentleman of color—may, by virtue of the superior rights of his race, make use of the abolition *carte blanche*, to exterminate them either by open war or midnight conspiracy.

Under the new dispensation, the Bible is discarded, and Christianity is abolitionism, and abolitionism is Christianity. All Christian tenets, duties and obligations, are merged in the immediate emancipation of the negroes. We may believe in the Saviour of mankind, and practice all his precepts to the extent permitted to human capacity, but we are no Christians unless we believe in Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, the great modern expositor of the law and the prophets. Of course, then, all those who do not make war on the laws and constitution of the United States, denounce the Union, stigmatize one-third of their fellow-citizens as men-stealers,

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* See speech of Garrison at the meeting in New-York, in May last.

become men-stealers themselves, and incite the slaves of the South as well as the free blacks of the North, to a war with the race of the white men, are beyond the pale of the Christian church. Here we have an entire new creed to which all must give in their adhesion, under penalty of excommunication and expulsion. The entire system of moral, social and religious obligations, all our duties to our Maker and our fellow-men, are swallowed up in the great maw of fanaticism. The Saviour of mankind and his inspired apostles are no longer our safe, unerring guides; and henceforth and forever, William Lloyd Garrison supersedes the divine mission of the Son of the living God. The Christian creed is abolished at a single blow, and there is now no salvation except for those who believe in the emancipation of the negroes—and nothing else. All those who do not hold that Christianity consists exclusively in believing that the slaves of the South should "be instantly set free without compensation to the planters," must be forthwith expelled from the pale of the Christian church and the ranks of humanity.

It will thus be perceived that this new system of Christianity is brought into direct collision with the laws of the land, the constitution of the government and the authority of the State. All these, instead of harmonizing with its practice and principles, are placed in irreconcilable opposition. The Church and the State in this new attitude are incompatible; they cannot exist together, and one of them must fall. Hitherto the doctrines of Christianity, if not the basis, have been the most powerful auxiliaries of human laws; and the system of civil polity in every Christian State, has accommodated itself, as far as possible, to the duties prescribed by the divine preceptor. Not so with the great dogmas of the abolitionist church, which if adopted by a majority of Christians in the United States, will carry with it a total subversion of the principles established by the constitution; and thus religion, instead of being one of the great supports of the laws and civil institutions of our country, becomes the most powerful instrument in their subversion and destruction. If abolitionism becomes the only test of Christianity, either Christianity or the Union must fall. Either abolitionism must be put down, and the ancient, time-honored, venerable *old* Christian church sustained against these marauders and moss-troopers, or an entire new system of government corresponding with the new code of piety and morality propounded by the new expositor of the Gospel, must be adopted.

That great and virtuous statesman who has lately departed this world, whose oft-repeated warnings and predictions are now arrayed against us like the accusing spirits of the dead, and who with his dying breath bequeathed to his country a rich legacy of wisdom and patriotism, which should be placed side by side with the last farewell of Washington—that distinguished Southerner, who we greatly fear will one day be placed among the inspired prophets who foretold the destruction of Jerusalem—that far-seeing and sagacious statesman, whose capacious mind and comprehensive experience, gave to his opinions almost the authority of inspiration—that great and good man—for such he was, and as such will be forever recognized by posterity—referred to the future consequences of the abolition excitement, which dawned in the widely extended schisms already produced by its intrigues and efforts, as one of the most alarming symptoms of the approaching dissolution of the Union. The harmony of the Church is the harbinger of peace; and whoever will trace the great

revolutions of past ages to their real sources, will always find religious dissensions at the bottom. Extensive changes in religion are always for a time fatal to the repose of society; and whenever any sect can enlist a sufficient combination of force and opinion to overpower all opposition, a revolution of the State must inevitably follow. If, instead of co-operating in a war against the vices and crimes of mankind—not *one*, but all of them—and instilling into their minds a holy reverence for Christianity, as presented in its great fundamental doctrines by the Saviour himself, the preachers of the Gospel direct all their efforts and employ all their influence in aggravating sectarian distinctions, and administering perpetual fuel to sectarian fires—so long as they pursue this course, they may increase the number of bigots and persecutors, but they will add few, very few, to the peaceful fold of the Lamb of God. They ought to know that by questioning the doctrines of other Christian sects, they only weaken their own; for all have one common origin, one common basis; and if one is false, who shall decide whether any of the others are true? The basis of the Christian creed, in its application to human obligations, is peace and good will to all our neighbors—that is, all those with whom, from proximity of situation or social relations, we can exchange the offices of good neighborhood. The precept does not apply exclusively to those who believe or disbelieve in Transubstantiation, or any other abstraction which has no connection with the great fundamental principles of the Christian faith; nor is it confined in its operation to the natives of Africa, to the exclusion of our own color and race; it does not sacrifice the whole flock to the black sheep alone.

But be this as it may, there is now a sectional church, incorporated with our other sectional interests. A northern and a southern church, separated not by conflicting tenets, but by Mason and Dixon's line. Christianity no longer rests on its old established doctrines, but depends altogether on the degrees of latitude and longitude. It cannot exist south of Mason and Dixon's line, unless the slaves are instantly emancipated, or William Lloyd Garrison is no prophet. Those who rally round that profane instrument, the Constitution, instead of coming under the wing of the wild-goose of fanaticism; those who decline divesting themselves of their property, and exposing their own lives, and those of their families, to imminent danger, at the bidding of William Lloyd Garrison, are not, and cannot be admitted into communion with our modern saints. They don't come up to the great "Test," and must be content to be called Christians south of Mason and Dixon's line. This, we presume, is what is meant by the unity of the Christian church, so confidently predicted, which is to become universal; a union which, it seems, is to be brought about by mutual dissensions and reciprocal anathemas.

By this new and arbitrary test of orthodoxy, hitherto unknown in the Christian church, which has existed almost two thousand years, some of the most numerous denominations of Christians in the United States have been severed into opposite conflicting elements. They no longer form a bond of union, but a spectacle of dissension; and thus, instead of strengthening, mutually weaken each other by reproaches and ill offices. Is this the way to bring about the unity of the church, and secure the peace of the world, by beckoning the entire flock of the shepherd into one and the same fold? Is anarchy in the churches, and dissensions among the members, a proper cement to the brotherhood of mankind? Is the spectacle of one sect

of Christians—nay, one-half of the same sect, being denounced and disclaimed by another, calculated to attract the love and esteem of those who stand outside the pale, and make new converts? Is it not on the contrary a prelude to anarchy both in Church and State, and a dissolution of both? We can tell these reverend and unreverend gentlemen, who are railing at the fearful progress of infidelity, that if such is really the case, they may blame themselves: for they have, by these mutual attempts to unsettle the belief of other sects, undermined the whole structure, and made more infidels than all the infidel writers living or dead. It is not often they hear the truth; for, like despotic princes, they are almost always surrounded by the devotees of the divine right of the church, or by courtly parasites, whose business it is to proclaim their infallibility. Well might Mr. Calhoun say, that one of the great bonds of our Union was severed when the Church became sectional, and those who had hitherto acted in harmonious concert, and whose doctrines and discipline were identical, withdrew from all communion with each other. For this, among other things, we are indebted to the abolitionists. They have succeeded in their crusade against the unity of the churches, and their next object is to destroy the union of the states; to set one against the other, and make the white men of one section instruments in the destruction of their countrymen and brothers, in the other.

Having established a new test of Christianity, they have only to follow it up by a new test of humanity, and exclude from its benefits all those who will not take the pledge of servile war, and drink not the cup of wine, but of blood. The immediate emancipation of the negroes, and the dissolution of the Union, is the new test of humanity, as well as Christianity. All who demur to the dogmas of the New Messiah—who believes neither law or Gospel—all those who are not ready to sacrifice their present prosperity, their future repose, and their patriotic feelings, to an object of doubtful expediency at best—and the obligation to which is still more questionable—all those are not only excluded from the benefits of the Church, but the privileges of humanity. They are, if not man-eaters, at least man-stealers; and though not yet, we believe, classed among cannibals, are honored with the courteous and endearing appellations of "men-stealers, and dealers in human flesh."* We should not be at all surprised if Mr. Garrison were to issue his "Bull," declaring it a fundamental article, if not the only true test of Christianity, that all true believers should assert, and if necessary, swear to the fact, that the people of the South secretly indulged in a plump well-roasted young negro, on great occasions. John Bull, the eminent philanthropist, would, beyond doubt, swallow this precious morsel; and the pious old ladies of England, headed by my Lord Palmerston, throw up their eyes and hands, take a huge pinch of snuff, and stint their charity to their starving countrymen, to raise a subscription for the purpose of enabling his abolition associates to arrest such abominations. Our illustrious senator, who is his own deity, and bows only to the golden calf of his own conscience, would, no

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* It would be utterly ridiculous, were it not so consummately impudent, to see these very men who are stealing away the southern slaves, calling the southern masters men-stealers. The former are those denounced by the Bible as men-stealers, as is evident from the spirit of the text, referred to by the abolitionists.

doubt, swear to the fact, with as much sincerity as he did to support the Constitution.

At present, the people of the South are outlaws, in company with all those abandoned "pro-slavery men," who do not believe that the Constitution is a gross violation of the law of God and the rights of nature; that the obligations of the marriage state are infamous restrictions on that freedom of intercourse which is permitted to all animals but men; that the Bible lies; that Christianity is abolition; that the condition of slavery absolves us from all the obligations of mankind; and that, consequently, the slave is under no obligation to obey the laws of God or man. Of course, he is responsible to no one for his actions, and thus enjoys a degree of freedom to which his unfortunate master can never aspire.

It will thus be perceived, that the principles of the abolitionists, and their fanatical associates of every class, who are now gradually drawing together, and adopting a unity of action, under the auspices of British leaders, if carried out, in their consequences will revolutionize not only the United States, but the whole civilized world. They strike at the foundations of Christianity, not only by undermining its principles, but by drawing lines of distinction between the different members of the same denominations, that will forever prevent any harmony between them; they have already brought two races of mankind in the United States, that had hitherto lived in peace together, into deadly conflict, or at least to a state of feeling towards each other, that can only result in a bloody struggle at some future period, who shall be master—a servile war—in other words, a war of extermination.

This "Holy Alliance" of abolitionists and socialists and infidels, is, in fact, striking not merely at the social institutions of the South, but at all social institutions, both in the North and in the South, though the people of the former may flatter themselves they are out of the reach of the whirlwind. It wages equal war on sacred and temporal institutions; it is aiming at the very roots of society, and if successful, will finally prostrate both Church and State at the footstool of a strange and hitherto unknown fanaticism, founded not on religious excitement, but on an abandonment of all religion. Yet, wonderful to tell, large portions of many denominations of Christians, have associated themselves with these dangerous incendiaries; and more than one preacher has not only prostituted his church to their uses, but himself become a brawling instrument in undermining its very foundations. Nay, it is not long since the Legislature of New-York appropriated that very hall of legislation, which ought to be the sanctuary of law and the citadel of the Constitution, to the purposes of a meeting expressly called to denounce them both.

The people of the North, we should say those among the people of the North who side with the abolitionists, and who, we are convinced, constitute in fact but a very small minority, which in any other state of parties would be comparatively insignificant, at least in New-York; these good people do not seem to be aware that they have got a sword in their hands, whose point will most assuredly be one day turned upon themselves. We have previously alluded to the actual, or at least prospective union of abolitionism and socialism, and will now proceed to show the extreme probability of such a coalition, if it has not already taken place. Both are under the influence of a fanatical spirit; in other

words, both are governed by a single idea, and have one single object which they pursue, regardless of all future consequences. There is an innate affinity between them. If not fruits of the same tree, they are of the same species; and with the aid of a little political cement, reinforced by a sprinkling of infidelity, they may easily be united. Both are equally waring against property; one under pretence of its being a gross violation of the law of God; the other, that it conflicts with the rights of nature. Both are arrayed against the Bible and Christianity; both equally consider the restraints of the marriage vow an intolerable grievance; and both equally aim at an entire subversion of the present state of society in all its ramifications, religious, social and political. With this close affinity it is next to impossible that they should not eventually come together.

The doctrines of the socialists have become identified with the political struggles now going on in the old world, and will shortly mingle with those of the new. The cloud is approaching, and will ere long burst over us. We must not hope to escape, although a wide ocean rolls between us. We must not flatter ourselves, that the absurdity and impracticability of socialist principles will shield us from their influence, or that they will perish by swallowing their own poison. We may persuade ourselves that we belong to another world, and are as far out of the way as if we inhabited the unapproachable planets. But we are sadly deceived. The influence of the great tempest abroad which has waked up monsters from the deep, will be felt here at home, we fear, to our sorrow. The people of the world are excited, and there is an invisible connection in all its parts, furnishing another proof, that it came from the same hand, and is governed by the same Almighty will. The fever now raging abroad, will become by degrees the great epidemic of the civilized world, either for good or for evil. Europe is now in its cradle or its grave—its infancy or its dotage. It must be regenerated, or perish, either in the fires of anarchy, or under the leaden pressure of despotism—both which, are the precursors of that deterioration which ends in ignorance and barbarism.

It is evident, that no change of dynasty—no mere political revolution—no subversion or reformation of government, can relieve Europe from its present burthens, or raise the lower orders from that state of poverty and destitution to which they have been reduced by a long cause of oppression. Universal suffrage will neither give them bread, nor enable them to raise themselves to that position in the social state to which every human being aspires, except by a slow and lingering process. But hunger is impatient, and the reaction of long forbearance is terrible. The people of Europe, just awakened from the long sleep of ages, are rubbing their eyes in order to see more clearly. They are as yet blinded by the newly risen sun, and are waiting to decide which way they shall start in their career.

In their present condition they exhibit examples extremely dangerous to the rational freedom of the United States. We want no such reformers here, though they may suit the crisis abroad. This country requires no revolution. The business of reform in Europe is to pull down—in the United States our business is to build up and sustain. Our policy is conservative—theirs destructive—and both are equally wise in their sphere. We have as much liberty as we want—they have none—and, consequently, our respective courses should be in opposite directions. Let

us sympathise with them as much as we please, but don't let us follow their example. A revolution in Europe might possibly bring liberty—in the United States it could only be productive of anarchy, and end in despotism. It is, therefore, not yet time for us to begin the work of pulling down. Let us wait patiently, and it is probable, that by the time Europe is regenerated, we shall want regenerating. This is the way of the world. Every nation has its day—and so has every quarter of the globe. It is our turn now, and whose will come next no one can predict.

These European reformers are flocking hither by thousands, bringing with them the pestilent products of the worn-out soil of the old world—which it would seem, whenever it falls into labor, produces nothing but monsters. They bring with them a host of extravagant notions of freedom and plenty of crude, undigested theories, which are utterly irreconcilable with that discreet and sober liberty which springs from obedience to laws of our own making, and from a Constitution of our own adopting. They come with their heads full of a division of property, to a country where it is already divided in a manner most salutary to the general welfare, by existing laws and institutions, allowing every man an equal chance, and placing no artificial obstacles in the way of any. It is not here that idleness, profligacy, and extravagance are shielded from their otherwise inevitable consequences—poverty and contempt—by laws and institutions expressly devised for that purpose. It is not here that property is perpetuated for ages in one family, and that the laboring classes are forever excluded from their share. But it is here that industry, economy, prudence, and enterprise, receive their due rewards, and by being left to themselves, produce that general diffusion of comfort, as well as that salutary distribution of property which can never be brought about, or at least perpetuated by any other means.

The socialists, however, who are come and coming among us, either from not comprehending that they have got into a new world altogether different from the old, or from a wild and reckless spirit of innovation, are silently making an impression on the people of our great cities, where all the sweepings of the country are gathered into one great mass of ignorance and corruption. They are instilling into them principles at war with society, and fatal to the repose of our country. They are gradually forming a party, and have attracted the attention of the federal leaders, who begin to nibble at them, and discover evident symptoms of a design to enlist them in their great army of tag-rag and bobtail, clothed in the many-colored patches of anti-masonry, anti-mailism, abolitionism, socialism, Fourieriteism, St. Simonianism, and Heaven only knows what besides.

In conjunction with these, the abolitionists will be able to poll votes at a great rate. They will be worth purchasing at the sacrifice of the Church, the State, the Laws and the Constitution. The cabinet at Washington seems to have become aware of their importance, and even good King Log has put himself afloat in compliment to them. Let the people of the North look to it in time. There is no country under heaven where fanaticism can find such fuel for its fires as the United States, or become so dangerous. We say it with the deepest regret; but it is our firm belief that if a sect of avowed worshippers of the evil spirit were to spring out—as is not unlikely—from the red-hot lava of abolition, in sufficient

numbers to decide the election of a President, there are politicians and political leaders who would court their support, by worshipping at their shrine.

We say again, let the people of the North look to it in time, and awake before it is too late, to a perception to the consequences that will assuredly result from their base subserviency to politicians and political leaders. They ought to know that the triumph of the abolitionists and their accomplices, will be the beginning of that, whose end is the dissolution of the Union, and all its fatal consequences. They have been taught to believe that this slavery agitation will end as soon as the present Presidential contest subsides. But they ought to know by this time that such contests never subside. They are no sooner over than they begin again, and they are "never ending, still beginning, fighting still, and still destroying." It is on this rock all former free states have been wrecked, and where, in all probability, the United States will founder. It was not the corruption and degeneracy of the people that ruined them, but the selfish rivalry of leaders, whose ambition of power was only equalled by their incapacity to govern, that caused every fabric of human freedom that has occasionally reared itself in solitary grandeur in the great desert of the world, to afford to the enemies of human rights only arguments and examples to prove the incapacity of man for self-government.

But we are told the Union is in no danger—none, in the least. If the people of the North wish to know whether or not the Union is in danger from the conspiracy of fanaticism, in all forms and combinations, let them ask of themselves, and answer for themselves, what is the sole end and object of all governments, and all social compacts? Is it not a union of all, for the safety of all? Is it not the protection of the persons and property of the weak against the strong? Is it not to array the social against the selfish principle, and by equalizing them as far as possible, produce harmony from discord? Is it not to place such restraints on human passions, especially avarice and ambition, that while they are not checked in their salutary operations as incentives to the exertion of our physical and intellectual qualities, they are restrained in their excesses so as not to operate to the injury of others?

This is the basis, and these are the vital principles which pervade all voluntary social compacts in their original formation; and unless they are sacredly adhered to, they can only be preserved by the application of force or deception. Let us see how the principles announced by the abolitionists accord with the objects of all good government. In the first place, instead of a union of all for the benefit of all, they are aiming to set one portion of this confederation against another, thus transforming what was originally intended as an element of strength, into one not only of weakness, but of self-destruction. Instead of being a union of all for the safety of all, it is becoming a disunion of all for the destruction of all. In the second place, as frequently avowed, they aim at the "instant emancipation of the slaves of the South, without compensation to their owners." This is a direct assault upon the property of fifteen states, to the amount of sixteen hundred millions of dollars—a good round sum to pay for a union with those who honor them with the appellation of men-stealers and dealers in human flesh. In the third place, having declared war against the property of the people of the South, they attack their persons by promulgating principles which are silently but surely bringing their

lives into jeopardy. They are arraying their slaves against them; stimulating them by every means in their power to insurrection and massacre, and depriving them of all the benefits and comforts arising from the possession of property, by making it a source of danger to their domestic peace—nay, to the very existence of themselves and all they love.

Thus are the inhabitants of fifteen states, which together constitute a vast empire, sought to be thrust out from the protection of the social compact, and their property and lives placed at the mercy of a body of reckless fanatics, sustained by a great political party, headed, as it would seem, by the chief magistrate of the Union. Can any union stand such assaults as these? Can any degree of patriotism stand against personal rights, personal happiness and personal safety, attacked all at once by those who are calling on the very people thus circumstanced, to support a union with those who pay no respect to their rights and no regard to their feelings?—who, while attempting to deprive them of rights by legislation, and of their property by stealing, spit in their faces and call them man-stealers, dealers in human flesh, and use every means of falsehood and exaggeration to blacken their character in the eyes of the world, and expel them from the ranks of their fellow-creatures.

Of what use are compromises or constitutional guaranties, if the great and solemn compromise of the Constitution is not binding, as being a gross violation of the law of God and the rights of nature? If it cannot withstand a fanatical dogma it is worth nothing; nor can any political restraints or political obligations whatever furnish the slightest security to our rights. The principle announced by Mr. Seward, from his place in the Senate, and avowed by other leading abolitionists, recognizing a law superior to the Constitution, in interpreting that instrument, at once converts it into a dead-letter. The Constitution becomes obsolete. It is in fact abolished. It is a fanatical dogma; it is Mr. Seward's conscience. We will merely observe in this place, that we don't intend to enter into the mysteries of the Senator's conscience or scrutinize his opinions. He may be a disciple of William Lloyd Garrison, Abby Folsom, Joe Smith, or Louis Blanc, for aught we know or care. But holding as he does, that in a most important matter of legislation on which he knew he would be called on to decide as a Senator representing a great State, his conscience was above the Constitution, it would have better become him to indulge his conscience at home in private life, than to bring it where it must necessarily come in direct conflict with that Constitution which he was bound by the very oath, which was the condition of being admitted to the exercise of his Senatorial functions, to support and maintain.

Be this as it may. Should this new doctrine of the supremacy of individual opinions over constitutional enactments, become general, and conscientious scruples supercede the law of the land, not only the Constitution, but the most sacred of all pledges to support it would be blown to the winds. If such should be the case, and Mr. Seward's conscience become despotic in the United States, we would seriously advise all good people, with the exception of abolitionists, socialists and their various affinities, to get out of the way as soon as possible. Their only alternative is to rally betimes and arrest this inundation of ignorance and presumption, which every day receives new accessions from abroad, by one great united effort, the result of which will demonstrate that no party

which makes common cause with these mischievous incendiaries, shall ever control the destinies of this great people.

Among the most significant indications of the truth of our assertion, that this conspiracy of fanatics is aiming not only at the political, but social structure of society, is the occurrence of certain conventions of fanatics in various parts of the United States, under the direction and patronage of Mr. William Lloyd Garrison and his disciples. The object of these is the vindication of the rights of women, which, as defined by the abolitionists and socialists, consist in voting at elections, having as many husbands as they please, and in short, doing as they please, without being shackled by any of the troublesome and unreasonable restraints of what has been ignorantly termed female decency and propriety. This new sect is making a most promising progress in the United States, it would seem. Already has the legislature of New-York, and we believe those of several other States, provided for the establishment of an *imperium in imperio* in every man's house, by giving his wife the control of the purse-strings, and thus making her independent, in all respects, of her husband—except in his paying her debts; and should this be followed up by the right of suffrage, we shall have nothing left but to submit to the despotism of petticoat government and the conscience of Senator Seward. The empire of the Amazons will no longer be fabulous, and all the future struggles of men will be to maintain—not national, but domestic independence.

But, however absurd or ridiculous the idea may be, it is no subject for laughter. It is a serious attack on the authority of Heaven and the social institutions of man, which have been adopted under the direct sanction of the Divine Ruler of the universe. Any radical change in the relative position of the two sexes, would operate to bring about a complete disorganization of the social state as it exists at present; and so far from producing any advantage to either, would be highly injurious, if not fatal, to the happiness of both. The strength of women may be said to consist in their weakness, and the great tie that binds the sexes together is dependence on one hand, protection on the other. Woman can never govern man by her strength; she must depend for all the salutary influence she exercises not on fear, but love; not on threats and coercion, but tears, smiles and gentleness; not on strife and contention, but kind persuasion or graceful acquiescence. The affection of man is her best security against oppression, and his strength the best guarantee to her rights. The moment she aspires to independence she lays the basis of her own subjection, and all her efforts to acquire freedom will end in becoming a slave.

Domestic contests of this kind are said to be not altogether uncommon, and generally, if not always, produce domestic misery, as well as complete alienation. They are equally fatal to the happiness of parents and the welfare of children, and we hear almost every day of the most atrocious crimes originating in the house being divided against itself. What, then, may we anticipate from a general and organized struggle between the two sexes—not merely limited to domestic affairs, but extending to religion, politics and all the various interests of society? What but a total disruption of every tie that links them together, except mere animal passion? What but a complete abandonment on the part of one of all those sacred duties imposed on woman by God and nature? What but a brutal and promiscuous intercourse, productive of gross and

indecent licentiousness of manners and morals? And finally, what but a complete forfeiture on the part of women, of all that respect and tenderness which is their only securities for the social position they now occupy? The moment they attempt to give laws to the State, they will lose all their influence in the domestic empire. It will then become a contest of strength, and the weaker party be the victim.

Yet it is this issue the abolitionists and the socialists are using all their efforts to bring about. They are enticing the women of the United States from the domestic fold, and from their appropriate duties, and leading them by degrees into a co-operation in the war they are waging against the peace of society and the true dignity of the sex. Itinerant lecturers are everywhere prowling about, gathering together female audiences, to whom they propound the most crude, yet mischievous doctrines, calculated to undermine their principles, impair their domestic virtues, and render them discontented with the position in which they were placed by the dispensation of their Creator, where alone they can enjoy happiness and confer it on others. They are getting up conventions in Ohio and New-England, which seem to be our most fruitful soils of fanaticism, whose object it is to assert the rights of women, among which is that of suffrage, which implies all other political rights, and if enjoyed, would at once array the two sexes against each other in political strife. Ambitious ladies would then no longer aspire to become good wives and good mothers, but to political honors; and we should undoubtedly one day see a President in petticoats, commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and sole dispenser of honors and rewards to handsome suitors, expert at making bows and making love.

All this is very ridiculous; but ridiculous things often produce serious mischief in this ridiculous world. Past experience has pretty clearly shown that absurdity is not an insuperable obstacle to success, and that the most fearful revolutions have been brought about by those who at first were only laughed at and despised. In a free state, where all have a voice in the choice of those who make the laws, and rule the state, there often occurs a crisis in which a small minority may turn the scale, and consequently greatly influence, if not direct, the policy of government. They may be fools, or they may be fanatics; but they can all vote at elections, and one man is as good as another at the poll. It should also be borne in mind, that the abolitionists and socialists do not address themselves to the sober, rational, and enlightened portion of their countrymen or countrywomen, but to the feelings and passions of ignorant slaves, addled theorists, and muddle-pated philanthropists, and that what to the former is merely food for laughter, to the latter is deadly poison.

Having thus indicated the consequences likely to flow from this combination of deep designing leaders and unsuspecting persons, we have only space left to indicate what we believe the best, if not the only mode of arresting the conspiracy against the union of the states, the peace of society, the authority of the Bible, and the entire structure of Christianity itself. That this is the object of the fanatics of all kinds and degrees in the crusade they are now preaching under the banner of universal philanthropy, we believe has been made sufficiently clear; and though they may not immediately, or ultimately, succeed to the fullest extent, the inevitable result will be in the highest degree injurious to the interests of religion, the repose of society, and the harmony of the union. We are among

those who believe that political unions are no longer conducive to the prosperity of states, or the happiness of the people, than while they are held together by mutual good will, and the consciousness of benefits conferred or received. We are convinced from a reference to the history of all past confederations, that there can be no peaceful and voluntary union between states, that is not based on perfect equality as to rights, duties, and obligations. When this equality is destroyed, the cement is gone, and they can only be kept together by force. Thus we fall back on the old system of cold-steel government, and bayonets become the arbiters of the rights of states. A confederation of states without equal rights is a body without a soul. It may be a German, but it is not an American confederation.

Let any reflecting man scan the proceedings of Congress during the last and present sessions, and then, if he can, resist the conviction that the Union is in danger Does it talk, or act like a body of representatives of states confederated for the purposes of mutual defence or of mutual aggression? Does it seem to have come together to devise measures for the benefit of the whole, or for inflicting wrong on one portion without even the pretext of conferring benefits on the other? Does it not, on the contrary, look and talk and act more like a Congress of belligerents met together to overreach or overawe each other—one party intent only on taking advantage of the weakness of its adversary, the other to make the best terms it can? Do we not every day see the members of one party threatening, insulting and calumniating the South, and those of the South either retorting with bitter severity, or looks of stern, determined defiance? Do we believe the people of the United States are not men, partaking in the universal characteristics of mankind, in all ages and nations; or that they are not influenced by the same feelings and passions? Or do we flatter ourselves that wormwood and vinegar will cement the Union? The next thing will be to cry out "All's well," when the house is on fire, and the rafters crackling over our heads.

That we have hitherto steered clear of disunion, is owing to the good fortune of our previous causes of dissension, with the exception of the tariff, not having been sectional. The conflicting interests were diffused, not concentrated, and the North was divided as well as the South. But the abolition excitement is exclusively sectional; it is a war against rights and interests peculiar to one-half the states of the Union, and in which they are cemented together by one common bond of mutual safety. Here lies the danger, and on this rock we are in danger of splitting, not perhaps by being cast away by a sudden tempest, but by floating imperceptibly with the current, while the captain is smoking his pipe, and the pilot asleep, until at length the vessel strikes, and all is over. If we weather the storm now raging, there will be no calm, no repose, while the abolitionists continue to exercise political and religious influence. The South will be forced into the duty of perpetual jealousy, perpetual vigilance, and perpetual opposition, until a total alienation takes place, and as the Spanish proverb says, "the cord will break at last with the weakest pull."

THE DOOM OF NAPOLEON.

The forcible detention, banishment and perpetual imprisonment of Napoleón, were acts which must ever interest mankind. The precedent, whether right or wrong, is one of the utmost importance, and will not fail to be cited either for condemnation or justification in the future history of the world.

That the greatest soldier and statesman yet seen, the man who as such committed but few real wrongs, whose devotion to the interests of his country, was firm and conscientious, who, by his genius, was for years the practical master of Continental Europe, should end his days the slave of hostile sovereigns, dependant upon their will for the continuance of a life which had been so renowned, is a fact without example; one in reference to which the principles of public law cannot be too carefully scanned. For, if in them it finds no vindication, it can be defended only on the ground of superior force—a rule which makes wars perpetual, scoffs at pity, and depopulates the earth. And to justify it upon the ground of necessity, is to declare that the interests or the ambition of one nation may be paramount to justice; that such nation is not subject to the law which binds other nations; that its enemies may be lawfully enslaved or exterminated, and that *it* may make, expound and execute that law—applying it as well to past as to future transactions.

The passions which forty years ago entered into the discussion of this subject, do not agitate the present generation, whose judgment for this reason is much more worthy of respect than that of their fathers, and who can treat it,—not certainly with indifference,—but with a much surer hope of influencing the opinions and conduct of posterity. In saying a word upon it, we do not propose to weary the reader by an analysis of those great political facts which agitated the civilized world from 1789 down to 1814—the year of Napoleon's abdication at Fontainebleau—but to confine ourselves to such as have an immediate and legal connection with his seizure and confinement;—first referring to the rules of war relative to the caption and treatment of prisoners, established by the usage and acquiescence of nations.

In contemplation of law, Napoleon, on going on board the British vessel which conducted him to England, must have been a free person, a prisoner of war, or a pirate (*hostis humani generis;*) and the notion that he might be dealt with as a freebooter was for a time not without its advocates in England. Lord Liverpool, a member of the Cabinet, seemed much influenced in its favor by the arguments urged by the Master of the Rolls, Sir William Grant. The idea was moreover directly and terribly sanctioned by the declaration of the allied powers, signed at Vienna on the 13th of March, 1815, in which those virtuous moralists assert, that "Napoleon, in appearing again in France with projects of trouble and subversion, has *deprived* himself of the protection of the laws, and has manifested in the face of the world that there can be *neither peace nor truce with him.* The powers declare in consequence, that *Napoleon Bonaparte is out of the pale of civil and social relations, and that as an enemy*

and a disturber of the world, he is delivered up to PUBLIC VENGEANCE!"*—a declaration which manifestly treats him as a felon, an enemy of all mankind, and a fit subject for assassination, without trial or further judgment.† The governments who were parties to this invitation to the whole world to commit murder, for it can be truly characterized by no other epithet, represented a larger portion of the people of the earth than ever concurred in establishing any of the acknowledged laws of nations; and it is not surprising, therefore, that the judgment of many an honest mind, especially if influenced by party zeal, should adopt both the principle and the fact asserted in that sanguinary document, which, had it been leveled at the head of any infidel or barbarous nation by any one of the Christian powers, would, we venture to say, have met with general execration. Nor was this declaration a mere ruse, employed by its authors to terrify the vulgar from aiding its hated object. It announced a serious purpose to put him to death—a consummation urged by Wellington himself, in his despatches from Paris, addressed to the privy council, in which that unfeeling man, then commander-in-chief of the allied army in the occupation of the French Capital, advises his government to deliver up the illustrious soldier, whom by means of foreign aid and domestic treasons he had at length overthrown, to Louis XVIII., to be tried by a court-martial, and shot.‡ Nor did the events of the hundred days alone suggest this horrid idea. It seems to have been of an earlier date, for we are told § that a similar menace was made in 1814, when the allies entered Paris.

But the idea of considering the actual sovereign of France, the commander of all its military forces, amounting at the commencement of the Waterloo campaign to an effective of 560,000 men—the man who controlled its immense treasures, and conducted its whole civil and military administration—as a *freebooter*, was ridiculous and puerile. The Master of the Rolls and Lord Liverpool, who seemed to treat the subject as if, having been duly feed, they were prosecuting some poor caitiff for poaching, received the well-merited rebuke of Lord-Chancellor Eldon: "When," says that eminent jurist, in answer to the proposition, "men of eminence talk, and sometimes judge, so quickly, their conduct imposes great hardship upon such a dull, slow, plodding, deliberating dog as I am." And it was at length determined, doubtless upon the arguments of Lord Eldon himself, that Napoleon was to be considered a *prisoner of war*. This conclusion has been generally adopted by British writers.

We now propose to review this conclusion. Suppose, then, that

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* Scott, in an ingenious, but untrue paraphrase, has greatly villified the piratical audacity of the language; and even Alison feels compelled to write *public justice* instead of "*public vengeance*," which is the true reading. Scott attempts to apply the forfeiture to Napoleon's mere "*political*" rights, forgetting that he is also put out of the "pale of social relations." Alison, as much as he hates Napoleon and his memory, would not resort to such logical *romancing*.

† This ferocious and spiteful denunciation received the signature of the *Duke of Wellington* for Great Britain, *Prince Metternich* for Austria, *Talleyrand* for France, (which in five days after was in the actual government of Napoleon, by the consent of the nation, and the self-expatriation of its king.) *Prince Hardenberg* for Prussia, *Count Nesselrode* for Russia, and by the envoys of Spain, Portugal and Sweden.

‡ Count Montholon, Hist. Captiv. Nap., vol. i., ch. 4, p. 42.

§ Mem. Empress Josephine, vol. ii., ch. 13.

Napoleon was a prisoner of war in the hands of the English, was his detention a lawful act? A prisoner of war can become such only in two ways, either by a direct seizure of his person by the enemy, who has overcome his resistance, or by a voluntary surrender of his person, either of his own accord, or in obedience to the command of his superior, with a view to be treated according to the rules of war; and of course the relation of prisoner and captor can only exist in a lawful war out of which it grows, and by the rules of which it must be determined. Capture and detention are made necessary by violence or resistance, which of course constitute the boundaries of the necessity. When, therefore, the violence has been determined by a peace between the parties to the war, the necessity ceases, and the rights of the captive to his freedom revives. Such is the law and the practice of Christian nations.* The right of perpetual detention is but another name for the right of reducing prisoners to servitude—a right long since renounced—we should rather say never exercised by Christian nations. If there be any difference between the two conditions, it is not in principle, but only in degree; for, if under pretence of necessity, the captive may be perpetually detained from his country and his family, the same pretence will justify his close confinement or employment at hard labor. In each condition the victim is deprived of his liberty, which is the main consideration.

Prisoners of war may certainly be punished by the government whose captives they are, for crimes deserving death, such as murder or robbing; for the general sense of mankind and the necessities of civil society demand it. But the practice of putting to death prisoners of war early received the reprobation of civilized man. Tacitus expressed the sentiment of enlightened Rome, when he uttered that terrible rebuke, "*Trucidare deditos, sævum.*" Sallust utters the same sentiment when he condemns Marius for putting men to death in his wars against the Campanians, adding that it was against the laws of war, because they were killed not by the right of war in battle, but after they had become *suppliants.*

Livy also says, that killing by the laws of war is exercised only against those who are armed, and who make resistance, and condemns a general "*qui deditis contra jus et fas bellum intulisset.*" "In every circumstance," says Vattel,† "when I cannot innocently take away my prisoner's life, I have no right to make him a slave. If I spare his life, and condemn him to a state so contrary to the nature of man, I still continue with him a state of war. He lies under no obligation to me; for what is life worth without freedom? If any one counts life a favor, when the grant of it is attended with chains, let him enjoy it—let him accept the kindness, submit to its conditions, and fulfil his duties. But they are not what I shall teach them to be. * * * Indeed this disgrace of mankind is happily extinct in Europe."

In equally energetic language does Grotius, though writing at a much earlier period, condemn the same pratice. Speaking of the practice which during barbarous ages had prevailed to some extent, of putting captives to death, and of reducing them to slavery, he says: "For Christian nations are or ought to be better instructed by the Great Teacher of charity than to refrain from putting wretched captives to death, only upon con-

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* Vattel, B. 3, ch. 8, sec. 151. † Vattel, B. 3, ch. 8, sec. 152.

dition of being permitted to exercise a less degree of cruelty towards them. * * * And this mitigation at least, however inconsiderable it may be, has been effected by a respect for the Christian law; a principle which, when its observance among the nations of Greece was urged by Socrates, was not listened to by them."

Gregory, who wrote about the year 1260, affirms that "this humane mode of treating prisoners among Christian nations, had descended from early times, unchanged, prevailing not only among the Greeks within the limits of the Roman empire, and the Thessalians, but also among the Illyrians, the Tribellians and the Bulgarians, owing to the identity of their religion, to wit, that it is lawful to treat property as the spoils of war, but not to treat men as prisoners, nor to put them to death after the war has ceased." Grevonius declares that "among Christian nations the reason had entirely ceased to operate, which had formerly induced captors to spare the lives of their prisoners, merely with a view to profit by their services."

It is well known that the practice of enslaving captives was universal among the Huns, the Goths, the Franks, and other barbarians, who carried into captivity, and reduced to perpetual bondage, multitudes, not only of other barbarians, but of Roman citizens. The practice even yet exists among barbarous nations, and as examples it is sufficient to mention the native tribes of Africa and North America. Among Christian nations, however, it is not admitted, whether the captive be Christian or Pagan, Jew or Mohammedan; and in wars between Mohammedans, it is equally forbidden.

To assert, therefore, that perpetual confinement can lawfully be inflicted upon a prisoner of war, as such, is to resort to a plea allowed only by barbarians, and in conditions of human society which it is the aim of a more enlightened morality and a higher civilization absolutely to shun. It is an open and deliberate contempt of one of the most important and salutary principles of the law of nations, of that code which has been established by the *moral power* of enlightened mind throughout Christendom, founded upon the universal sense of justice, and inspired by the hope of elevating the condition of man as a social being. Had the victim in this case been some obscure person, or had his doom been pronounced by a single government without the sanction of others, the precedent would have been in a degree disarmed of its dangers, and humanity might expect it to pass into oblivion. But its direct sanction by all the powers of Christendom, except the American Republic—its application to the most illustrious man of the age, whose guilt consisted solely in being the untitled head and regulator of the great movement toward civil freedom on the continent of Europe—the prophet of a higher civilization—invests it with warnings and dangers in reference to modern improvements, which may well engage the attention of the philanthropist and the statesman.

But the claim to treat him as a prisoner of war, which, as we have seen, implies a right in him to be restored to his country, on the conclusion of the war, is completely negatived by the language of the allies in their declaration above quoted. The right to make or be at war, implies a right to make peace; and both rights are absolutely inseparable from the idea of a free man and an independent nation. But in that document he is foreclosed from the right of entering into any agreement to

make peace; he is not recognized as competent to contract it, and thus to terminate the relation of a belligerent. He is outlawed; there can be "neither peace nor truce with him;" he is placed "out of the pale of social relations," and delivered over to "public vengeance." Nothing but death or perpetual confinement is left him. The laws of nations and of war are renounced in advance; no right but force is recognized; no other trial is permitted; no mediation but that of the bayonet, the poisoned cup, the dagger, or the dungeon is left. Unconditional submission or death, and even unconditional submission and death is the decree against him. Great Britain by her representatives had uttered and joined in that decree.

To speak of an individual lying under such an anathema as a *prisoner of war*, is not only an abuse of terms, but a mockery. If he was all that England had proclaimed him to be, he did not possess a single attribute of a prisoner of war. He had neither country, family, friends, rights, nor capacity. For him to exercise even the right of self-defence, was but an aggravation of the crimes of which he was thus adjudged to be guilty. He might not rightfully under that decree draw his sword to repel the assassin, or intercept the impending blow. He was a felon, standing on the fatal *drop*, with the halter around his neck. He was already banished, not to St. Helena, but beyond the reach and beyond the lawfulness of human sympathy—

> Where peace
> And rest can never come, hope never comes,
> That comes to all.

And this, notwithstanding the same Christian powers had only a year before treated with him as the Emperor of the French, at Chatillon; notwithstanding they had voluntarily stipulated that he should remain a free man and an independent sovereign by their treaty with him at Fontainebleau, by which he abdicated the throne of France, and retired to the island of Elba. Besides, this declaration was made, if Scott is to be believed, eight days *before* Napoleon had issued a single proclamation; on the very day he had generously sent the king's brother, the Duke D'Angouleme, an escort at Lyons, to enable him to escape from Napoleon's friends, and rejoin the royal family. Not a drop of blood had been spilt, not a blow struck or even threatened by Napoleon, when that declaration, worthy only of a savage nation, was put forth.

And this view is fully corroborated by the conduct of the allies. Although firmly seated on the imperial throne in the unresisted possession and exercise of the sovereignty of France, by the consent not only of the army, but of the masses of the people, they utterly refused to recognize him as a belligerent, by denying to him the right exercised by the meanest and the most barbarous powers. They refused to listen to what he had to say. The couriers he sent were not permitted to reach their destination;* his letters to those sovereigns announcing his acquiesence in the treaty of Paris, of 1814, were never answered.† What then was their object? The answer is too plain to admit of a cavil; an internecine war against Napoleon Bonaparte, not to be conducted according to the known rules of war, but by the rules applicable to a convicted, sentenced, escaped felon, upon whose head a price has been set.

* Caulincourt, Nap. and his Times, vol. ii., chap. 8 † Scott. vol. ii., ch. 44.

To justify this, he must have been actually and indubitably guilty of some great atrocity—some deed utterly incompatible with the safety of human society, and of human life; and this must have been committed against those who were interested in his punishment—the allied sovereigns—or those whom they were bound to protect.

This cannot be alleged against Napoleon. He had committed no crime whatever. He had left the isle of Elba in his own vessel, and landed in France, as he might as lawfully do as a man may visit his neighbor. He was a free man, and a sovereign, with the same right of locomotion by sea and land as was possessed by the Prince Regent, or the Emperors Francis and Alexander. He was not even guilty of a breach of the treaty of Fontainebleau, or any other treaty. It is true, that by that treaty between himself, as Emperor of the French, and the sovereigns of Austria, Prussia and Russia, (France being represented by him alone,) he had "renounced for himself, his successor and descendants, as well as for all the members of his family, all rights of sovereignty and dominion, as well to the French Empire and the Kingdom of Italy as every other country." Yet he himself and his Empress are declared by the same instrument to retain their titles and rank, "to be enjoyed during their lives;" and which further declared and stipulated that "the island of Elba, adopted by his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, as the place of his future residence, shall form, during his life, a separate principality, which shall be possessed by him in full sovereignty and property; and that there shall besides be granted in full property to the Emperor Napoleon, an annual revenue of two million of francs, in rentes charge, in the great book of France, of which one million shall be in reversion to the empress." It also grants 2,500,000 francs to him and his family; 2,000,000 of francs were particularly set apart to be applied in gratifications to such friends as he should designate. The debts of his household were to be immediately paid by France, and sundry other engagements were entered into by the parties to the indenture. And then it is expressly declared, that "the high allied powers *guarantee* the execution of all the articles of the present treaty,"* and engage to obtain that it shall be adopted and guaranteed by France. The smallness of these dominions, the inappropriateness of the titles, and his manifest constraint in agreeing to these terms, can make no difference in the question of right which we are discussing. We have heard of mighty monarchs treating with far less powerful personages than Napoleon then was. The treaty gave him rights as a sovereign; under it he might make war and peace, coin money, enter into alliances, and do any act which any other sovereign prince might do. Alexander, Emperor of all the Russias, King of Poland, was not a more independent sovereign than he; and the English fleet under Neil Campbell, that lurked about the island, was but acting the part of a spy upon him; an act just as insulting and dishonorble as if Napoleon had employed similar means to watch the Prince Regent, the Emperor of Russia, or the King of Prussia, for the purpose of preventing them from joining in the great pageant of crowned heads and countries at London, in June, 1814. Napoleon, like any other sov-

* See the treaty at large in the London Ann. Reg. for 1814, p. 400.

ereign, had a right, (we say nothing of the expediency of his exercising it in this case—that does not touch the question;) he had a right to redress his own wrongs, and to be the sole judge of the mode and manner of redress. Contrary to the treaty, the French government had not paid the money which it was bound to pay him, nor the debts due from his household, nor the pensions due to the members of his family. These defaults were glaring—the world knew them; the allies—the guarantors—neglected to supply them, or to cause France to do so. These obligations were all positive, constituting the whole of the considerations which passed to him for surrendering the crown, and forming very clearly the condition upon which he was bound to keep that important covenant. By violating these stipulations, they released him from their further performance, and put themselves in the wrong. The breach of treaty was therefore clearly on the side of the allies; and being guilty of it, the language they use about his breaking the treaty is but mere cant. When sentence of outlawry is to be passed between equals, it would seem to be prudent that it should be quite clear which has the right to pronounce it. How should he enforce this treaty? It is true, he ought *to* have *demanded* redress before making war upon Louis, provided the conduct of that king had not been such as to raise a strong presumption that the demand would be refused. We shall hereafter show that both the presumption and the resolution existed. But suppose he had met with a downright refusal: what then? Should he have instituted a *suit at law* for damages? That mode of remedy was not only impossible but ridiculous. And it should be observed that the parties to this treaty do not conclude a peace; the usual clause on such occasions is omitted, whether with a view on the part of the allies the more readily to hit upon an excuse for seizing him and sending him into exile, or of keeping him under perpetual surveillance, is not positively known. The very omission, however, proved the treaty to be but a truce; a fact fully corroborated by the discussions of the Congress of Vienna, who had it in serious contemplation to violate his sanctuary and remove him to St. Helena, a scheme thwarted solely by Alexander of Russia, whose personal honor forbade it. But by whomsoever introduced, the bare introduction of such a proposal was a virtual declaration of war.* The Duke D'Artois also attempted to employ an assassin to despatch him while at Elba.† This last was obviously the easiest way of getting rid of him, and had been before attempted by the royal family, aided by British gold. Indeed, he had no reason to believe that he would be left in quietude on that island. The next *emeute* at Paris, however indifferent he might be to it, would have afforded a ready pretext for seizing him as a dangerous person. It was manifest enough, that in his present situation he would not be permitted to remain at peace, and that it was never the intention of the allies, or of the King of France, to fulfil the treaty of Fontainebleau.

The King regarded Napoleon as a rebel, the republican, the directional, the consular, the imperial and the provisional governments which had succeeded each other since 1793, (the date of the death of Louis

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* O'Meara, 2, 184. Alison, chap. 72, and authorities there cited.
† Count Montholon's Memoir, vol. iii., ch. 5.

XVI.) as insurrectionary and illegitimate, dating his first decree (in 1814) in the nineteenth year of his reign, which would have made it commence in 1795, on the death of the dauphin in the Temple, (*June 8th*, 1795.*) What was the implication from conduct like this? Plainly, that every thing should be undone which had been done by the revolution. It denied the legal existence of the Republic and of the Empire; it promised the restoration of all the national property which the revolution had taken from disaffected persons and sold to patriots; of all bishoprics which in 1801 had been suppressed by the treaty (Concordat) with the Pope, thus opening the door for swarms of ecclesiastics to pervade the country, and make the Gallican Church still more dependant upon Rome. The property of all emigrants (runaways) was to be restored, and thus the uncounted millions which had paid and fed the armies of France in her long struggle against legitimacy and tyranny, were to be wrested from innocent hands and given back to the old oppressors—the noblesse and the clergy—in order to re-build the feudal system. It promised rewards to all who adhered to the royal cause, in whatever capacity they had acted, public or private, honest or criminal, for twenty-two years; it menaced with the death of a traitor, every officer who had fought against the King's troops in Vendee and on the Northern frontier; every one who co-operated to put down the conspiracies of Dumourier, Pichegru and Georges Cadoudal, and certainly all those who were concerned in the trial and execution of the King's kinsman, the Duke D'Enghien; it set at naught the will of the nation, and affected to render utterly void the vote of the French people which elected Napoleon Emperor, and gave him the title he then wore; and it cast open scorn and contempt upon the august ceremony by which the head of the Catholic faith had consecrated that election in the act of coronation. It was a direct insult to the sovereignty of the nation and the sovereignty of God, so far as those sovereignties were expressed by those acts; it was indeed a direct abnegation of the obligations of the treaty itself, by which Louis arrived at the crown; for he could not recognize the existence of such a treaty while he claimed to have been the lawful sovereign of France for the past nineteen years; nor could he have paid the stipulated amounts to Napoleon without belying that pretension. That simple pretension, however paltry and impossible it appears, was in fact a declaration that he intended not to fulfil the very treaty which was his stepping-stone to the throne; a declaration that he would not respect even the pledges of his allies, whose bayonets had opened to him the palace of his fathers; that he would not give to Napoleon and his family either their money or their titles of honor—agreed upon in that illusory treaty. It was declaring the whole revolution to be a mere rebellion; all purchasers of the national property to be the receivers of stolen goods; all the glorious deeds of Napoleon to be felonies and breaches of the public peace, and converting the imperial orders into the bawbles of successful freebooters. It was a war upon all that new France had acted and said—a war alike against justice and against glory, of darkness against light, of the mouldy, effete past against the present and the future. Who but Napoleon could meet it? He did meet it, and but for the intervention of the eternal enemy of

* Count Montholon's Memoirs, vol. iii., ch. 2.

justice among nations, *money*, he would have rescued the present from the advancing past—and it would have been still the present; and humanity would have rejoiced. It follows as a direct consequence, that he did not feel bound to respect Napoleon's retreat; and that, according to his view of the subject, he might justly have seized him at any time, tried him for treason, and executed him without any violation of law—"as he understood it." That he would have done so, is surely as probable as that he should have kept assassins in his pay at Paris, for the purpose of murdering him while he was First Consul; or that he should, in open and shameless defiance of the terms of the capitulation of Paris in 1815, have tried and executed Marshal Ney,—an act which so miserable a personage as Louis XVIII. was incapable of expiating, had he possessed the endurance of a Prometheus.

Again; Napoleon was a husband and a father; as such, he had a natural right to the possession and society of his wife and son. They were forcibly detained from him by Austria. What imaginable right had the Austrian Monarch, although her father, and the child's grandfather, to withhold from him the last consolation of misfortune—his wife and child? Had he not a right to control and direct the education of his son? Not a right that that son should not be brought up to hate and execrate that illustrious father? Not a right that he should be rendered capable of enjoying the inheritance of glory which he had won for him? Not a right that his own wife should not, by the artifices and lies of courtiers and deadly enemies, be seduced from her allegiance to him and his memory? What human injury could be greater? What man, in whose heart every feeling of manhood is not withered and dead, but would have made war—yea, war to the knife, in resistance of such an injury! And yet, we are sneeringly told by Walter Scott, that this would have been a sort of romantic "Trojan war." We imagine his tone would have been different had it been the case of a British Queen forcibly or fraudulently separated from her husband. British writers seldom see but one side of a question in which their government is concerned.*

Napoleon had, then, committed no flagrant crime and no breach of treaty. France, or rather the restored King and the allies, were justly chargeable with a breach of the treaty; Austria, with the crime of stealing his wife and child, and England with the scarcely less odious offence of acting the spy upon him.

In view of all these wrongs and insults he justly presumed that he was menaced with still graver evils, for no other cause than that he was a parvenue among sovereigns, and his system a new one—the danger was to his sagacious mind inevitable, and feeling it to be so, he acted only with his usual promptness in approaching and challenging it. He felt justified in taking the remedy into his own hands. The provocation was much more weighty than that which led Great Britain to break the peace of Amiens in 1803, and re-plunge Christendom in war; much more than that which called down Alexander from the North in 1805, and led him to swear eternal friendship with the King of Prussia, and eternal hatred to France, on the tomb of Frederick the Great; much more than that which led England to assault Spain, and seize her ships and

* Col. Napier and Wm. Hazlitt are eminent and noble exceptions.

money in the same year; much more than that which led England to turn pirate and steal the fleet of Denmark, and murder her unoffending citizens in 1807, while at peace with that power; much more than that which led Cæsar across the Rubicon, or Julian into Persia. In short, instead of presenting any peculiar atrocity on the part of Napoleon, the case is but a common one of injustice on the one side, and resentment on the other.

The conduct of both parties was wrong—of the King of France in breaking the treaty, and of Napoleon in too great precipitancy in enforcing the remedy. It was, however, an ordinary case of war between two sovereigns, where neither is entirely without fault.

To say that Napoleon was in the *habit* of violating his public engagements would, if true, be an utterly insufficient excuse for refusing him the benefit of the laws of nations in this case. He and his people of Elba were as much under the protection of those laws as the Prince Regent and the people of Britain; and British writers will hardly contend that in respect to England and her Prince, habitual disregard of treaties would form a just ground of excluding them from the protection of that sacred code. The proofs furnished by history in support of such a sentence of outlawry, would be much more numerous than at first might be imagined; and the period of time in question would be found to be by no means the least fruitful in them. Selfishness seldom construes its obligations with impartiality.

But if such was Napoleon's character, why enter into treaty with him at all? Why show such a nervous anxiety to treat with him at Chatillon while the war was raging, and while his success was as probable as that of the allies? Could the triumph of the latter transmute the character of the former, and make him who is to-day an honest man, a knave to-morrow? And was it honest or honorable to recognize no such condition as misfortune? What, upon such a savage principle, are national justice and national honor? What the fruits of war, but successful pride on the one hand, and slaughter and slavery on the other? By this rule the legitimate object of war becomes not redress merely, but aggrandizement and the forcible approximation of what belongs to another, for which there is a well-known name.

But what deep guilt had attached to Napoleon, that he should thus suddenly become disfranchized and amenable to public vengeance? We have shown that it was not incurred by his leaving Elba; for Louis was the first to violate the treaty, the first to affront France and Napoleon; and that it was necessary for the latter to leave the island with a view to his future security. Was it because he had fought bravely and obstinately during the campaigns of 1813 and 1814 in defence of France, and refused to pass under the "Caudine forks" presented to him by the allies, at Chatillon? Then Leonidas, Fabius, Alfred, William Tell and George Washington, were by the code of nations outlaws. Then it is not lawful, under any circumstances, to resist tyranny or repel invasion, unless you are the stronger. Then superior physical force gives a full and perfect right to the victor over the bodies and over the minds of the vanquished. Then there is not upon this earth any such thing as national right. Justice is an illusion, and civilization an artifice, by which to defraud the strong of their due. Was it because he had invaded Russia? He had certainly done so; but after the most distinct violation of treaty on the part of

Alexander? Was it because he had dethroned Charles IV. of Spain? But in this there was no pretence of breach of treaty; he only played out the game, successfully, which England had begun against the same wretched government two years before. And besides, this dethronement was by the consent of both the old king and his son, who were quarrelling about the crown—neither of whom had force of character and honesty enough to cause Spain to perform her engagements as an ally of France in the struggle with England. Was it because he had in vindication of the sanctity of treaties and the independence of France, beaten Austria and Prussia—and when in his power, had the weakness to spare the reigning dynasties? For we think it was a weakness. He should have better understood the gratitude of legitimate kings. Was it because not being able to strike England directly, owing to her superior naval strength, and the secret influence of her gold upon the continent, he had struck her in her most tenderest part—her pocket—excluding her commerce from the continent, and intending still to exclude it until she should consent to a commercial treaty as favorable to French industry as to English, and until she should recognize the equality of national rights upon the seas?

This we imagine was, after all, the *inexpiable crime* which interdicted him the rights of humanity. The pride and vanity of legitimacy under the specious idea of maintaining order, titles, feudalities, were enlisted on the side of British commercial interest; and thus legitimacy and trade became the triers and executioners of liberty and national independence. The work-shop and the feudal palace became the oracles of human right and political justice. Trade set up to be a teacher of morality and honor to nations. If the world has found her instructions sound and uniform, then is one of the strongest passions of our nature, and one the least submissive to the golden rule, the softest standard in ethics.

But it may be said—we should rather say repeated for the millionth time—that Napoleon was ambitious; that he aimed at universal dominion; that his talents were so great, inspiring and pervading, that the other nations of Europe were in danger of being merged in his empire, and the equipoise of political power in Europe of being destroyed.

It is certainly true that Napoleon was ambitious: nobody will, nobody can deny it, and nobody, whose opinion is of the least value, would wish to deny it. Is ambition a crime? What man has ever benefitted his race without ambition? But if he was wickedly ambitious, why did he restore their crowns to the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, when he had it in his power completely to destroy them, and to incorporate their dominions in the French Empire? So much moderation, after so much provocation as France had received from those two insolent powers, was incompatible with a mere wanton ambition. His ambition neither was nor could be understood by men into whose minds no other definition ever entered, but the desire to expand and strengthen the bands of legitimacy which had for centuries constrained and galled the hands of men. His ambition was in all its developments hopeful, conservative, creative, looking forward with prophetic and almost superhuman assurance to the amelioration of man's social condition, and his enfranchisement from the artificial inequalities created by and for the few. This hope he never abandoned; as a warrior in the midst of carnage; as a conqueror treading the halls of fugitive kings; as a law-giver in the

midst of learned counsellors; as an exile on his distant ocean-rock, tortured by the brutalities and fooleries of petty vulgar men, employed to torment him to death, he ever evinced the same confiding hope, the same philanthropy. From the teachings of what *legitimate* King did he draw that exalted, that soul-cheering inspiration? Alas, none!

But was no one but him ambitious? Who divided and appropriated Poland? Who had conquered whole nations, and by means of the sword then lorded it over myriads of unoffending feeble barbarians in India? Who wrested from France her continental empire in America? Who had stood since the days of Catherine II., looking with covetous eyes upon what that grasping monarch had left of the Ottoman Empire? Who had severed the House of Brandenburgh from the Germanic Empire, and framed out of it, and out of fragments of Poland, a new kingdom called Prussia, the first to attempt to strike down civil freedom and national independence in France? Surely if ambition were a crime mankind had waited long for the advent of the avenger. And it is impossible to conceive how any change of masters could make the condition of the people of Europe worse. It was impossible that ambition could injure any class of persons but legitimate kings, and France had absolutely abjured that interest. There is no reason to believe she ever would have favored it had not the continued bloody intervention of the legitimatists created an excuse and a necessity for a dictatorial authority.

But was Pitt, the "pilot who weathered the storm," by throwing the *treasure* overboard, destitute of ambition? Was Alexander perfectly free from that charge, when, at Tilsit, he projected the conquest of Turkey and of India; and when he advised Napoleon to put to death the Spanish princes?* And with what peculiar humility must Austria have been afflicted when she gave away the "daughter of the Cæsars" in marriage to this same man, whom five years afterwards she denounced as an outlaw, beyond the pale of social relations?

But it is useless to particularize the different excuses which have been urged for putting down and enslaving the great man. The real reason was, that he had, since he entered upon public life, successfully baffled all the conspiracies, interventions and coalitions of legitimatists against popular liberty and the independence of France; that he had fought them perseveringly, and vanquished them almost uniformly, with the tongue and pen, as well as the sword; that he was as formidable in diplomacy as in war, in persuasion as in command; and that he never would consent that the true interests of his country and his friends should be treated as a whit beneath those of any other people on earth, whatever might be the bullying, the browbeating, the threatening or the thundering of England. If these traits were false, then is the vocation of the true statesman not that of the honest man.

The battle of Waterloo was fought; the treason of Fouché, the fallen

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* This inhuman advice was given at Erfurt. "Ferdinand," said he, "is but one man, and he will cost your majesty 300,000 men, and 300 millions of money. His death will settle the Spanish question. If you allow him to live you will create for yourself difficulties, the consequences of which will be serious. You cannot hesitate when your own interest, and those of France are at stake. Your ideas are a little antiquated. *Hereditary right is one of the abuses of sovereignty.*"—*Count Montholon* vol. iii., ch. 8.

angel of the sons of liberty, the defection of Bourmont, and the unexplained absence and manifest hesitancy of Marshal Grouchy, turned the fortunes of the day against Napoleon, who never displayed more professional talent. He was completely beaten, in fair though unequal combat; but *not taken.* He returned to his Capitol, and finding that treason, disaffection (which on this occasion tarnished the name of Lafayette) and universal distrust among those whose duty it was to defend the national cause, had rendered its defence impossible without fraternal bloodshed, he, on the 22d of June, 1815, voluntarily announced to the world, that his "*political life had ended,*" and "proclaimed his son Emperor of the French, under the title of Napoleon II." The legislative bodies immediately proclaimed Napoleon II., and appointed a provisional government, consisting of seven persons, amongst whom was Fouché. All was confusion and terror; the legislative bodies terrified by the approach of Blucher and Wellington, or corrupted by treason, sent ambassadors to the allied armies, and arranged with Louis XVIII. for his return. On the 25th, Napoleon having thus abdicated, and his son being proclaimed, retired quietly and voluntarily to Malmaison; on the same day General Beker was appointed by the provisional government to the command of the Emperor's guard. On the 26th the same government passed a decree directing the Minister of Marine to provide two French frigates at Rochefort, to carry Napoleon to the United States; authorizing an escort to attend him to the place of embarkation, should he require it, under the command of General Beker, and *promising him safe conduct* to enable him to pass the English blockading squadron.* On the 27th General Beker is ordered by the same government to watch over the safety of his person,—to cause him to set out immediately for the Isle of Aix, (a small island on the coast, about fifteen miles from Rochefort, and a French naval station.) On the 29th he left Malmaison for Rochefort, under General Beker's escort, and arrived there on the 3d of July, on which day the allies entered Paris.

His object up to this time is distinct and indubitable,—to come to the United States; and he expected to accomplish it by the means promised him by his own government, the two French frigates, (the *Medusa and the Saale,*) and the *safe conduct,* which were of course to be procured from the Commanding Generals of the allies, or from the British Government. The frigates were found anchored at the island, but no safe conduct had arrived, although General Beker himself had, on the 28th of June, reminded the provisional government of the necessity of procuring them. On the 4th of July, while at Rochefort, he again urges them to persevere and forward them; informing them, that the English kept a strong blockading force in sight of the frigates; and stating, that the English interested in Napoleon's departure, could no longer refuse them, and that they (that is, Napoleon, his friends and the general) were in expectation that Mr. Otto would obtain them, and arrive with them.† This was the language of an agent of this government, eight days after they had been solemnly promised. By his confession Napoleon EXPECTED the safe conducts to arrive; he had left Paris on the faith of receiving them, and thus being enabled to pass the English squadron for America, whither the two

* Las Cases, vol. i., p. 14. † Count Montholon, vol. i., ch. 3.

frigates had received sailing orders to conduct him. The provisional government, as we are informed by Scott,* had sent Commissioners to the Duke of Wellington, to request passports for Napoleon to the States of America. We are further told, that "*the duke had no instructions from his government to grant them;* and that the Prussian. and English generals alike declined all overtures made for the establishment or acknowledgment either of the present provisional administration, or any plan which they endeavor to suggest, *short of the restoration of the Bourbons to the seat of government.*" Here, then, was a direct refusal of the passports by Wellington, after he knew that Napoleon had abdicated, and on the promise of them was proceeding to America. The excuse he gave was as hollow as it was cold. It implies, that he had no authority to grant them; whereas, such authority is one of the well known attributes of a Commanding-General. Vattel says, "a general of the army, from the very nature of his post, can grant safe conducts; and as they are derived, though mediately from the sovereign authority, the other generals or officers of the same prince are to respect them."† That he fully possessed the power, is, of course, not to be denied; to refuse to exercise it was merely carrying out the bloody instruction announced in the declaration of the 13th of March. And Fouché's neglect to inform Napoleon of this refusal, is strong evidence that he himself was acting in the interest of the allies, with the deliberate design of betraying his sovereign and benefactor into the hands of the English. The evidence makes this presumption all but irresistible;—we find him, on the 27th of June, directing General Beker, "not to separate himself from the person of Napoleon, while the latter should remain in the roads of Aix," and that *Napoleon* "*should not leave the roads of Aix until the arrival of his passports,*" (safe conducts.)‡ On the 4th of July we find the Secretary of the provisional government, doubtless, by direction of Fouché, who was its president, writing to General Beker, authorizing him to employ the military force at Rochelle and Rochefort (only about ten miles apart) for the purpose of executing the orders which had been given him; which were to put Napoleon on board a ship. On the same day Fouché himself writes to General Beker, to cause him to "embark without delay," and to *take means* to that end. On the 6th, the provisional government informs the Maritime Prefect, at Rochefort, that it is "of the utmost importance that Napoleon should *leave the soil of France as quickly* as possible;" and that it is "indispensable he should *not disembark on the French territory.*"§

The point of all these instructions is, that Napoleon was to be removed from the French soil, on shipboard, and not *permitted to return.*

As early as the 29th of June, the English blockading force near Rochefort had been *doubled*, and this circumstance is stated in General Beker's despatch to the government, of July the 2d. How could it so *seasonably* become known to the British naval officers on the coast, that Napoleon would be at Rochefort? The decree giving him the two frigates and promising him the safe conduct was, as we have seen, dated the 26th of June. Three days were entirely insufficient for the

* Vol. ii., ch. 40. † Book III., ch. 17, § 366.
‡ Las Cases, vol. i., pp. 14,15.
§ See Count Montholon, vol. i., ch. 3, for copies of these letters.

news of this decree to reach the channel, and enable such a reinforcement to collect before Rochefort. The plan therefore of sending him to that port must have been the joint work of Fouché and the allies, merely to enable the English squadron to catch him at sea and capture him; as the frigates were not to sail without the passports, it follows plainly enough that England was availing herself of the knavery of this unprincipled wretch, Fouché, to pass a noose around the neck of her great adversary, when he least suspected it. That such was Fouché's purpose is sufficiently evidenced by the fact that, although Napoleon and his suite had remained at Rochefort and the isle of Aix for twelve days before going on board the Bellerophon, and nineteen days had elapsed since the safe conducts were promised by the decree, and probably a full fortnight after their refusal by Wellington, no explanation was given by any one why they were not procured, nor any assurance even that they had been applied for. Such baseness has no parallel, save in that of Judas Iscariot. It was Satanic. The blush of shame must mantle the cheek of every Englishman when he reflects that his country and his country's "*hero*" claimed to profit by it! claimed to have made a prisoner of war by such means!

But was he in point of fact a prisoner of war?

Had he, at any moment from the time he issued his first proclamation in France, menacing hostilities to Louis, down to the time of his abdication at Paris, been captured by the latter, or by his allies, (if he had allies, which even the Lord Chancellor Eldon does not admit,) or by the authors of the proclamation of the 13th of March, his legal condition would undoubtedly have been that of a prisoner of war.

Grotius defines a prisoner of war to be "one whom the enemy has taken from us and led away (*per duxerunt*) within his own posts, (*præsidia*,) for before he is thus brought within the enemy's posts, he remains a citizen;" and in this department of the law of nations "the rule, he says, is the same both as to men and things."

But by the abdication of June the 22d, he voluntarily divested himself of all political power. He was no longer the Emperor of the French, nor of Elba; he no longer had a soldier whose services he could command; the allegiance of all his former subjects and their duties to him were transferred to his son Napoleon II. He became a mere *private person*, the subject of Napoleon II., and so remained until the government of France passed, *de facto*, into the hands of Louis; this was sixteen days, from June 22d to July 8th, on which last mentioned day Napoleon was at Rochefort, and on the evening of which day he went on board the French frigate, the *Saale*, from which he disembarked on the isle of Aix on the morning of the 9th, accompanied by his followers and by General Beker.

Such was plainly the effect of the abdication. It made Napoleon a French subject; it did not re-constitute him Emperor of Elba, but was in the legal sense the act by which he ceased to be such, as well as Emperor of the French. It terminated both capacities as well as every other public function belonging to him. How, it may be asked, did he become a French subject? The answer is plain: he was born such. His natural allegiance to France was as perfect at his death as at his birth, although his acceptance of the sovereignty of Elba suspended that allegiance. And had France at any future period needed his services in

defending her against her enemies, he might, according to the doctrines of English law, as expounded by Lord-Chancellor Eldon, have been lawfully demanded by his country for that purpose; and a refusal by England would have been a just cause of war. England suffers not *her* subjects to become denationalized; and the Roman rule which declared a Roman who had been captured denationalized, has never prevailed in modern times.

He was a French subject, not in arms against the then existing government of France, but under the protection promised of that government, seeking to leave that country and emigrate to this. That government was then in correspondence with the allies, his enemies, with a view to the re-establishment of Louis upon the throne, for which purpose it was necessary to remove Napoleon. That the allies and Louis had full *notice* of the order for his safe removal, there is not the least doubt; and having such notice and co-operating with the provisional government to the same end—the restoration—they were bound in common honesty to allow Napoleon to proceed to America; because he was in the power of the French government, and not in that of the allies. At least they were bound, in case they dissented from this arrangement, immediately to make known that dissent, in order that he might, should the war be continued against him, defend himself. They were especially bound to this upon every principle of honor and magnanimity, as he was but a private person, without any authority whatever, more than the humblest peasant in France; for that surely must have been a strange necessity which could justify concealment and stratagem on the part of the combined armies of Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Spain, Sweden, &c., in their war on a single individual, and that individual without a soldier, a ship, a fortress, a cannon, a musket, or a charge of powder, or any lawful power to require them! If to marshal this mighty host against him and overcome him while defending himself with his single sword in the open field, would not have filled the world with the renown of the conquerors, what must have been the glory of drawing him into an ambuscade, or falling upon him while sleeping securely under an assurance of safety? It was an act of the basest cowardice, worthy only of the highwayman or the midnight assassin, who kills for gain or revenge; and such must be the judgment of the world upon this strange proceeding.

But he was not in any sense a prisoner of war. Fortunately for his fame, fortunately for truth, the authentic facts of the case negative that pretence most fully. We are not to take the naked assertion of British writers on this head; if their government has committed an infraction of the laws of nations, they are interested in concealing it; they are partial and biased witnesses, and for that reason, which is even a sufficient one, they are not to be believed if contradicted by less prejudiced witnesses, or by circumstances which admit of no doubt. And why, we may enquire, are the statements of *British* witnesses to be credited any more than *French* witnesses? Who will undertake to say that veracity is less respected among the latter than among the former? Has the world found it so? No; in the general the world has found the reverse to be the case. Why should the declarations of Napoleon himself have less weight with us than the contrary statements of those who have, to say the least, an equal interest to speak falsely? But in

respect to veracity, no English statesman or historian stands better than he; with the exception of the artifice which, under the advice of Talleyrand, he employed for the dethronement of the King of Spain, all his transactions, public as well as private, evinced a man of the strictest probity. And it should also be remembered, that the circumstances of Europe have not even yet become favorable to an impartial and rigidly accurate account of his life and actions. Rulers and writers are still afraid of the effects it might produce. Who would venture, or rather who would be permitted, to tell the truth and the whole truth about him in England, Austria, Russia or Prussia?

[To be continued.]

NEW-YORK.

Here we have picked out from among a crowd of applicants for notice—"New-York As It Was,"* "New-York In Slices,"† "New-York By Gas-light,"‡ and a sermon on "Juvenile Depravity and Crime in the City."§ We took out these partly because they were light reading, and we were not in very good health—partly, because we had read one of them in the paper in which it originally appeared; therefore it would lessen our trouble now, for *we* always read a book through, from the "preface" to the "finis," when we mean to give our candid opinion on it; and partly because the subject would allow a discursive article which another subject would disclaim.

"New-York as it Was," is an Anniversary Address which was delivered before the St. Nicholas Society, at whose request it is published. It is a highly interesting discourse, being made up of the writer's reminiscences of this, our city, since his arrival with the "family caravan," in true patriarchal style, parents and children, man-servants and maid-servants, in the wake of the American army in the month of November, 1783, "close after the evacuation of the city by the British forces." For giving *his* recollections, and to clear himself from the charge of egotism and garrulity—a wise precaution, and worthy of imitation by writers in general, though not necessary in the present instance,—Mr. Duer, who is an LLD. like our-

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* New-York As It Was, during the latter portion of the last century. An Anniversary Address, delivered before the Saint Nicholas Society of the City of New-York, December 1st, 1848. By William Alexander Duer, LLD. New-York: Stanford & Swords, 137 Broadway. 1849.

† New-York in Slices, by an experienced carver. Revised, enlarged and corrected. New-York: W. H. Graham. 1849.

‡ New-York by Gas-light. By G. G. Foster, author of "New-York in Slices," &c. New-York: Dewitt & Davenport. 1850.

§ Juvenile Depravity and Crime in our City. A Sermon, by Thomas L. Harris, Minister of the Independent Christian Congregation, Broadway. New-York: Charles B. Horton, 11 Chambers-street. 1850.

selves, and we have a fellow-feeling for him in consequence—on receiving the invitation from the Society to address them, thus cogitated with himself:

"What shall I say to them? My predecessors have well-nigh exhausted all appropriate topics; the contemporary orators of the Historical Society have sounded the depths of our modern antiquities; and our own veracious historian, Dedrick Knickerbocker, has, in defiance of the dogmas of *Socialism*, monopolized the national domain of wit and humor. I have nothing left but to relate my personal and local experiences; plead the privilege of age in excuse for the egotism and garrulity into which the narrative may betray me, and rely for further justification on the Constitution of this Society, which declares one of its objects to be, 'to collect and preserve information respecting the history, settlement, manners, and *such other matters as may relate to the City of New-York.*'"

Landing at the "Old Albany Pier," and pursuing the way "upwards," his infant mind was confused at the "dismounted cannon lying under the walls of the Old Fort, or Upper Battery;" but was patriot enough to understand the meaning of a "triumphant glance" at the pedestal in the center of the Bowling Green, which had, previous to the landing of the troops under the Divine-Right-of-Kings' banner, supported a leaden statue of the third

"Of the fools and oppressors called George;"

but which, with the dawning spirit of go-aheadativeness since and now a characteristic of our people, was cast into bullets and returned in that "*un*questionable shape" to his said majesty's troops, on their landing. Testy Will Cobbett called this "King" "half rotten and mad;" many agree in calling him "imbecile," "crazy," and other kingly epithets; while all *humanity*, with much of that same ingredient, are clamorous in calling him a "fool," or to frenchify it for upper ten—*Un poisson d'Avril*—for no doubt he was born on April day, notwithstanding historians will say that foolish event occurred on some other day and month. To all this surmise, as far as we *know*, we can say that he was simply *bullet*-headed.

Honor be with the days when Pearl-street was the "court-end" of the town; and when Wall-street, ah! "whisper it not in Gath—tell it not in the streets of Askalon"—aye, when Wall-street was the "rival-seat of fashion," establishing and maintaining an exclusive claim, until out-bid by Park Place. Ah! poor Wall has lost its character since it went for 'Change, and did'nt come back with its trust. Glory to the revolutionary times. Wall-street had an honest name then, notwithstanding the tory "Verplancks, Marstons, Ludlams, Winthrops, and Whites," lived there. But then others came *in* immediately after the royal lamp went *out*, and here then "Dan McCormick kept his Batchelor's Hall," and members of Congress crowded into Mrs. Daubeney's fashionable boarding-house. Here, at the "corner of Pearl-street," "under Rivington of the Royal Gazette," Greenleaf, the republican printer,—and for which Greenleaf shall have no autumn in our memory—it shall be ever-green for him—"planted his batteries so as to command the stronghold of toryism." Lord! what a blessing it was to live in those days, when society was not rendered nervous by the quackery—the ordinary and *extra*ordinary—the morning, noon, and evening editional

quackery of the thousand doctors of the press; now dosing you into a fever-heat, and now chilling you below zero, and all about some phantasmagoria in the reporter's brain.

Well, to "New-York As It Was." The Hon. Mr. Duer takes us through the by-gone Gotham with much interest, and he gossips pleasantly, too, not to say instructively. "Crossing from Dover to Great Queen, since Pearl-street," says our guide, "and pursuing the course of the latter beyond its intersection with Chatham-street, and along that part of Pearl then called Magazine-street, we arrived at the '*Kolch*,' or Collect, or 'Fresh-water Pond.'" The city was supplied with water from this pond; and "its southern and eastern banks were lined with furnaces, potteries, breweries, tanneries, ropewalks, and other manufactories, all drawing their supplies of water from the pond." In winter it was the resort of the youth for skating; "and," says Mr. Duer, "no person who has not beheld it, can realize the scene it then exhibited, in contrast to that part of the city under which it now lies buried." Why we have taken the reader some way out of his way to this Kolch is, because

"Upon its bosoms were made some of the earliest experiments in steam navigation. Our worthy fellow-citizen, Anthony Lamb, recollects seeing on the Collect, as early as the year 1795, a boat with a screw propeller at the stern, driven by a steam engine; and other experiments are said to have beeen made there in the summer of 1796, or 1797, by John Fitch, the undoubted inventor of the art, with a common ship's yawl, into which he had placed a rude steam engine of his own construction, with paddle wheels at the sides of his boat. A person of the name of John Hutchings, now, or late of Williamsburgh, L. I., then a lad, states that he assisted Fitch in his experiments, and that Chancellor Livingston, and another person, whom he supposed, no doubt erroneously, to have been Mr. Fulton, were present on one occasion—and he understood from their conversation that Mr. Stevens, of Hoboken, and a Mr. Roosevelt, of this city, had some knowledge of the enterprise, and felt an interest in its success. A map of the Collect, as it then was, showing its relative position to the streets now covering its site, with drawings and descriptions of the boats, was not long since published by Hutchings, accompanied by an account of Fitch's experiments, and testimonials to his own character for truth. From all which it would seem, that in this case, as in many others, the original inventor failed of complete success, partly from being in advance of his age, but chiefly from want of means to defray the expenses incident to the prosecution of his experiments, and that the fruits of his genius and labor were reaped by his more fortunate and accomplished successor. Thus Fitch, like Columbus, deprived of support and overborne by prejudice, sank into poverty and neglect; while Fulton, like Americus Vespucius, was fostered by a wealthy patron who enabled him to pursue his experiments, with the aid of lights derived from his predecessor, and had the address to give his name to the discovery."

Fitch going to Europe in search of encouragement, died in France. His papers fell into the hands of the United States Consul, by whom they were delivered to Mr. Fulton. Many interesting notes accompany the above extract, which our space will not allow us to print. Here is an interesting sketch of the notorious Doctors' riot. What a subject? What a lump of spice the Astor Place massacre will be in some future anniversary discourse before the Historical, St. Nicholas, or other Society, for the collection of matter relating to the History of the City of New-York? It will have quite a dramatic effect amid the Wall-street incidents and Hague-street explosions of our day. Hearken to the Saw-bone's mob:—

"The public occurrence that made the earliest, if not the deepest impression upon my memory, was the famous '*Doctors' Mob*,' so called, not because the members of that grave faculty were *actors*, but because they were *sufferers* in that outbreak. It was, indeed, provoked by the reckless and wanton imprudence of some young surgeons at the Hospital, who from one of its upper windows exhibited the dissected arm of a *subject* to some boys who were at play on the green below. One of them, whose curiosity was thus excited, mounted upon a ladder used for some repairs, and as he reached the window, was told by one of the Doctors (Hicks) to look *at his mother's arm*. It happened unfortunately that the boy's mother had recently died, and the horror, which had now taken place of his curiosity, induced him to run to his father, who was at work as a mason, at a building in Broadway, with the information of what he had seen and heard. Upon receiving the intelligence, the father repaired to his wife's grave, and upon opening it, found that the body had been removed. He returned forthwith to the place where he had been at work, and informed his fellow-laborers of the circumstances; their indignation and horror at the relation were nearly equal to his own. Armed with the tools of their trade, they marched in a body to the Hospital, gathering recruits by the way in number amounting to a formidable mob. The Doctors in the meantime had taken the alarm, and decamped. The theatre of their operations, however, was ransacked, and several *subjects*, in various states of mutilation, were discovered. Driven to frenzy by the spectacle, the mob issued forth in pursuit of the Doctors, who, had they fallen into the hands of the enraged multitude, would speedily have been made *subjects* of themselves. They had the good fortune, however, to elude the search, though some of them escaped by the breadth of a hair. They took refuge in the gaol, and the militia were ordered out to protect them, and quell the riot. This was not effected without a specimen of civil war in the streets, which, had the mob been acquainted with the modern art of constructing barricades, might have proved more serious and of longer continuance. As it was, it lasted for three or four days, during which the city may be said to have been in a state of siege. Never shall I forget the charge I saw made upon a body of the rioters by Stake's light-horse. From our residence opposite St. Paul's, I first perceived the troop as it debouched from Fair, now Fulton-street, and attacked the masses collected at the entrance of the 'fields,' (now the Park,) whence they were soon scattered, some of them retreating into the church-yard,—driven sword in hand through the portico, by the troopers striking right and left with the backs of their sabres. The rioters had received a temporary check, but were by no means subdued. Apprised of the retreat of the Doctors, they rallied and advanced to attack the gaol; but the militia arrived there before them, and were drawn up to defend it, with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets. The Governor, the Mayor, the Recorder, and other city magistrates, were also on the ground, with many of the principal citizens, who repaired to the assistance of the civil authority. Some of them were severely wounded by missiles from the mob. Mr. Jay received a serious wound in the head. The Baron de Steuben was struck by a stone which knocked him down, inflicted a flesh wound upon his forehead, and wrought a sudden change in the compassionate feeling he had previously entertained towards the mob. At the moment of receiving it, he was earnestly remonstrating with the Governor against ordering the militia to fire on the people; but as soon as he was struck, the Baron's benevolence deserted him, and as he fell he lustily cried out, '*fire! Governor, fire!*'"

The procession in honor of the Federal Constitution is graphically detailed in Mr. Duer's discourse; also the grand, the important spectacle, the fact of which rung such a change upon the minds of men, and proved to the world the grand reality of self-government and the strength of republicanism—the inauguration of Washington! Our discourser was present:—

"When (says he) the illustrious Chief had kissed the book, the Chancellor, with a loud voice, proclaimed 'LONG LIVE GEORGE WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,' never shall I forget the thrilling effect of the thundering cheers which burst forth, as from one voice, peal after peal, from the assembled multitude. Nor was it the voices alone of the people that responded to the announcement; their hearts beat in unison with the echoes resounding through the distant streets, and many a tear stole down the rugged cheeks of the hardiest of the spectators as well I noted from my station in an upper window of the neighboring house of Colonel Hamilton."

This address is really interesting, and much of it is filled up with anecdotes and recollections of men of notoriety and fame, in the author's memory, from Washington's self down, through many happy windings of character, to *Romeo* Coates, and later than him too. Those anecdotes are well told, sometimes happily, and often with a clean stroke of wit. With one remark we leave it:—'Tis small, but what is in it is good.

Here we have the "Slicer"—or as we sometimes see him placarded, the "Original Slicer"—and why not? Does not the word "*original*" before Jim Crow Rice's name, and other amusing celebrities, point as with a finger of glory to the inventive genius of said persons for the introduction of some new school or system before the footlights, or behind the title page? We mean no disparagement to Mr. Foster when we introduce Mr. Jim Crow Rice in juxtaposition, for it is our candid opinion that the latter, in his *colored* capacity, has made the black population more popular, and their humor more appreciated, than the like efforts of the "Original Slicer" can ever accomplish for the whites. However, reader, don't take that as a criticism on his "Slices." Of the "four hundred thousand who live here somehow," Mr. Foster tells us there are "thirty thousand women and young girls, who work ten, twelve, fourteen hours a day," for that which, with economy, covers them with rags, and half starves them—ten thousand prostitutes, "foul," "loathsome," "blasphemous," and "obscure"—and "fifty thousand men morally as guilty as those ten thousand women." He soliloquizes thus over the "broken hearts, broken faith, broken vows, and violated honor" of the so-called "refined" and "fashionable" class of society: "Yes," says he—

"Yes—not the beggar's den nor the murderer's cell could vomit forth ghastlier agonies than stalk through the magnificent saloons, and hide behind the silken curtains where gather Fashion's sparkling throng."

Leaving "this false magnificence," and its "dire realities," he leads us "to the right, or left—for it is the same for our purpose"—to take a glimpse at the "poverty, misery, beggary, starvation, crime, filth and licentiousness, that congregate" in our Gotham, this noisy booth at Vanity Fair. "There are seventy thousand confessed paupers," we are informed, in and about us, and a well-known "palace" in the centre of the town is full of malefactors and magistrates, policemen, and petty larceny rogues, drunkards, vagrants, rioters, negroes, and wretches of every grade and aspect of misery. The numbers of those gentry are not stated. Such is Mr. Foster's census of the Gotham booth. The Rev. Mr. Harris, by means of the Chief of Police's report, introduces an additional "three thousand children" into the picture of villainy:—

"A spectacle (says he) is presented in our midst which might rather seem

the dream of an insane fancy, than the reality of a Christian age. The recent report of the Chief of Police discloses the fact that THREE THOUSAND CHILDREN, from eight years and upwards, in the lower wards of our city, gain subsistence solely by theft, beggary, or unnameable vice. If we add to this estimate those under eight years who are growing up under the same influences, brothers and sisters of these, and if we extend our survey to include the entire city, we shall arrive at the conclusion that eight thousand children are involved in this extremity of evil. And thus our infant population is decimated, not by a conscription, not by a famine, not by a pestilence, but by a destroying curse that eats from body to soul, and involves the whole nature in its ruin."

Lord! is there an honest man, woman or child, in the city? From upper ten to lower five, is there a sinless soul? Oh no—look to the "Slices"— ask Mr. Matsell—hear Mr. Harris—Dudley Perkins, junior, my heart writhes for your welfare—you are in a net, boy—but if thou wilt hearken to thy father, he will save you—look on his gray hairs, his silver locks, and listen to his advice—let him be your guide, and he will steer you through this infernal region unpolluted to a glorious and upright manhood—forswear upper ten-dom—shun giddy youths—abhor the "Walhalla"—and above all, read not such books as "New-York By Gas-light," by G. G. Foster, the "original slicer," and such like "yellow cover" putrefying vaccinations. Follow that advice, and you will be happy. We shall have more to say by "*Gas-light*" to the "Slicer" anon; at present we will follow him in his slices, beginning with Broadway, which he appropriately calls a "human river in a freshet, roaring and foaming to the sea"—"a great sheet of glass, through which the whole world is visible as in a transparency"—"a perfect Mississippi, with a double current up and down, of glossy broadcloth and unblemished delaines." Did Mr. Foster ever take a peep into this "sheet of glass" where everything is reflected?—no doubt he did—and was'nt shocked at his own reflection? good heavens! at his double-dealing—spinning out moral slices by noonday, and creating food for his to-morrow's slices, by the immoral tendency of his gas-light readings to the young to-night. Ah! ah! he is no better—well, he is not much worse than one of the "fifty thousand" who are morally deeper in guilt than those ten thousand prostitutes he sermonizes about. Why feed and fatten you to-night, and to-morrow kick and cuff you for being lusty? This class of writers who are constantly pandering to the basest passions under the veil of morality, and are constantly laying before the public the notes of their pimping and midnight scenes of debauchery, under the plea of illustrating city life, must be got rid of. What does this class of writing help in doing?—surely not in reforming the city. The language is immodest—the scenes revolting—the characters introduced in all, debased. There is a dash of daring and romance introduced which ignites young blood, and the youth are led away *only to look* at those places where such scenes *are* enacted—*only* just to *see* the "Points," *that's all*—but alas, when once there they seldom quit it otherwise than—a new character for a "slicer." And Heavens! only think of such books finding their way into the delicate hands of our wives and daughters, and young sisters—think of it for a moment with serious feelings—and rush into your daughters' room, rend open every drawer, and expel the serpent "yellow cover" from the house.

"In questions of apparel, Broadway has an equal variety and preference. If there's a peculiar hat born and worn in Bond-street, London—a new Revolution-

ary blouse in Paris—an extraordinary pair of trowsers in Berlin, or a spiral style of beard among the Persians, or Russian whiskers, or Roman moustache —in its season, and when each has attained its ripeness, look for it in Broadway and you shall find it."

Why is this rage after everything foreign? Why is it? Are we not able to establish and uphold a national style for ourselves? We, freemen, wearing the garb of slaves—Europe is enslaved, and we the only freemen—we, the only example of self-government in the world, have not even a coat we may call our own—and scarcely a book that is not the "First American" from the second London edition. All second-hand—books and boddices, livery and literature.

The terms which we did not measure when speaking of the "yellow cover" *genus*, we do not desire to apply to those "slices," for in general they are well written—a great deal of fact in them—some happy delineations and much care displayed in those chapters in which the author takes up the cause of "Needlewomen"—talks about pawnbrokers, Chatham-street, &c. But anything we may say in favor of *this book*, we do not mean as any palliation for speaking roughly, but candidly, of the other one by Mr. Foster. The chapters on Chatham and Wall streets are well worthy of a reading—the former he characterizes as the "gathering place of gullibility"—"the metropolis of shavers"—and wonders if the latter is not the "valley of riches told of by the veracious Sinbad, where millions of diamonds lay glistening like fiery snow, but which was guarded on all sides by poisonous serpents, whose bite was death, and whose contact was pollution?" He has a happy knack of calling names. Hear him at "The Tombs:"

"Grim mausoleum of hope! Foul lazar-house of polluted and festering Humanity! A chill and noisome blast, as the midnight breath of grave-yards, salutes us as we enter beneath thy frowning vestibule—a bitter wind, laden with groans and imprecations, hurrying swiftly away frightened at what it has seen and heard, and hastening to lose itself in the purifying sunshine of the upper world. What unsightly labyrinths of filth and abomination—what heaped-up cells of iniquity and unrepentant crime—what dens of drunken madness, howling over the grave of Reason—what dark recesses, sacred to the orgies of a corrupt and abominable Justice—hast thou not passed over! No wonder that thou art tainted with a poison that strikes to the very soul but to breathe. No wonder that in such a red hot furnace of corruption, bribery, theft, burglary, murder, prostitution, and delirium tremens, the very air is rarefied with crime. We can hardly realize that there is in the whole gloomy edifice an honest space whereon a man may safely set his foot. Where, then, shall we begin—on the Bench, or in the Cell? At the Law, or its Victims? In the Bar, or the Dungeon? No matter where. Let us enter."

No. "By your leave, good master," we shall not stay to enter now. Nor shall we visit with you the "Five Points," where "nearly every house and cellar is a groggery below, and a brothel above." We see it at a distance—the hum of blasphemy rises gradually on our ears—let us pass on—our companion comes with us slowly, and tells us a tale of the Points. We give it as he gave it us:—fancy yourself after "clambering up a narrow staircase"—you are in a miserable garret:

"Yonder, on a cot without mattress or pillow, lies a paralytic old woman, looking as if living and malignant eyes had been given to a decaying wax-fig-

ure.—Our companion tells us that she has lain in that place, and in nearly the same condition, more than a quarter of a century, praying for death—cursing for death—blaspheming for death to come and end her earthly sufferings. Once she was beautiful and joyous and innocent, and her voice rang and her eye flashed gladness around her path. She had a husband, too, and a darling daughter. Her husband was poor, while she had been bred in splendor and extravagance. The girlish romance, in the height of which she had eloped with her poor lover, subsided in a year; in another, the hero-lover had become the hated husband. Her passion for dress and admiration, subdued so long, broke out afresh and with ten-fold force. The rich lecher, on the hunt for spoils, found her, and she became a willing victim to vanity more than lust. She was beautiful and fascinating, and her paramour desired her all to himself. There is a break in the history here. But, at any rate, her husband disappeared, and she dashed out into a brief season of guilty pleasure. Some said the poor man had been murdered, others that he had drowned himself. But nobody ever made any discoveries—or if they did, they were bought off. The woman was deserted in a few months—who *could* be faithful to such a monster?—and fell rapidly through all the stages of prostitution, to end her miserable career amid the tortures and haunting memories of a living death. Such, in brief words, is one of the ten thousand heart-rending histories of the 'Five Points.'"

How many three volume novels are here told in a paragraph? God! Can a paragraph hold so much miserable truth? Come on—it makes our head dizzy to think on it.

It is our decided opinion, that there will be an evil future in our city. We are not much of a prophet, but it is easy to forsee disease and death, when

"Already the curse is upon her,"

from the reading of books of the class of "New-York by Gas-light,"—and of which class we can imagine nothing worse. It is a perfect hand-book to the "pave"—every information that can be of interest to the novice in lewdness, is here given and explained, and in such a manner, too, that it is evident the book was got up for the purpose of selling by its impurity, and be shoved off by its wary descriptions. The author describes bestial scenes to an admiration in his own mind—using the requisite language—and tells you the "consequence may be imagined"—or he has "by no means selected the worst." There can be no excuse for a man writing such a work—he ought to be hunted through society, and sent to live in that sphere from which it seems his mind cannot have an absent thought. We include all the authors of the "yellow cover" villanies. It might be necessary, in any other case, to extract a passage of the book as a specimen of the style, but in this instance we feel that we are tainted by touching it—much less printing any of it—and that, were it not too bad to let it slide without exposing it, we should not have taken it into our disgusted head to write a line on it. Much might be said of it—but it is better to give Mr. Foster a chance to retrieve himself in future, and so part with it, and our indulgent readers for the present—at peace with all the world, and our conscience in particular.

NATURAL HISTORY OF MAN.*

HAVING very recently devoted a space in our periodical to this subject, some of our readers may think we have performed our duty, and that the present article is unnecessary. Our apology for again calling attention to it is, the very high importance, interest, and vast range of the subject; and that since our late article two publications have been issued to establish the Unity of the Human Races—one by the Rev. Dr. Smyth, the other by the Rev. Dr. Bachman, both of Charleston, S. C.; and another to establish the Diversity of Origin of the Human Races, by Prof. Agassiz, in an article in the Christian Examiner, entitled "The Geographical Distribution of Animals." Our present remarks will be confined to the work of Dr. Smyth, as the others are not before us, with a promise to resume the subject in a future number.

It is not surprising that books are multiplying on this, the most interesting subject of literature and science. We predict that more lances will be broken in the war now raging among the learned on this subject, for the next quarter of a century, than at any former time, and on any other subject. This prediction is founded not only on the valuable archæological discoveries made, making, and to be made, in the patriarchal world; not only on the bearing of the advanced state of sciences to illustrate the natural history of man; not only on the injudicious strife of theologians to place the verity of Scripture on the unity of the human races, and the delight of certain sceptics to join this issue with them, and maintain the diversity of the human species; not only on the religious and political convulsions now agitating the civilized world, especially our own land, on the subject of pro and anti-slavery; but on the still more important fact, that this vast subject has been recently taken from the dissecting table, where it had been confined since Blumenbach placed it there, and given to the world of literature and science. Anatomy and physiology, instead of acting in subordination to observation in this science, as they had in all the other branches of natural history, reversed the process, and assumed the prerogative of dictating the natural history of man from facts disclosed on the dissecting table—and analogy, with the lower orders of animals. This error naturally arose from the extreme difficulty, at an early period of the science of natural history, and even at this time, for a human being to investigate his own nature with as much ease and certainty as he could the natures of the instinctive kingdom; the consequent progress of the science based on observation of the inferior animals; and the postponement of the scientific consideration of man until after the science had been comparatively perfected in respect to general animated nature. By this inductive process, in respect to inferior animals, and by the aid of kindred sciences, as anatomy and physiology, the science of zoology has arrived at a degree of perfection approaching to

* The Unity of the Human Races proved to be the Doctrine of Scripture, Reason and Science; with a Review of the Theory of Professor Agassiz. By the Rev. Thomas Smyth, D. D. New-York: George P. Putnam.

mathematical certainty; and its professors, particularly of the medical profession, without attending to the differences of nature between man and the inferior kingdom, immediately elevated the animal kingdom to the power of arbitrarily dictating the natural history of man—a being whose nature has never been subject to the previous inductive process, which had been the only reliable basis for the valuable truths they had discovered in respect to the instinctive kingdom. If they had observed man—if they had watched his motives, actions, and powers, instinctive and psychical, as accurately as they had observed the phenomena of instinctive nature—they would have discovered, that his peculiar or distinctive zoological characteristics are psychical, and, consequently, not to be illustrated, much less governed, by analogy with instinctive nature;—they would have discovered the absurdity of inferring from a *general* premise a *universal* conclusion. But discoverers do not often pause to limit the application of their discoveries, and are not always capable of it, if they were inclined. It more frequently belongs to the sober thought of another generation to fix the metes and bounds of general principles.

Although the influences on Dr. Prichard, which prevented him from discovering the fallacies of his arguments, may be easily seen, it is not quite so easy to perceive why the learned world, until very lately, endorsed his errors without scruple or reservation; why theologians, on the naked fact that he advocates the *unity* of the human race, are blind to the monstrous heresy he also advocates, that the whole animal kingdom, including man, has "one psychical nature." It is only on this ground that the specific unity of the human races is maintained by Dr. Prichard. It is only on the ground, that "the beasts that perish," are the proper analogues of man, that many theologians, by endeavoring to avoid the Scylla of specific diversity, fall into the Charybdis, that in spirit as well as in body, *man is a mere animal.* Weak, unsatisfactory, and unphilosophical as such analogies are easily proved to be, yet they are willing to seek shelter under them from the scare-crow diversity, in company with sceptics, materialists, developists, who eagerly claim, that man is only a more perfectly developed Chimpanzee, which is only a more perfectly developed orang, &c., &c., to end of animation.

The heresy included in this doctrine is more monstrous than the *imaginary* heresy growing out of the diversity of the human species. We say *imaginary* because the subject in dispute is a mere question between *permanent varieties and specific differences*—a difference without a distinction, a controversy about a name, not about a fact. Ordinary generation is as incompatible with the one as with the other. Who has heard of a freak of ordinary generation, by producing a variety, which did not return to its type, or become extinct? Which of the controversialists can define the difference between permanent varieties and specific differences? Natural history knows nothing of permanent varieties. It is a misnomer introduced for the occasion, and not a term of science. Consequently, the admission of permanent varieties in the human family is as heterodox as the admission of specific differences, as the difficulty, the impossibility of descent from the same Adam, without the miraculous interference of Almighty power, is the same under either term.

In the natural history of man, anatomical and physiological differences between the races are of equal value in classification as they are between instinctive animals; because, in both cases, they exhibit corresponding differences of manners, habits, and powers. But the psychical power of

man is incomparably beyond the instinctive power of animals. It is different in *kind* as well as *degree*. If, therefore, the instinct of animals constitutes *the item* for their classification, by a parity of reason the spiritual, the mental power of man, constitutes *the* item for human classification. The terms are equivalents in respect to the beings. What an immense, what a rich, what a gorgeous field does this view of the subject open to the natural historian of man, instead of the dry, filthy and technical dissecting-room and table, garnished with ludicrous analogies from vegetables, and "beasts that perish." We are accustomed, and justly, to place so high an estimate on the qualifications of a historian of a nation, that, of the many who attempt it, few succeed. The qualifications for a philosophic historian of mankind, are of a much higher character than those of a national historian. He requires not only the patience, industry, impartiality, and sound judgment, to collect and narrate facts—not only the reasoning power to discover their relations, and to deduce the consequences flowing from them—not only the imagination to embellish and make them interesting, in common with the national historian—but the still higher power,—the genius—to resolve into general and abstract principles the religious, political, and civil histories of nations. The history of each nation forms only an item in his comprehensive subject, as the history of each national transaction forms only an item for the national historian. He must take an accurate view of patriarchal civilization, guarding against the mirage which represents it, and must be enabled to decide impartially between it and all subsequent periods. Such being some of the qualifications necessary for a philosophic historian of mankind, is it surprising that this branch of history is yet a desideratum in literature? De Goguet, Herder, Heeren, and above all, Gibbon, are the principal authors whose labors exhibit a capacity for this department of literature. They have furnished data and reflections for some future Gibbon to make his name immortal by a philosophic history of mankind.

But the natural historian of man, if he should place his subject on a natural basis, must necessarily explore, not only the fields appropriate to the national and philosophic historians, but through and beyond them for the natural laws of human nature, whose promptings and impulses produce the conditions and circumstances which are the proper subjects of the others. These laws must be searched for under the passions, social habits, laws, customs, arts, literature, sciences,—in short, under the whole structure of human institutions, ancient and modern, savage and civilized. Nor will it answer his purpose to make a hasty and superficial survey of them; for as the differences of these fundamental principles, prevailing in the different races, constitute items of specific value, it is necessary to estimate them with critical accuracy, that he may make his divisions on natural, and therefore, solid and scientific principles. He must test his deductions thus obtained by anatomy and physiology, whenever they are applicable, which constitute the snythesis to prove, as the other method constitutes the analysis to obtain, the fundamental principles for which he searches.

The magnitude of this branch of science is thus apparent. How different from the conceptions of Blumenbach, and his pupils, Lawrence and Prichard? How intensely interesting does it become, thus treated, compared with the dry, abstract, and uninteresting technicali-

ties of the dissecting-table, and the debasing association with vegetatables and beasts, as analogues of human nature. Men and children read the natural history of horses, oxen, dogs, bees, ants, &c., with avidity and pleasure. They always rise from such reading with satisfaction and profit. Their minds expand under it, because they have acquired new ideas, and their hearts beat with kind and holy impulses, because their benevolence is awakened for the creatures, and their admiration and love for the Creator. But who reads? who has read, Prichard's Natural History of Man, the acknowledged standard of authority among the learned, until recently? And who, after having read it, has risen with a consciousness that he has been paid for his time and trouble, or feels his heart throb with a single kind or holy emotion? On the contrary, we venture to assert, that every intelligent, unprepossessed reader has risen from it with his curiosity ungratified, and his mind unconvinced; with his feelings humbled by being made the associate of every vegetable and animal in his highest and noblest properties, for the purpose, not of elevating the Canaanite to the Shemite, but of degrading the Shemite to the low standard of the Canaanite.

We have thought proper to introduce these prefatory remarks previous to our notice of the work at the head of this article, because they will inform the reader of the vast extent and deep interest of the subject; and will enable him to form some estimate of the value of productions on the natural history of man. We acknowledge it would be unfair to apply these principles rigorously to the work before us, because it is not designed to be a natural history of man, but only an argument to prove the unity of the human species. But unity or diversity of the human races is a capital feature in the history of man, and cannot be properly examined without embracing the whole subject in its widest range. To leave any part of the subject unexplored, must necessarily leave out of view some of the proofs for or against the unity or diversity; for it is not always on a single item of difference, and most assuredly not of agreement, that zoological character rests; but, more frequently, on the united weight of several items, especially in the nice distinctions of species. On controverted subjects, and especially a subject so much and so long controverted as man—which takes a strong hold on the passions of most men—and which, we are sorry to say, has been very injudiciously made a bone of contention between saints and infidels—the proof should be co-extensive with the subject.

We confess our regret that Dr. Smyth has, in our opinion, placed the sacred authenticity of Scripture on the issue of a question, which, to say the least of it, is now scarcely a subject of doubt, we might say was settled before he entered on the controversy. This regret does not arise from a fear that this indiscretion will operate injuriously on those who entertain a proper respect for the sacred volume; but from the fear that sceptics will gladly concede to him the first member of his proposition, viz., that he has proved the unity of the human races "to be the doctrine of Scripture,"—and gain a triumph to their unhallowed cause by overthrowing the "doctrine," by "reason and science." But let us suppose a more favorable case than that he should sustain a Waterloo defeat in this controversy, in which he has unnecessarily placed our dearest interests in jeopardy;—let us sup-

pose it to be a drawn battle, which is the utmost his most sanguine friends can expect; and, as is customary, in such cases, each party claims the victory, and proclaims the triumph. This, as regards the welfare of many precious souls, is a positive victory by scepticism over Scripture; because it is the prerogative of Scripture to conquer. Fortunately, the Scriptures are in the keeping of a higher power, and of a more perfect wisdom than man, or they would long since have been consigned to oblivion by the false issues made for them by injudicious advocates.

In this view, we find regrets everywhere expressed on the part of Christian journals, that this false issue should have been raised. Researches into the natural history of man cannot shake the truth of an inspired account of the creation, although they may show that the understanding which such devout persons as Dr. Smyth may have of it, is erroneous. If science shall make it appear not that the biblical account is wrong, but that Dr. Smyth and his compeers have misapprehended its teachings, we cannot see that the cause of religion will suffer any more than the shock which the narrow religious notions of the sixteenth century received from the publication of "De Revolutionibus Orbium Cælestium" retarded the spread of divine truth. The Christian Register justly and aptly remarks in this connection:

"If divine inspiration pervade, as we believe it does, the Old Testament, no less than the New, science can do no detriment to revelation, and revelation can need no defence against true science. They can only lend each other mutual confirmation. They may seem for awhile to utter contradictory responses; but their respective languages can only need mutual translation to coincide. Fear of scientific research betrays a lack of the very faith which it pretends The Scriptures, indeed, have not for their primary design instruction in astronomy, geography, history, or philosophy; and as addressed to the popular mind, they employ language adequate to the popular comprehension of the times when they were written; but if they are, as we regard them, the authentic record of the divine administration of human affairs, it is impossible that in the last analysis they should fail to harmonize with all scientific truth, and whatever alleged truth contradicts their teachings only needs space for its development to demonstrate its own absurdity. Time and again have the professed friends of revelation trembled for the ark that they upbore, lest it should be overthrown and scattered by the rude hand of science; but as often has science paid its finished testimony in the ark, and enriched religion, with more comprehensive and enlarged views of the truths of revelation."

Dr. Smyth, while contending strenuously for the integrity of the strict letter of the Mosaic account, falters strangely in his attempt to explain whence Cain got his wife. He states, page 22:

"This objection arises from overlooking the fact, that it is not the design of Moses to give us a particular account of the whole race of mankind descended from Adam, but only of those persons who were most remarkable, and whose history was necessary to be known, for the understanding of the succession down to this time. It will therefore, be observed, that besides those that are particularly mentioned in Scripture, we are told in general, that Adam begat sons and daughters, and if we will give credit to an ancient eastern tradition, he had in all thirty-three sons and twenty-seven daughters, which, considering the primitive fecundity, would in a short time be sufficient to stock that part of the world, at least, where Adam dwelt. According to the computation of most chronologers, *it was in the* 129*th year of Adam's age*, that Abel was slain; for the Scriptures say expressly, that Seth (who was given in lieu of Abel) was born in the 130th year, (very likely the year after the murder was committed,)

to be a comfort *to his disconsolate parents. Cain must, therefore, have been* 129 *years old* when he abdicated his own country, *at which time there could not have been less than one hundred thousand souls.* For, *if* the children of Israel, from 70 persons, in the space of 110 years, became 600,000 fighting men, (though great numbers of them had died during this great increase,) we may well suppose that the children of Adam, whose lives were so very long, might amount, at least, to 100,000 in 130 years—that is, in five generations."

Now eastern tradition is not holy writ, and when Dr. Smyth, in his zeal for a theory, sets up the former in opposition to the plain teaching of the latter, we begin to tremble for the argument. Dr. Smyth admits that Adam was 129 years old when Abel was killed, and that, as one of two children was killed and the other banished, the Lord, in the following year, gave Seth "for a comfort" to the "disconsolate" Eve. Now, it appears, that immediately on the death of Abel, the Lord banished and set a mark on Cain, lest "any one finding him should kill him." His only brother was dead, and his disconsolate father and mother alone existed. Nevertheless, inasmuch as that Cain was destined to live a long life, the mark might have been necessary to protect him from those yet to be born. But it will be observed, that Dr. Smyth states Cain to have been 129 years old when he was banished; and as that event took place immediately upon the death of Abel, and when Adam was only 129 years old, Cain and his father must have been of the *same age.* The account of Moses states almost expressly that it was after the birth of Seth—that is, after the banishment and marriage of Cain—that Adam "begat sons and daughters;" yet Dr. Smyth, in order to suppose the existence of 100,000 souls at the date of the death of Abel, supposes Cain not only to have been as old as his father, but already to have been married and begotten five generations. What need was there of the birth of Seth as a comfort to Eve, if she had already 100,000 children and grandchildren? Such are the absurdities into which "theory-builders" are led. It is scarcely worth while to follow such trivialities through a supposed defense of the Mosaic history, when it is only a defense of the most erroneous interpretation of that account. Dr. Smyth adopts the theory of Dr. Prichard and his followers, to the effect that the African is the primitive race, and that the white race is a degenerate variety. He supposes that man came from his creator a negro, but endowed with language, civilization, the arts and sciences, and that he became debased and barbarized in consequence of deviation from the true religion. This theory is supposed to find confirmation in the form of Indian idols, and in the fact that the "sphinx has a flat nose." However satisfactory this sort of evidence may be to Dr. Smyth, it is far from conclusive in our mind; as well might that god of the ancient Egyptians, whose single organ—the effigy of which the ladies carried about their necks in their Bacchanalia—equaled all the rest of his body, according to Heroditus, have been a type of the former inhabitants. Throughout Europe, at the door of tobacconists, stands almost universally the squat figure of a pot-bellied, bandy-legged negro, with eagle plumes, to represent an American Indian, as proof that the tobacco on sale comes from America. These figures no more resemble the "son of the forest" than does the negro the toad-fish. Yet some future Dr. Smyth, in speculating upon the race now passing away, may point to those figures, universal among the European nations that trade with North America, and are therefore supposed to know the inhabitants, as proof that they were all negroes of the most exaggerated form.

Dr. Smyth insists with great earnestness that the unity of the race is established by the New Testament, in the command "to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." If the phrase "all the world," is to be taken in its unlimited sense, by what rule should the phrase "every creature" be restricted to *men?* That the phrase "all the world" is not to be taken in its broad sense, is evident from the text of St. Luke, "and there went forth a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that *all the world* should be taxed." In the middle of the 14th century the learned Bartolus, at the Court of Charles IV., based on this phrase the claim of that monarch to the rightful sovereignty of the whole earth, and to doubt it was punishable as heresy; yet it is evident that it applied only to the Roman world—from the Nile and Euphrates to the Atlantic. Dr. Smyth now uses a similar phrase in order to debase the race, and, like Charles, pronounces the penalty of heresy against those who object to fellowship with inferior races, and all "creatures."

It would seem to be the case, however, that the science of human history has reached a new stage, and that psychical distinctions must distinguish different species of men, as physicial and instinctive powers separate those of animals. This change in the progress of investigation has received a great impetus from the able and learned work of Mr. Van Amringe, whose genius avoiding the beaten track of animal analogies, which has made most writers mere copyists of Prichard, has opened the field of psychical inquiry, and compelled each race of men to test its species by its intellectual qualities. This will become the true ground of debate, although Dr. Smyth and his fellow-unityists as yet avoid this most important part of the subject. The fact stands out unanswerably, that man and animals are separated, by the possession on the part of the former of an immortal soul, endowed with reasoning powers, in addition to animal instincts, which latter are alone possessed by brutes. It is not a little singular that learned and devout divines should persist in classing the possessors of immortal souls with the mere animals of the earth, and in making one the analogues for the other. Yet these persons suppose by so doing they are serving the cause of that religion which teaches only the salvation of man's soul. They argue that intellectual differences among men cannot be specific, because brutes have also instincts—that is, specific differences may exist between the conformation of bodies, and not between the attributes of souls. The Bible informs us of the existence of spirits such as that conjured up by the Witch of Endor, of angels of the Lord, and of devils cast out of men, with complaining cries, by Christ. Most surely in the natures of those disembodied spirits there were radical differences; and if so, why should specific differences not exist between races of souls not yet disenthralled from the earthly tabernacle? Are we to turn back from this soul-absorbing inquiry, and appeal to the model of a graven image, the habits of a jackass and the manners of a monkey, as more fitting evidence in relation to the unity of species, in a Bushman and a Bacon, than the sublime manifestations in the one of an intellectuality which does not exist in the other?

As far as animal analogies go, they show conclusively that mankind are of four different species; that these species existed at a period nearly coeval with the flood, and that that continues to exist with some greater degree of mixture, where mixture is kept by a constant accession of the original stock, to this day. There never has been an instance of radical change by circumstances or civilization in the physical condition

of any race or people. The advocates of unity when driven by facts to this conclusion, call the specific differences "permanent peculiarities," "permanent varieties." The different degrees of civilization and of religious and intellectual culture, mark the specific pyshical distinctions of the several species. This fact is shown with remarkable clearness and force by Mr. Van Amringe, in his XI. chapter on the "Psychical Attributes of Man," and also in his succeeding chapter on the History of Woman, as a necessary and important item in the natural history of man. Mr. Van Amringe shows clearly that the institution of marriage and the elevation of the female is a specific mark of the white race. Dr. Smyth replies, polygamy is universal among the dark races—some whites practice polygamy: therefore marriage is not a specific trait; all animals are possessed of instinct—man is possessed of instinct as well as reason: therefore reason is not in him specific. The learned Dr. will excuse our subscribing to such logic.

The fact that the dark races are utterly incapable of attaining to that intellectual superiority which marks the white race is too evident to be disputed. The fact that some hybrids have advanced beyond the lower stock from which they partially emanated, proves nothing but the preponderating intellectuality of the superior stock. The Massachusetts free schools for black children, conferring upon them all the advantages which white children enjoy, have long existed without any results. In 1812 Abiel Smith made a donation for a school in Boston, exclusively for black children, and an average attendance of 110 children, taught the same studies as are learned by those of the white grammar schools, has failed to elevate the class in any degree. In proportion to the population, the attendance at school was large, yet, notwithstanding its continuance for 30 years, or through four successions of scholars, the servile and degraded condition of the race is unchanged; and this is a mixed race, very few pure Africans existing therein. Neither the black race nor any other can ever hope for a more favorable position than that enjoyed by the negroes of Massachusetts. They are taught at the expense of the whites, and it has for years been the fashion ostentatiously to pet them. The most refined ladies of wealthy families have been seen to associate in public assemblies with negroes of such character, which if possessed by a white, would exclude him from all decent society. This, of course, is a mere whim, resulting from pruriency of notoriety, but would not fail to benefit that race, were they capable of advancement.

The white race uniformly gives evidence of a capacity to advance to the highest intellectual grade; and the dark races give evidence of such a capacity only in a degree, the blacks none at all. Their condition could never have been worse than it now is. While the other races have improved, the blacks have not progressed. Each species must then be tried by its own doings, and their own unaided intellectual achievements must be the test of their rank in the human family. That kind of argument which asserts that the Irish race, which has produced a Burke, a Sheridan, and a Curran, is not superior to the negroes, which can at best boast only a Soulouque, because some of the former are hungry, is scarcely admissable and must be abandoned. The high ground taken by Mr. Van Amringe must be occupied by disputants who can free themselves from animal affinities, and recognize in the psychical distinctions of men those specific differences which so markedly separate the races.

MINTS.

From the earliest ages it has been the custom of mankind, in order to convey an idea of the relative worth of all the productions of industry, which alone constitute wealth, to express values in gold or silver. From the first moment that individual industry produced articles not wanted for the use of the producer, it became convenient to state the weight of gold or silver that would be received in exchange for them. As all articles were soon referred to this standard, it became an easy guide to the quantities and proportions of all other articles that might be obtained for the thing produced. The first necessary step in this matter was to adopt a uniform system of weights, by which similar quantities of like density might be accurately determined. Having settled these, it became obviously convenient to divide the pure metals into pieces containing a uniform quantity, so that when a pound of silver, as an instance, was demanded for any article of merchandise, the lump of metal certified as pure and of correct weight by the government stamps affixed to it, was ready for delivery. The process of assaying to determine purity of quality, and of weighing, to determine quantity, on the occasion of every purchase, was obviated by the action of the government, as the only coiner. The great object of such a process is to economize the national time and labor which would be wasted to an impoverishing extent, if every man were obliged after he had produced hats, coats, tables, or other articles, to assay and weigh himself the metals he had received for them. To obviate this evil, the government assumes the prerogative of being the only coiner, and its faith is in some sort pledged that all the pieces which issue from its mint shall accurately contain a specific quantity of pure metal. These pieces require to be of a durable nature, a convenient form, and to carry the quality and quantity so plainly expressed upon the face of each piece, that the most dull can readily recognize the value. This latter feature is so essential that all the rest is of no avail without it. It is in fact the only object of coining. If the producing public cannot recognize upon the face of the coin its precise value at a glance, it is of no service whatever, and might as well exist in the shape of bullion. In this process the government "furnishes" no currency whatever—it simply weighs and stamps the metals produced by mining industry, or earned by the operations of commerce. This power was conferred upon Congress by the Constitution of the States, on the formation of the government; but up to this moment the duty has been neglected, or very inefficiently performed. When these colonies were first settled, neither money nor the precious metals existed among them. Some coins were brought by the immigrants from the mother countries; but it was not until commerce extended to the West India Islands and the Spanish possessions, that the metals began to increase in supply. These were, however, under the imperial policy, not permitted to be coined in the colonies, and were mostly drained off to the mother country, through the influence of her commercial system. The Spanish silver coins were almost

the only metallic currency, and colonial "bills of credit" of all grades of depreciation, were at once a means of government extortion and an apology for a currency. Notwithstanding all the disadvantages, however, under which the colonies labored, the quantity of the precious metals gradually increased. Of the sums that arrived in the hands of immigrants, and in return for produce exported by merchants, considerable amounts were retained in circulation, but of course in the foreign shape. The Spanish dollar and its fractions became, as it were, nationalized through long use, but the pieces, from their depreciation, became a nuisance. When the government of the Union was organized, the establishment of a mint became obviously necessary. The condition of the currency and the manner in which it was supplied, is indicated in the Act of August, 1790, which provides rates at which foreign coins shall be *estimated* at the Custom House—viz. the *pound* sterling $4 44; the *livre tournais* 18½ cts.; the florin 39 cts.; marc banco 33⅓ cts.; rix dollar 100 cts.; *rial* of Spain 10 cts.; milrea 124 cts.; Irish pound $4 10; *tale* $1 48; Pagoda 94 cts.; rupee 55 cts. These were the descriptions of coins which commerce brought to the United States, very many of them entirely strange to the great majority of the people that wanted to use them as a currency. Instead, however, of providing a means for putting them into an available shape, Congress, in Feb. 1791, chartered the old bank of the United States with the privilege of issuing its promises as currency. Of course, as there was no mint and no national coinage, these paper promises having the advantage of intelligibility, were desirable as a means of purchase. The small channels of circulation were filled with depreciated Spanish silver coins, the dollar and its fractions, pistareens, &c., and commerce brought to our shores a heterogeneous mass of nondescript coins, which could be of no service as money. Notwithstanding that the confederation as early as 1782 had directed Robert Morris to report upon the subject, it was not until April, 1792, that the law authorizing the mint was passed, and the institution did not get into operation until Jan. 1795, in accordance with the views expressed by Mr. Jefferson, in his report as Secretary of State, 1790. In the meantime by the act of Feb. 1793, all foreign coins were made a legal tender at certain fixed values, all British or Portuguese gold coins at 100 cts. for every 27 grains actual weight; French and Spanish coins at 100 cts. for 27¾ grains; Spanish milled dollars weighing 17 dwts. 7 grs., 100 cts. Now it will be observed, that while all these coins, thus made a legal tender for the payment of debts, were imported mostly at New-York and Boston, the mint was by law located at the then "seat of government" in Philadelphia, a distance of two or three days' journey from New-York, over a bad and hazardous road. Although the mint charged no seinorage for coinage other than the silver and copper required for alloy, it was a little too much to expect a New-York merchant, who had perhaps received $50,000 in gold from England, to send an agent with the gold, which would weigh 100 lbs. troy, in a Conestoga wagon, through New-Jersey to Philadelphia, pay freight, insurance, and interest, wait two months at a time when capital was very scarce in the country, for the purpose of getting national coin, when the law had not only made the foreign gold a legal tender, but had created banks whose paper was a substitute for money. Very soon the government which had located the mint at Philadelphia, in order that it might have it at "its seat," moved away to Washington, and left the mint neither at the

"seat of government," nor at the "center of commerce." Although the precious metals continued to increase in the country through the operations of commerce, yet the metallic currency did not increase, the metals arriving at the seaports in a shape unfit for circulation, but still a legal tender, remained in bank vaults as a basis for their paper issues. Neither the banks nor the individuals had any interest in paying the expense and incurring the risk of sending bullion to Philadelphia, when to retain the bullion in bank vaults, and use their promises instead, answered all the purposes of currency. In fact, the bank interest became decidedly opposed to any coining facilities, because as long as the metals remained in a shape unfit for circulation, the public were in a measure compelled to use bank notes. Hence it occurred, that when the business of the country increased in magnitude requiring larger quantities of a circulating medium, this was supplied by bank issues, without any increase of the specie basis.

This evil became so manifest that a revision of the mint-laws was thought necessary in 1834, to increase the coinage. It was supposed that an over-valuation of silver was the chief reason for the small increase of national coin. That was no doubt one reason, but the chief cause was overlooked altogether, viz., the false location of the mint. The gold bills of 1834 and 1837 greatly facilitated the importation of gold over silver; but this fact is apparent, viz., official returns give the importation of gold and silver, from October 1st, 1820, to September 30, 1841, at $181,501,510, of this amount only $64,937,426 was coined at the mint; that is to say, $116,564,084 in foreign coins were imported into the country deposits in bank vaults. and there remained until adverse exchanges, induced by the redundant issue of bank paper based on it, caused it to be re-exported. Had the mint been located at the port of entry, nearly all that coin would have passed through it, and the eagles and their fractions would have passed into general circulation, penetrating into the remotest sections of the Union, and, like the silver apostles melted into crowns by the orders of Cromwell, "gone about doing good." It has been estimated that the amount of foreign coin brought into the country by immigrants averages $8,000,000 per annum. If we take this average at half the sum, say $4,000,000 per annum, and the quantity of gold produced at the United States mines, together with the amount imported on the custom-house books, we may arrive at an approximation of the supply, as compared with amount coined in periods of five years each.

	Gold.		Total.		Silver.	
	Mined.	Imported.	Total supply.	Total coined.	Imported.	Coined.
1824 to 29...	244,000..	3,943.351..	4,187,351..	816,057..	32,132,863..	10,005,451
1830 to 34...	3,430,000..	6,847,885..	10.277,885..	6,888,630..	29,503,528..	14,424,002
1835 to 39...	2,267,840..	25,093.979..	27,361.819..	10.635,660..	36,407,431..	13.657,652
1840 to 44...	3,758,044..	23,875,644..	27.633,688..	18,138,098..	22,317,596..	11,261,503
1846 to 49...	9,045,405..	30,781,596..	39,827,001..	40,795.293..	14,179,191..	10,961.230
	$18,745,289	90,542,455	109,287,744	77,273,728	134,560,608	60,319,838

If we estimate the quantity brought into this country by immigrants in the 25 years, and not reported, at 100 millions, then the supply of all the metals reaches $343,848,353, of which was coined only $137,593,566, leaving over 200 millions earned by the national industry, but deprived of a large portion of its value for want of facilities for coinage.

It has been argued in Congress and out of it, that to place a mint in New-York was for the benefit of merchants in that city. Thus Mr. Pearce, of Maryland, gravely asked, in a late debate in the national Senate:

"I want to know whether the government of the United States, in order to benefit the merchants and importers of New-York to the amount of eight thousand, or even thirty thousand dollars a year, is willing to saddle the treasury with an expenditure amounting, perhaps, to eighty thousand dollars?"

Of what peculiar benefit does he suppose the coinage of the money is to New-York merchants? The whole industry of the country, west, south-west and south, raises exportable produce, which is sent abroad and sold, and in return a considerable amount of specie arrives at New-York; at the same time those in the interior of the country, who earned the money, want to use it as a currency. The merchant who imported it pays it into bank, where the drafts from the country drawn against it are presented. The institution offers to pay in pagodas, sovereigns, moidores, louis d'ors, joes, ducats, florins, yuzliks or whatever they may have. These cannot be refused, because they are a "legal tender;" but they are utterly useless in Ohio to buy wheat, in Mississippi to buy cotton, or in Maryland for tobacco. If they could be turned into half-eagles they would pass freely, but for that purpose they must go to Philadelphia. Whose business is it to incur the necessary loss of time, trouble and expense—the merchants, the banks, or the country creditors? Neither of these are so disposed, and bank-notes are taken instead, to pay out to farmers. Now if the United States places the mint in New-York, and a Missouri or any other dealer arrives there with a bill drawn against produce shipped to England, or against a bill of exchange drawn against that produce, whatever coin the bank pays out for the bill, he may, without trouble, have coined on the spot; but what is that to the New-York merchant? Mr. Cooper, of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Pearce, and a few others, suppose that by keeping the mint at Philadelphia, they can compel all those who want coin to go there and get it. This is very much like a policy said to have been adopted by a bank at Jackson, Miss. The institution was concerned in the railroad to Vicksburg, and that work having little revenue, they passed a rule that no cotton should be advanced on unless it was carried on the railroad from Vicksburg to Jackson, for the cashier to look at, and then carried back for shipment.

The Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson, with singular ability and address, met in debate, promptly, all the arguments urged against the New-York mint:

"If," said he, "the vast amount of bullion seeking coinage does not find facilities at New-York, it will not be coined anywhere. Some of it will be forced to Philadelphia, as it has been under an arbitrary government order; but the ordinary laws of commerce will not force it there. A small portion of it only will go there. And the argument which the director of the mint addresses to us so feelingly, that if the mint were to be established in New-York, the mint at Philadelphia would have no business, and which has been so significantly repeated upon this floor by the honorable senator from Pennsylvania. (Mr. Cooper,) is a most conclusive argument in favor of establishing a mint at New-York. Suppose there was no custom-house at New-York, but one at Philadelphia. You might urge, if you establish a custom-house at New-York,

two-thirds of the public revenues would be received there, and the Philadelphia custom-house, whose business has been forced, would have comparatively little. Will the honorable senator stand up here on this floor, and advocate such a monstrous rule of commercial regulation as that? And still it would be no more absurd than that a branch mint should not be established at New-York, because it would take away business from Philadelphia. I war not with Philadelphia at all. I shall rejoice in all that concerns her greatness and prosperity. But by this argument the faithful director of the mint—for faithful he is—has shown himself to be much better versed, in my opinion, in the transmutation of metals, and in chemical affinities, than in the great laws which control and regulate commerce."

In advocating a mint at the seat of commerce, Mr. Dickinson, with that far-sighted national policy for which he is distinguished from those whose narrow and sectional views are daily becoming more offensive in the eyes of the community, understood perfectly that he was urging less the interests of New-York merchants, than of the whole country, the remotest sections of which, by their industry, draws from every quarter of the world into New-York, the metals which it is desirable should be coined at that focus of concentration, in order that they may be spread over the interior as a currency. If it is coined, it passes into circulation, traveling from one end of the country to another, diffusing its benefits on all industrial interests. If it is not coined, it remains in bank vaults for exportation, and those institutions derive profit from the credits they issue in lieu of it, which profits are paid by the labor of the country to the capital of the city, owned by the merchants mostly. It is observed in the above table that the coinage of gold since the passage of the gold bill of 1834, has considerably increased. This was owing mostly to the effect of that bill raising the value of the coins, and to the bills of 1838 creating the branches at New-Orleans, in Georgia and North Carolina, and also to the fact that under the operation of the independent treasury law, the late Secretary of the Treasury, to a considerable extent, obviated the false location of the mint at Philadelphia, by ordering transfers of coin collected for duties at New-York, to the mint at Philadelphia. By this means, an amount equal to the importations was coined, and by repayment of this coin on government account, the specie held by the banks became nationalized.

The depreciated character of the Spanish coin circulating among us has long been well known, and until about six years since it passed at a value above its intrinsic worth. The Director of the mint issued circulars last winter to dealers in various parts of the country, and from the answers it appears that there are now six millions of dollars worth of small Spanish silver in our currency. The following is the total amount of small American silver coined, to the beginning of this year:

In quarter dollars	$3,713,075
In dimes	3,311,710
In half dimes	1,595,975
Total	$8,620,760

It is proposed by Mr. Dickinson's bill to relieve these by the issue of a coin of higher value, viz., cent and 3-cent pieces, so adjusted as to enable the government to make the exchange without loss to itself, and

there will be none to the party applying. The bill provides that the three-cent piece shall be paid out at the mint, and its branches, in exchange for those and some other varieties of small foreign silver coins current among us, *but for no other kinds of coin or bullion.*

The real value of the quarters, shillings, and sixpenny pieces in circulation, as ascertained at the United States mint, are as follows:

	Nominal.	Actual Value.
Quarter dollar,	or 25 cents	23 5
Eighth "	12½ "	11 1
Sixteenth "	6¼ "	5 1

This is an average depreciation of near ten per cent. In consequence of the circulation of these pieces at a nominal rate so high above their real value, the quantity multiplied here to an inconvenient extent, taking the place of the sound coin. To remedy this, the post office department and the banks in New-York, refused to receive them for more than 23 cts., 10 cents, and 5 cents respectively. This was less than their real value, and the consequence was that quarters soon became inconveniently scarce: so much so, that the want of them for circulation added an extra value to them, and they were again received at their nominal rate. The banks, many of them, got entirely out of these coins, and were unwilling to go to the expense of sending dollars and bullion to Philadelphia, for coinage, merely to accommodate the public.

The vigilance and activity of the late administration, to a considerable extent remedied the inconvenience, and at this moment the national coin in bank and circulation is larger than ever before. It is not New-York, however, that profits by this state of affairs so much as the producing sections, and this more directly in the matter of exchange. Thus when gold is imported from England and remains in bank vaults ready for exportation as soon as the rates of exchange reach 110 per cent. gold becomes a profitable remittance, because it is money as soon as it arrives out. On the other hand, American gold is not money, and must be re-coined there because England does not allow foreign coins to be a legal tender. This requires exchange to rise to 111⅓ before it can be shipped. The following account of actual shipments of coins shows the effect on exchange. A remittance of sovereigns to London will turn out nearly as follows:

1,000 sovereigns in New-York, at $4 90		$4,900 00
Packing, insurance, &c.		29 25
Cost on board		$4,929 25
Value in London	£1,000	
Less freight, charges, &c.	6	
		£994

Every pound in London has cost $4 91, which is the actual par by shipment, although quoted 110.6 per cent. A shipment of American gold will cost still more, because it is not money in London. It will run as follows:

10,000 eagles, at $10	$100,000 00
Packing, insurance, &c.	510 50
Cost on board	$100,510 50

	lbs.	oz.	dwt.	grs.			
10,000 eagles melted into thirty bars, weigh	447	7	16	0			
Reported worse 1⅞ grs. equal standard	439	4	12	3			
Which, at 77s. 9d. per oz., amounts to . .					£20,497	5	1
Allowed by melters for gold adhered to crucibles, .					2	18	3
					£20,500	3	4
Freight, melting, assaying, charges, &c. . .					130	10	0
					£20,369	13	4

Thus every pound has cost $493 04, which is called 111⅛ premium. These different rates of exchange result from the different values of the coins remitted.

Now, the New-York Exchange market governs that of the whole country. If, therefore, the vaults of the banks are filled with sovereigns, it will be impossible for the planter who has shipped cotton or Maryland tobacco, to get more than 9¾ for his 60 day bill, because sovereigns, being cash on arrival, can be readily drawn and shipped at 10. If, however, owing to the operation of the mint, no sovereigns can be had, the planter may get at least one per cent. more for his bill, in preference to eagles. That is, he can cause the New-York importer to pay one per cent. more for the bill as a remittance, and this will benefit the producing interest at least $200,000 per annum. Is this to the benefit of the New-York importer, or that of the Maryland planter? Yet Messrs. Pearce & Co. talk about a mint at New-York being a tax upon the country for the benefit of New-York merchants!

It is now nearly ten years since the writer of this, then using the columns of the New-York Herald, urged the necessity for a mint in New-York. Under date of June 25, 1843, we wrote:—

"American gold is in demand at ¼ per cent. premium, and very little can be procured at all. This is owing to the culpable neglect of the federal government, and the iniquity of politicians, who, while wrangling about a National Bank, have utterly neglected to "regulate the currency," as prescribed by the Constitution. The quantity of specie in this country is sufficient for all its wants, and it is constantly increasing, through the industry of its people, and yet it is in a form which renders it utterly useless for a currency. There are in the city banks here $13,000,000 in specie, all foreign money, and yet a person traveling cannot pick up $500 of national coin. He cannot take foreign gold, because the people are unacquainted with its value. The specie in the banks is of no more use than stones for a currency, because Congress has neglected to provide the means of coining it. There is a mint to be sure, in Philadelphia, but it costs ¼ to ½ per cent. in transportation and delay, to have money coined. Who is to lose that money? To coin the foreign money now in this city would cost $65,000, whereas if the mint was in this city it would cost nothing, and a national currency would make its appearance. This want of a mint is one of the most powerful agents in forcing paper into circulation instead of gold. If a man starts for the West to buy produce, he applies for American gold and cannot get it; foreign gold will not pass, and he is forced to take paper; or if he will have gold, he must take it to Philadelphia and stay there until it is coined, a ceremony destructive of all business. All this forms a powerful support to banking, because it prevents the circulation of the "uniform currency" of the Constitution, at the same time that it affords an argument in favor of a bank."

Again, of a subsequent date:

"American gold is now at ¼ per cent. premium in this market; yet the vaults of the banks are overladen with foreign gold, of which they would be very glad to be relieved. If the mint were accessible at any reasonable expense, large amounts would pass into circulation, and be retained in the country, giving greater stability to trade. The gold now remains in the banks waiting to be exported—it is of no use to the people, and a burden to the banks. It can become available only by pushing out bank credits, until a portion of it is forced to go abroad. The location of the mint at Philadelphia seems to have been on purpose to prevent the acquirement of a specie currency. The mint should be at the very portal where gold is admitted into the country; it would then receive the stamp of "nationality," pass into circulation, and with difficulty find its way out of the country. At New-Orleans, the deposit of foreign gold during the year was larger than at Philadelphia."

These facts became apparent from daily observation of the operations of trade; and under the present tariff, the enhanced importations of the precious metals, as well from foreign countries as from the mines of California, develop an increasing necessity for the mint at the point of concentration. For the year 1849, $6,000,000 arrived at the port of New-York, per custom-house books, and $8,000,000 estimated in the hands of 220,000 immigrants, making $14,000,000 of foreign coins, of which only $3,500,000 was coined. For want of some place where their strange money may be changed into local currency, these poor immigrants are driven into the hands of brokers, and suffer many impositions in passing their money before they reach their destination at the West. Mr. Cooper, of Pennsylvania, would have them all make a pilgrimage to Philadelphia, in order to get their money coined. Mr. Dickinson offers prompt relief, without trouble or expense to them. A mint in New-York throws open its doors and supplies the national coin without a shave. The New-York brokers will gain less, but the immigrants and the West will lose less. The necessity for such relief is estimated in the fact that 45,800 immigrants—each with money to change—arrived in New-York for the month of May alone. At present, if these persons travel into the Western States, with ducats, florins, louis d'ors, sovereigns, &c. &c., which speedily pass into the banks for their notes at a shave, they are by the institutions boxed up and sent down to New-York, for sale to the bullion-brokers, who supply merchants for remittances out of the country. If, instead of this, immigrants can at the mint get the full value of the coins they possess, in eagles, halves and quarters, these, on their arrival West, will pass freely into general circulation, and will very slowly find their way back to exporters of coin. It is only by the location of a mint at the spot where it is required, that the great object for which it is created can be attained; and those who, from a deficient understanding of the subject, combat its proper location from sectional jealousy, are opposing a national currency.

FUGITIVE SLAVES.

The right of the citizens of the Southern States, under the Constitution, to the recovery of fugitives from labor in other States, is so clear and so well defined, that even the most hardy free-soiler has not dared to question it. The disunionist party, now gradually forming by the sloughing off from the two old parties, of those corruptions represented on one side by the New-York Tribune, and on the other by the Evening Post, admit the constitutional obligation, but deny its operation when public sentiment, real or imagined, is against it. That is to say—when it suits these gentlemen no longer to keep a solemn compact, they forthwith repudiate it on moral principles. The Southern States, in this respect, have suffered great wrong at the hands of corrupt Northern Judges. The records of the New-York Courts, at no distant date, show an instance of outrageous pandering to a fleeting electioneering cry—a popularity hunting judge at the expense of judicial dignity and truth. The decision in the case of Prigg *vs.* Pennsylvania, by the United States Supreme Court, was a severe blow to the integrity of the Union, by giving color to the hope that the solemn provisions of the Constitution may be evaded. Mr. Clay, in his late speech upon the subject of compromise, refers to the decision, showing the misconceptions which have grown out of it. A distinguished jurist of Pennsylvania, has in the April number of the American Law Journal, commented upon the remarks of Mr. Clay, and shows wherein he has himself fallen into error. We annex the conclusion of the article:

"Mr. Clay is undoubtedly correct in declaring the decision, as generally understood, erroneous, and in maintaining the true doctrine that 'laws passed by the States, in order to assist the General Governmennt as far from being laws repugnant to the Constitution, are rather to be regarded as laws carrying out, enforcing and fulfilling the Constitutional duties which are created by that instrument.' He is also right in declaring that 'the Court had no right' (in the case before it where the question did not arise) to decide whether the laws of facility were or were not unconstitutional, and that such decision, if made by the Court, '*would have been extra judicial.*' It has ever been so regarded in the Lancaster District of Pensylvania, where, notwithstanding the decision in Prigg *vs.* Penn'a., so much of the Pennsylvania statute of 1826 *as was not in conflict with the rights of the slave-holder under the Constitution and laws of the Union* has been constantly enforced until its repeal. The *authority* of the decision has been confined, as it should be, *to the question upon the record*—to wit—whether a State could constitutionally pass a law to convert the act of recaption of *property* by the owner or his agent, into the crime of kidnapping. But we think Mr. Clay is in error in saying that 'the Supreme Court of the United States have only decided that the laws of impediments are unconstitutional.' It is evident that the distinguished Senator, in forming this opinion, has not confined himself to the report of the case. He informs us that he has '*taken the trouble to converse with the Judges themselves;*' and it is with great satisfaction that we infer that the error will not be persisted in. This is certainly something gained to the cause of freedom and State rights.—But let us see how stands the record. Let the errors be pointed out, and let the authors receive their just meed of censure. Let those who faithfully stood by the Constitution be also known that they may receive the plaudits of a grateful people.

"A brief history of the case is necessary to a proper understanding of the subject. In 1826, at *the instance of a Committee from the State of Maryland*, an act was passed by the Legislature of Pennsylvania offering facilities for the arrest and surrender of fugitive slaves to their owners, upon proof of ownership, and giving to the owner, on his application to the State authorities, the aid of the process and the services of the officers of the State, in effecting such arrest and surrender. At the same time, a section was inserted, providing substantially, that, if any person by force shall carry away, or shall by fraud or false pretence seduce, or cause to be seduced, or shall attempt so to take, carry away, or seduce any negro or mulatto from any part of the State to any other place whatever out of the State, with a design and intention of selling and disposing of, or of causing to be sold, or of keeping and detaining, or of causing to be kept and detained such negro or mulatto, as a slave or servant for life, or for any term whatever, every such person, &c., shall on conviction, &c., be deemed guilty of felony, and shall forfeit, at the discretion of the Court passing the sentence, a sum not less than $500, nor more than $1000; and moreover, shall be sentenced to imprisonment at hard labor for a period not less than seven years nor exceeding twenty-one years.' Under this section a citizen of Maryland, named Edward Prigg, who was the agent for the owner of one Margaret Morgan, a fugitive slave, was indicted in the Court of Oyer and Terminer of York County for kidnapping. *The only evidence against him, and the only offence committed by him, as found by a special verdict, was, that he had seized a fugitive slave within the limits of Pennsylvania, under full authority from her master*, and carried her home to her master *in Maryland, where she was held to labor under the laws of that State.* Now, to us, it seems plain that this section could not apply to such a case, and could not have been so intended by the Legislature who passed it. There was ample scope for its operation upon persons who carried off negroes and mulattoes who were not slaves. What judgment the Court of original jurisdiction would have pronounced on the special verdict cannot be known, as the Court gave judgment against the defendant, '*by agreement*' of Messrs. Meredith and Nelson, his counsel, with Mr. Johnson, the Attorney General of Pennsylvania —The Supreme Court of the State upon writ of Error, 'affirmed *pro forma* the judgment' of the Court below; and the defendant Prigg prosecuted his writ of error to the Supreme Court of the United States.—There is no cause of complaint against the jury, for they found the facts according to the truth, and submitted the question of law to the Court. There is no serious ground of complaint against the Court of Oyer and Terminer, for its judgment was pronounced *according to the agreement of the parties.* But it is not stated that the judgment of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania was rendered, by agreement of the parties, nor ought that Court to have rendered such a judgment as was pronounced, either by consent or otherwise. It is true that the judgment is stated to have been rendered *pro forma;* but no such judgment, so seriously and so extensively impairing the rights of citizens of other States, so vitally affecting the reputation of Pennsylvania for integrity and fidelity to the National Constitution, in a case almost too plain for argument, ought to have been rendered *upon any terms or in any form.* It was due to the character of the Court, and the State, and to the high purposes of justice, that the rights of the slave-holder, in a case so entirely free from difficulty or doubt, should have been sustained, at once, by the State Court. Good taste and good faith alike pointed out this as the proper course. But this course was not adopted, and the citizen of Maryland was compelled to seek in the Supreme Court of the United States that justice which had been denied in the State courts. Here an error of an opposite nature occurred. *The only question raised by the record was whether the peaceable recaption of a slave, recognized as property by the Constitution of the United States, could be converted by an act of State legislation into the crime of kidnapping.* Clearly the Supreme Court should have confined itself to that question. But instead of doing so, some of the Judges traveled far out of the record, discussing and

deciding some of the most delicate and important rights of the States. Such a proceeding would have been highly reprehensible in a case where individual rights alone were involved. But it was monstrous when applied to questions affecting the rights of the great sovereignties composing this confederacy. They had no notice or reason to apprehend that their powers of sovereignty were to be so extensively questioned.

"Mr. Justice STORY delivered '*the opinion of the Court*;' and, in proceeding to do so, says: 'WE have given them (the questions) OUR most deliberate examination; and it has become *my* duty to state the *result* to which WE have arrived and the *reasoning* by which it is supported.'—Here, it will be observed that Justice Story announces himself distinctly as the organ of *the Court*—and to give to his *reasoning* as well as the *judgment* pronounced the force of authority, he distinctly claims to be entrusted not only with the duty of pronouncing the *result* to which the Court had arrived, but of stating the *reasoning* by which that result or judgment is supported. 16 Peters, 610. In the course of the opinion, he states, that 'the natural if not the necessary conclusion is, that the national government in the absence of all positive provisions to the contrary, is bound, through its own proper departments, legislative, judicial or executive, as the case may require, to carry into effect all the rights and duties imposed upon it by the constitution.' Against this doctrine we have nothing to say. It is doubtless correct. But it does not follow that the States may not voluntarily bring their authority to the aid of the general government in the enforcement of constitutional rights. But Mr. Justice Story, as the organ of *the Court*, goes much further; after stating that the act of Congress of 1793 'covers the whole ground of the constitution, both as to fugitives from justice and fugitive slaves,' he adds:—

"'If this be so, then it would seem, upon just principles of construction, that the *legislation of Congress, if constitutional, must supersede all State legislation upon the subject; and, by necessary implication, prohibit it.* For, if Congress have a constitutional power to regulate a particular subject, and they do actually regulate it in a given manner, and in a certain form, it cannot be that the State legislatures have a right to interfere, and as it were, by way of compliment to the legislation of Congress, *to prescribe additional regulations, and what they may deem auxiliary provisions for the same purpose.* In such a case, the legislation of Congress in what it does prescribe, manifestly indicates *that it does not intend that there shall be any farther legislation to act upon the same subject matter. Its silence, as to what it does not do, is as expressive of what its intention is, as the direct provisions made by it.*'"

"Here, then, is a plain repudiation of ALL legislation on the subject by the States, although such legislation be not in conflict with the legislation of Congress, but '*auxiliary*' to it. And even the '*silence*' of the national legislation is constrted to be as expressive in prohibiting State legislation on the subject although '*auxiliary*,' as its 'direct provisions!' But the Judge goes still farther: at page 622, he takes up the question whether the power of legislation upon this subject is *exclusive in the National Government*, or concurrent *in the States, until it is exercised by Congress. In our opinion*, he adds, '*it is exclusive.*' At the close of the opinion, he proceeds to pronounce 'the act of Pennsylvania' (not merely the section upon which the indictment was framed, but the WHOLE ACT,) 'unconstitutional and void.'

"Mr. Justice WAYNE. (coming from Georgia, a slave-holding State,) not content with the manner in which Judge Story sustained the opinion of the Court, delivered a long argument enforcing *the same views*. In his 4th position he states distinctly, 'that the power of legislation by Congress upon the provision, *is exclusive*; and that *no State can* pass *any law as a* remedy upon the subject whether Congress had or had not legislated upon it.' 16 Pet. 637.

"Mr. Justice BALDWIN concurred with the Court in reversing the judgment on the ground that the act of the legislature was unconstitutional, inasmuch as the slavery of the person removed was admitted, the removal could not be kidnapping. But he *dissented from the principles laid down by th*

Court as the ground of their opinion. 16 Pet. 636. Mr. Justice Wayne, however, states in his opinion, that Judge Baldwin concurs in opinion that '*if legislation by Congress be necessary, the right to legislate is exclusively in Congress.*'

"Mr. Justice M'LEAN, not satisfied with the able argument of Judge Story, enforces the same doctrine also in a long opinion in which, *inter alia*, he states that 'it is therefore essential to the uniform efficacy of this constitutional provision that it should be considered *exclusively a federal power. It is in its nature as much so as the power to regulate commerce or that of foreign intercourse.*' 16 Pet. 662. Justices CATRON and M'KINLEY were silent on the subject, and it does not appear whether both or only one of them concurred in the opinion of the Court as pronounced by Mr. Justice Story. It is said that Judge M'Kinly was absent.

"Amid such a flood of judicial error it is refreshing to read the powerful arguments of Chief Justices TANEY and Justice DANIEL and THOMPSON, in opposition to the doctrine so gratuitously promulged as the *ground of the opinion of the Court.* Their dissenting arguments show that the *opinion of the Court* was understood to be that the States had no right to legislate on the subject *even in aid of the National Government, whether Congress legislated on the subject or not.*

"Chief Justice TANEY, at page 627, expresses himself thus:—

"'"I do not consider this question *as necessarily involved in the case before us.* But, *as the question is discussed in the opinion of the Court,* and as I do not assent either to the doctrine, or to the reasoning by which it is maintained, I proceed to state very briefly my objections. The *opinion of the Court* maintains that the power over this subject is so exclusively vested in Congress that no State, since the adoption of the Constitution, can pass ANY *law in relation to it.* In other words, *according to the opinion just delivered,* the State authorities are prohibited from interfering *for the purpose of protecting the right of the master and aiding him in the recovery of his property.* I think the States are not prohibited; and that, on the contrary, it is enjoined upon them as a duty, to protect and support the owner, when he is endeavoring to obtain possession of his property found within their respective territories. The language used in the Constitution does not, in my judgment, justify the construction *given to it by the Court.* It contains no words prohibiting the several States from passing laws to enforce this right. They are in express terms forbidden to make any laws that shall impair it. But there the prohibition stops. And, according to the settled rules of construction for all written instruments, the prohibition being confined to laws *injurious to the right,* the power to pass laws to support and enforce it, is necessarily implied. And the words of the article which direct, that the fugitive "shall be delivered up." seem evidently designed to enforce it as a duty upon the people of the several States to pass laws to carry into execution, in good faith, the compact into which they had solemnly entered with each other. The Constitution of the United States. and every article and clause in it, is a part of the law of every State of the Union—and is the paramount law. The right of the master, therefore, to seize his fugitive slave, is the law of each State; and no State has the power to abrogate or alter it. And why may not a State protect a right of property acknowledged by its own paramount law? Besides, the laws of the different States, in all other cases, constantly protect the citizens of other States in their rights of property when it is found within their respective territories; and no one doubts their power to do so. And in the absence of any express prohibition, I perceive no reason for establishing, by implication, a different rule in this instance; where, by the national compact, this right of property is recognized as an existing right in every State of the Union.'"

"We have only given a portion of the clear and unanswerable argument of the venerable Chief Justice. His great ability as a jurist, and his tried integrity as a man, give to his opinion a weight with the American people which is enjoyed by no man now living. We have always believed, and still believe that his opinion, *and not the opinion of the Court, as delivered by Judge Story,* contains the true exposition of the constitution and is the law of the land. *That it will be maintained as such in the end is as certain as the perpetuity of the Union itself.* The opposite doctrine will be cast out as a dangerous heresy,

altogether in conflict with the sovereignty of the States, at variance with the whole nature of our confederated government, and destructive of the rights of property which the Nation and the States are bound to respect.

"Mr. Justice THOMPSON on this subject, says :—

"'Legislative provision in this respect, is essential, for the purpose of preserving peace and good order in the community This legislation, I think, belongs more appropriately to Congress than to the States, for the purpose of having the regulation uniform throughout the United States, as the transportation of the slave may be through several States; but there is nothing in the subject matter that renders State legislation unfit. It is no objection to the right of the States to pass laws on the subject, that there is no power any where given to compel them to do it. Neither is there to compel Congress to pass any law on the subject. The legislation must be voluntary in both, and governed by a sense of duty. But I cannot concur in that part of the *opinion of the Court*, which asserts that the power of legislation by Congress is exclusive, and that no State can pass *any law* to carry into effect the constitutional provision on this subject—although Congress had passed no law in relation to it.'"

"Mr. Justice DANIEL, expressed his opinion in favor of that rule of action, on the part of the Court, *which involves no rights or questions not necessary to be considered; but leaves these for adjudication where and when only they shall be presented directly and unavoidably and when surrounded with every circumstance which can best illustrate their character.*

"After citing several cases to illustrate his positions, he proceeded :—

"'Here, then, are recognitions repeated—and explicit of the propriety, utility and regularity of State action, in reference to powers confessedly vested in the general government, so long as the latter remains passive, or shall embrace within its own action only a portion of its powers, and that portion not comprised in the proceedings of a State Government, and so long as the States shall neither conflict with the measures of the Federal Government, nor contravene its policy. From these recognitions it must follow, by necessary consequence, that powers vested in the Federal Government, which are compatible with the modes of execution just adverted to, cannot be essentially and originally, nor practically, exclusive powers; for whatever is exclusive, utterly forbids all partition or association. I hold, then, that the States can establish proceedings which are in their nature calculated to secure the rights of the slave-holder guaranteed to him by the Constitution; as I shall attempt to show that those rights can never be so perfectly secured as when the States shall, in good faith, exert their authority to assist in effecting the guarantee given to the Constitution. 16 Peters, 656. He further declared, that "the doctrines *affirmed by the majority of the Court*," were in his view, "not warranted by the Constitution, nor by the interpretation heretofore given to that instrument," and the assertion thereof, he added, "seemed not to have been necessarily involved in the case."—16 Pet., 658.'"

"Here then we have it from the official report of the case, that the majority of the Court did affirm that the powers in question were vested exclusively in Congress, and that the States had no right to legislate on the subject *even in aid of the General Government!* We have it also, from the record, that this doctrine was understood by the *minority* to be so affirmed by the majority, and for that cause the Chief Justice, and Justices Thompson and Daniel placed their opinions on record dissenting from that doctrine, although they fully concurred in the *judgment* of the Court that the reception of a fugitive slave by the owner could not be made criminal by State legislation. We have it also from the record, that a majority of the Court held that the Federal Government was bound to carry into execution its own laws on the subject, by means of its own officers, executive and judicial, and that the State officers could not be required to accept jurisdiction under the act of Congress against the will of the legislative power of the States, It is surprising, after this announcement from the Supreme Federal Judicatory, that the States should repeal the statutes which had been thus declared to be unconstitutional? Does any one in his senses suppose that surrendering fugitive slaves to the bondage of their masters is an employment so agreeable to the people of the free States that they would *force* their services in this respect upon their fellow-citizens of the slave-holding States? And if the *legislative power* of the States is not to be confided in on

questions of this nature, what reason is there for entrusting their *judicial power* with their solution? Was it anything more than a rational mind might have anticipated, after the singular but unauthorized doctrine maintained by the Court in Prigg *vs.* Pennsylvania? The doctrine of that decision is utterly at variance with the limitations of power prescribed by the Constitution, and at war not only with true liberty, but with the whole spirit of our federal system of government; and its promulgation, when not necessary to the decision of the case before the Court, was disrespectful to the dignity of the States as independent sovereignties. An invasion of State rights in a case where their *interests* were also concerned, would have justified the most strenuous resistance known to the constitution. But, in the instance before us, while the *rights* of the free States were violated, the *interests* of the slave States were alone impaired; for, without the aid of State legislation and State authority, the recovery of fugitive slaves is next to impossible. The most effectual method, therefore, of exhibiting the folly of the views entertained by a majority of the Court, was to carry out voluntarily the absurd doctrine of the Court, and let the public, and particularly those concerned, have a specimen of its practical operation.—This has been done. State legislation has been repealed, and State authority withdrawn. The result is as was anticipated: *almost an entire abrogation of so much of the constitution as requires the delivery of fugitive slaves.* The erroneous doctrine of the majority of the Court is now universally understood and as universally condemned. Let it be repudiated by the Court itself, on the first suitable opportunity; and let the States renew their efforts to have the constitutional compact executed in good faith. It is by respecting the rights of the States that we may hope to render our Union perpetual.

"But the Union is not in danger. The descendants of those who established it know how to preserve it. Millions of enlightened and brave freemen stand ready to defend it with their lives and their fortunes. Public servants may prove unfaithful, but they will be degraded and dismissed. Misguided fanatics may seek to rob one class for the fancied advantage of another, but they will receive the doom of the highway-man who, under the false pretence of justice, robs one portion of the community to give to another. Hot-headed chivalry may delight in gasconade about disunion; but, when it dares to proceed to action, the rebels will be overpowered and scourged into obedience to the law by the strong arms of the true-hearted citizen soldiery of the country; and the ring-leaders, instead of accomplishing their ambitious purposes, shall meet the fate of traitors, leaving behind them the festering infamy which still clings around the names of *Aaron Burr and Benedict Arnold!*"

LINES.

In a letter of Mrs. Hemans, in which she speaks of visiting the last resting-place of Mrs. Tighe, she says: "Though surrounded by attention, and the appearance of interest, my heart was envying the repose of her who slept there."

Dust had to dust returned, and woman's form
Still beautiful as sculptured marble, lay
In the embrace of death—and radiant morn
On her lone tomb shed the first beaming ray,
And smiled a smile of peace—but her fair brow
Shrined in that narrow chamber, never more
Could feel the zephyr's which above her now
Are fraught with spring's first incense—never more
Could see the glories of her ancient land,
Or gaze entranced upon the star-lit sky,
And in the tomb she greets no kindred band—
Hears no loved voices—sees no friendly eye,

For all is dark and voiceless as the night,
Where the lone dead, in slumber's deep, repose;
And no fond dreams, no visions ever bright,
Around her, there, a peaceful hallo throws.

Yet one was near, within whose dewy eye
The light of genius shone with dazzling power,
Whose heart had felt how sweet 'twould be to lie
Within the tomb—man's last and only dower:
And gazing on that place of tranquil rest,
Pined but to know its calm, serene repose,
And sigh'd to feel its weight upon her breast,
With the deep stillness which its precincts knows.

Why was it thus? did not the green earth smile,
And nature round her wear a look of light?
Did not the glories of that ocean isle,
As in days past, still glow forever bright?
And in her home, where friends and kindred met,
Did they not yearn to woo the wanderer back?
To greet with joy again her coming step,
Whose gentle light had shone across their track:
And when she wander'd from her own fair home,
Did not kind hearts surround her everywhere?
And friendship breathe for her its thrilling tone,
Forever forth upon the balmy air?

Yea, earth was bright!—that ocean isle was blest,
And her glad home stood smiling in the sun,
And friends were round her, yet she sigh'd for rest,
Whose thrilling lyre, for her fair brow had won
Fame's deathless hallo—and its laurel crown
Rested upon her with fresh glory wrought—
But what to her was all earth's cold renown,
Whose spirit pined beneath one burning thought.
Whose strains were but the echo of a heart
Pure as the day-beams, yet as mild as even,
And whose rich lays a melody impart,
Which gently float as incense unto Heaven.

Yea, what was fame? to one whose earthly dream
Of joy was shrouded by a pall of gloom?
Whose spirit pined beneath the brightest beam
Of the glad sunlight, and to whom the tomb
Seem'd but an oasis, where grateful rest
Would greet its inmate—and who here had pour'd
The deepest gushings of her throbbing breast
Forth on one altar—had one heart adored—
And felt her soul's exhaustless love thrown back
On its undying fountain, till the star
Of hope had faded from life's weary track,
And the broad earth seemed like those realms afar,
Of desert desolation, where the sun
Shines ever brightly, and around which waves
Green laughing foliage, and clear waters run,
And shores of verdure ever gently lave,
While all within is but the desert's gloom,
A trackless waste where no glad flow'rets bloom.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE VATICAN.

No recollections of my Roman life are more satisfactory than those of hours spent at the Vatican. True, I never appropriated, even by a glance, the millionth part of the treasures hoarded there; hardly began on any subject, the studies invariably suggested by these visits, and necessary to turn them to high profit. Still, the fact that I never strained for anything, did not abuse my power of attention, but patiently contented myself with what I would carry away, as the bird does with his two or three seeds picked up from the full field, leaves all I do retain free from alloy. Some thoughts were granted,—some refinement of the powers of observation was inevitable; some divine images remain to exhilarate and bless all my after life. Exhilarate is the word that most naturally occurs in thinking of the Vatican. Some may be saddened at the sight of so many magnificent wrecks: thinking how much more has been lost than saved; but the destiny of man seems to me grander, seeing that it could afford to let such wonders perish, and only leave enough for us to guess at them by.

I shall not speak here of St. Peter's and its Piazza, for the briefest narrative of all that throngs upon my memory in connection with these would fill a volume; but confine myself to the Vatican and its gardens. Gardens are nowhere so delightful as in Rome, where they so highly and tenderly relieve the solemnity, and often oppressive sense of the past. I like the vineyard, and great vegetable gardens which stray and lap so negligently over the great heroic rites, or dress the tombs of imperial monsters with associations of pains-taking, gentle, domestic life. And I like the little garden behind the sculptor's studio, where fresh roses and myrtles relieve your eye, after the cold white marbles. And I liked the gardens of the Orsini Palace, with broken, half-dried fountains, and walks wild as those left here and there for the girls and boys in our New England villages, and tall nodding cypresses. I liked these till they were watered with the blood of the brave; but now, if one climbs the Janiculine, 'tis in another world. I like those of the Colonna Palace, with their rich hedges of box, and terrace, strewn with huge fragments of the Temple of the Sun, from which you see Rome lying asleep so grand and calm,—sweet, too, in the high thoughtful sense, like Michael Angelo's Night, one who has been so rich in life, she needs not be always full of it. And there are three other gardens I would like to speak of, but now there is not time. I shall content myself with those of the Vatican.

I first saw them in May, 1847, a lovely May day even for Italy, where the fairest month of the year combines tenderness of hue with luxuriance of growth in her garlands, in a still higher perfection than elsewhere. I ascended to the roof of St. Peter's; beside me frowned the Vatican, its mass of buildings, the growth of ages in their way more impressive than the most splendid aud harmonious pile produced at any one time by the impulse of any one mind. Many epochs, myriad minds, whispered from these walls. Below, lay the garden; its high, evergreen hedges, truly walls of verdure exquisitely fresh; and at that moment all its fountains

were playing. Descending then, I saw for the first time white peacocks, of whose plumes are made the fans carried before the Pope's chair in the processions of Easter week. The white peacock seemed even fitter for Juno than the purple and gold; the stars of the tail were like golden ripples, as it strutted up and down; the scarlet poppies and pinks seemed impressed; the roses not to care; they were taken up with the May breeze. The gardener gave me orange blossoms. My recollection of that day is all splendor, perfume, refreshment, keen and sweet sensations.

I visited those gardens again in May of 1839—the walls of green showed their polished leaves, just as full and fresh; the rose-hedges were as full of roses and of buds; but the Pope had fled, and his splendid white peacocks no longer paraded the walks. They were full of armed men—Roman men—their beautifully formed brows and eyes lit up; the indolent or sensual look almost effaced by a new expression. On the green bank boiled their broth; the pretty little fires hardly seemed as if they would leave a black spot. We pushed aside the flowers to see the cannon; we climbed the wall to look out on the rich fields; the *contalini* were coming up with little white flags of peace; figures with black flags were still searching for dead bodies in the gully, and amid the tall canes. Beside me was a long red streak where a man's life-blood had run down. In the tower, where charts and models had been kept, a few officers slept upon straw. I went up to look through the windows, each of which presented a view of distinct beauty, a calm Roman landscape, calmest in the world. How *can* men feel little envies—petty hatreds—when they look on them? These things are but for a season; their frightful abuses, the blood on that wall, indeed, is not the saddest stain—it was shed in hope and faith; it is all the blood that has been corrupted here; the long arrear of iniquity, the most sacred names, the purest love defiled and profaned, to mark what is most antagonistic to them that one might mourn. Yet to-day I could not mourn, nature is seen so rich. God is the God of love so surely, that an atonement must, will be found for our distress—a season manifested for the seeming cruel doom of so many good hearts, in these as yet dark ages. And so, from the fresh lovely nature, and suffering injured human nature, into those cold walls, so still—so still even when hundreds are present—for men are almost lost in the Vatican galleries—they were very commonly, as late as May and June, such as one liked to see, peasants, nursemaids with little children, priests, who lavished the love they should have given to life on these mere representations of it; however, here they are really at home, and one sees by the entranced and glistening eye how such a man is enjoying the object near which he lingers. I never liked to go to the Vatican when Rome is full of foreigners, because then the smaller rooms are so crowded with cockneys that one cannot pass. I have seen them standing three deep, with Murray sticking out of each pocket, listening to a gentleman with a high cravat proving that Apollo was so ill-mended, it was painful to look at it. One don't like to communicate with such a person as that even at the elbows, and all such Martin Chuzzlewits are sure to be throwing out their porcupine quills, while the Forsyths and Bells glide softly by, too fully engaged by the ideal presence before them to manifest themselves on the spot: so I always waited till the splendor of spring drives away the birds of passage, and fortunately a great portion of them have the infatuation to think that a beautiful day is always dangerous in Rome, and fly just as

the true splendor of being there begins. So in those days when the heavens were really blue, such as they are not anywhere else, (and Italian blue sky is not to be had on cold or rainy days even in Italy,) and the solemnest old ruins had wreathed themselves like brides, and even the mournful cypress and calm pine were shaking their locks in the soft breeze, I used to evade the dirtiest, longest, gloomiest street in the world, by crossing in the ferry-boat the beautiful muddy Tiber, enter the fair plantations, and take the quiet walk by Villa Salvage, alas! all in ruins now, and pass by Castle St. Angelo, in whose great sward Spartan children were playing on the fresh turf, and enter by Porto Angelica, where the Transtevesine girls were singing—

> "Come in, come in, Petruchio,
> When mamma is away,"

and into the corridor betwixt whose columns the most beautiful as the most simple fountains in the world are singing so loud and laughing in the sun, and up the great stairs where the little fountain is singing softly in the shade, and has made the greyhound stop to drink. For in Rome you never forget the fountains, many as they are, they are all and each dearest friends; I knew all their voices, and dream them all over again when I dream of Rome, as, thank heaven, I often do. Should I never see her again, and (thrice foolish amid all the fountains, I forgot to drink of Trevi when I came away) I trow they will outsound Niagara at times, even across the big water.

Up this staircase, and then others and others, till you enter the Hall of Inscriptions. What can be more grand than the effect of this vast vestibule full of such interesting things, that you never, never, can have time to stop and study, because pressing on to others so far more interesting. So rich seems life, so precious is felt in Rome the possession of a day, an hour, to one who has the least vivacity of fancy or love of any kind of study, for inducements in all kinds to study hourly present themselves.

Yet I often passed through all the halls of marbles, passed the tapestries, the Transfiguration, the Frescoes of Raphael, without stopping at all. I walked at a slow pace, but I saw nothing except what casually caught my eye, as one does when straying in wood-paths; for here the mind of man presented its germs luxuriant, abundant, majestic as nature in the woods, with her flowers, mosses, trees, and these were the days I received the highest impression, and I think the most lasting benefit. I seemed to receive the real *soul* of what was there when I let objects act upon me without working myself. I used to go out expanded, exalted; many distinct impressions were remembered afterwards, but the general mood, the swelling of the heart, the bathing of the soul in its native fonts, was the great thing of the time. O! souls of fire! lovers of gods, of heroes, of woman! when divine servants of God, counselors of men, artists seen no longer in the littleness of studios and dinner-parties, but in your works, how I blessed you—angels' peace and good-will go shed amid the crowds of struggling, heart-struck men.

I bless you now, but at the time I did not think of you, for all that was great and good seemed the varying emanation of one spirit, and I myself all melted in it.

Passing out from the Stango of Raphael, I walked through his Loggio. One cannot look in detail at these lovely designs; it strains the neck too

much; yet the harmony and beautiful balance in composition gives great delight as you glance upward. From here I usually went to the highest gallery, to a little window at the end that commanded a limited view, but one of the fairest in Rome; yet it is a sadder aspect than the others. I think precisely, because that expression of thoughtful calm amid the wreck of an immense past is not seen amid fields so wide, nor the eye lured on to a possible hope in the horizon. It was a scene for sunset, the mellow Roman sunlight lingers with most love when it is sad.

For these walks through the Vatican I always went alone. When I was in company with others, I naturally looked at objects more in detail. I very seldom did go with others, except to look at the marbles by torch-light. Then a party of thirteen or fifteen is to be formed, in order to get permission, as well as to divide the expense—this for each person of a party of thirteen is trifling; and, if it were otherwise, nothing in Rome is better worth doing; yet I believe many persons leave Rome without enjoying one of its highest pleasures. By day, the whiteness of so vast an assemblage of marbles, almost wholly unenlivened by color, wearies the eye; while at night, mild and grand shadows fall round you at every step. If it be a moonlight-night, the occasional glimpses through the windows are very grand; then the holy silence of these halls are only broken by the echo of your own steps and of those who move with you, or the soft fall of waters from the court-yard of the Belvidere. Beside, many of these statues were made in places only lit by lamps or torches, and cannot be seen, according to the intention of the artist, by any other light. As the same have been shown every time I have visited the Vatican, except at a request from me, the guide has turned the light on three or four others. I suppose the same are always shown, and some brief notice of them may be interesting to persons who are looking forward to visit Rome.

On entering the long vestibule, the torches are lit, and the guide, followed by the men who carry them, precedes you into the Novo Boaccia; the lights are lifted, so as to give a view of the construction of this beautiful room. The effect of the immortal company who await you is greater here than anywhere. They are so arranged that at a glance each is seen with some degree of distinctness; and, as many are full length statues of the most imposing character, you feel awed, entering a coarse, crude mortal, still encumbered with the weeds and soil of common life, into what seems a true Valhalla of full and purified lives.

The first statue shown is one of those which gain most from the lights and shadows of evening. It represents Silenus holding the infant Bacchus, and the natural grotesqueness of the satyr-form seems sublimely tender through the expression of manly fondness and reverent protection with which he looks down upon the child. This expression is much lost in the glare of day; but as seen by the torch-light, I know nothing that more happily exemplifies the true antique greatness, where the artist has a simple thought clear in his mind—where the dignity of natural feelings is never weakened by straining after effect, nor the attention divided by subtleties of any kind.

There is shown the statue called Modesty, but which appears a portrait statue of some woman of infinite grace, dignity, the modesty of strength, the purity of wisdom.

On the same side, at the extremity, is the Demosthenes, a work unri-

valled by modern art, in what modern art more peculiarly essays. Never was more nobly presented the force of expression in marked individual character, as concentrated on one great and glorious moment, when the fires that had long been working under ground found adequate expression, and all opposition sunk cowering before the flash.

It must have been of *this* Demosthenes, that Lander was thinking, when he makes him say, "While I remember what I have been, I never can be less. External power affects only those who have none intrinsically. I have seen the day, Eubalides, when the most august of cities had but one voice within her walls; and when the stranger on entering them stopped at, the silence of the gateway, and said, 'Demosthenes is speaking in the assembly of the people. This is an ambition which no other can supplant or reach. The image of it stands eternally between me and kings, and separates me by an immeasurable interval from their courts and rat-traps.'" Every atom of superfluous flesh seems to have been consumed by the ardors of the intellectual life; the figure is extremely meager, yet that meagerness is not more sickly than that of the swift Bedouin. The robe lies in folds rather fine and clinging, yet which borrow a peculiar grace, from the incomparable dignity, the active command of the figure. Other effigies of men of genius are dignified from amplitude of form and of drapery, this in sharpness, prominence and concentration. I know of no image so fitted to kindle princely hopes in the heart of the obscure youth conscious of yet undeveloped power, nor more sternly to rebuke the sloth, frivolity, or weak yielding to temptation that may have left it to perish. As for the vulgar pomps of rank and wealth, or the vanities of petty talents or petty achievements, I should think all conscious of such would have to creep away like reptiles from before that aspect.

To me the noblest cordial for entangled days, full of oppositions, and loaded by material obstacles, would be the daily sight of this statue. It would indeed preach "action, action, action," but in its own high sense, action backed by vast and condensed power, incited by few, but dear and constant motives.

Beside this statue may be seen (it is not usually shown by the torch-light guide) a bust most interesting to study in comparison. The Demosthenes presents the exhilarating type of active, conquering genius. It represents a man in whom great intellect and a refined nervous temperament were impelled and sustained by a powerful will. The bust represents a man of finer genius, more delicate organization, a far greater range of faculties, but in whom all these gifts and powers only lead to suffering. The skin, the hair, the suffering brow, all tell of a man by whom every part of life is appreciated, but on whom it acts instead of being acted on by him. He carries away treasures of knowledge, myriads of exquisite images, experiences which Demosthenes only knows as the eagle, the lakes and forest he has glanced down upon as he seized a prey fit to feed his eyrie. But power he of the past could not duly use for himself or others, for want of one or two qualities which nerved the orator. Lower in aim, he had cared more for himself, and his own work in life had been followed out more singly; more wilful, he had scattered his powers of resistance less, and affrighted easily the gnomes and elves that undermined his path. To some he was infinitely precious, but they could not confirm his victories nor heal his wounds. Demosthenes sustained himself and ruled the world.

On the other side of the room you are shown the Nile, and entirely a different mood is introduced by this rich symbol of an operation in external nature. You understand what a compliment it was, to be called "my serpent of old Nile," as you look upon this grand, hearty figure, with his children sporting archly over him. Some say these children represent the sixteen cubits to which the Nile must rise to make a fertile season for his valleys, others, the sixteen springs that feed the Nile. I never counted them, but to the sense they most happily indicate fertility and the joyous rippling of water in the run.

The Minerva Medica was found in one of the most uninjured and beautiful ruins of Remi: the temple looks very imposing from a distance; going there, I found it full of sticks and hay; it is in the midst of a great vineyard and cabbage garden. Beautiful views of the Roman landscape are caught through some ivy-wreathed apertures. All there looks calm as this image of the goddess, which has no strong characteristic expression, but bears the mark of an epoch when the waters of thought rose high and sunk deep. Memories of forms that bear that stamp console us like the sight of the stars, when we come out of those circles where we have sought in vain from face to face some pure glance or generous human smile, and it has seemed that all assembled there

"Had filled their minds and thus themselves subdued."

Passing into the Ring Gallery, you are shown an exquisite fragment of a figure, with drapery blown back by the wind, the young Augustus known and idolized everywhere (strange, that peculiar charm of boyhood, that exquisite dawn incapable of leading to a noon of equal beauty, so finely touched by the ancients in the fables of Adonis and Hyacinthus, is so rarely reproduced by art,) and the grand melancholy statue of Tiberius.

You then enter the first of the little rooms, where the Torso is shown, but it may be seen just as well as by day. Words from me are not needed as to the architectural beauty of this fragment; though it cannot escape even eyes like mine more in love with another kind of excellence.

There is the Meleagee, but to me this is nothing; it may be a good statue as compared with others in point of workmanship, but leaves me quite cold, and I am confident embodies nothing precious in thought and life.

Of the Laocoon none should speak, unless they have some new word of value to say, and I have never really looked at it. To me, a work in which the impression of anguish predominates, does not bring the benefit I seek in a work of art. I have that in life, I do not want it in art. To connoisseurs and artists who have other notions in their survey, the beauties and defects of this work are invaluable; both are studied to great advantage by the torch-light.

One suffers in passing round here by sight of the Perseus of Canova. It seemed placed here as if to put in the strongest relief what is theatrical and weak in modern art, to make us ashamed in presence of our simpler and stronger ancestors. As it was not by the wish of Canova that it suffers this comparison, it seems ungentle and wrong to feel the inevitable disgust.

Now comes the Antinoas, most lovely flower, like product of genius. Humanly, we see only its youthful fullness of beauty, its soft devotion and singleness of expression, otherwise one thinks of lilies in June, and all

beautiful things cognate with these. This statue gains a great deal by waning light.

I do not know that this is the case with the Apollo, though you win a great many various aspects from it by moving the lights about, still the predominant impression is always the same, and that to my mind is adequately expressed by the words "beautiful disdain." While great part of the description of Childe Harold seemed in presence of the statue but words put in to eke out the stanza, these returned to satisfy beyond any other that occurred. Like the sunbeam, that look reproves all that is base and foul, that firm steps, and stands full of Ithurial power. In divinity, in fullness and purity of life, it is higher than anything that remains to us; and let critics patter about their yeas and nays as they will, will continue to command worship and administer instruction, till man soars into a region where purity and truth are too constantly lived to be thought about.

The portico is full of rich sarcophagi, and other works in relief, but these you do not look at in the evening. You pass through the Hall of Animals; by day it is a great relief to linger there and see what fun and enjoyment of the sports and charities of life the animals had once, for none of them seem *tame;* but it is night, and you will only pass through now.

You enter to see the Ariadne; all remarks on that would be hackneyed, but you look at it long by this more mellow light; then the fragment called now Genius of the Vatican, would it were so, but there is no other such there nor in the world. I said of the Demosthenes, how far it outwent modern art in what modern art peculiarly aims at; I say of this that it combines what is most excellent in ancient and modern art. It has all the Olympian simplicity of the antique, and yet its look drops the fathom into deeps that seemed first ventured by our latter sail. Iphigenia combines with Ophelia and Hamlet. O, statue! why art thou not mine. Ten thousand popes may trail the white and gold before thee, ten thousand connoisseurs mummify their hearts by criticism on each hair's breadth of thy stone form— nay, poets and lovers may come and bow the heart before thee, yet none will ever worship thee as I have done, do still, nor wish thee the fate of Galatea, cold, broken, drooping. I wish thee ever thus, for only so should such pathetic beauty be seen.

Now are you shown the Apollino—sweet pretty thing—half-red apple, on the Eden tree. Menander and Posiclippus, who sit better than even Michael Angelo's Prophets—they were the medium between the day long repose of the cross-legged Oriental, as we, perhaps, flippant in mahogany chairs, between them and the tea-drinking Chinese on their light cane supporters.

Passing now into the Hall of the Muses, you see many figures of an average merit—the common furniture of an antique life—dignified and substantial in style, but which, probably, no one ever stopped to look at in the great day. But there a noble Jupiter, and one whose beauty and majesty cannot be appreciated in the day, and a Hadrian, strong, manly, full of resource, or what we call in America "*capable,*" indeed much like in its style to the heads of our best American men; for we, too, have a grand range of heads, and I appreciate them far better now I have lived so long abroad. Our ideal forms come not yet, but they will, such as the world knew not before, when the national mind is in a higher phase; but this is not the time to talk of that. Besides, I have now been more than three hours walking in the Vatican—I am tired—my feet are very cold on these stone floors. To visiters, even in May, I would recommend aired shoes.

I ran to the Hall of the Biga, because it is last, and we are always tired; it is never seen well, though many objects are there worthy great regard. The Sardanapalus is a very fine statue for its *pose*. Mr. Diseobolus, the artist, looks at much, but I go to one of those which cannot be clearly seen by daylight—somebody's preceptor—he looks worthy to be Alexander's, or Cæsar's, or Napoleon's—so sage is he, so calm in fullness of knowledge, so poised in wisdom, so capable to appreciate genius. Looking at him, one begins to believe that a teacher may really be available for a great man; and that all minds may enjoy that bliss of natural piety, which we experience on receiving benefits from them we would wish to revere, and at the same time when we can use them.

I have penned some brief momento of these glorious evenings, scanty hints, but precious to me, as recalling their delights, and which may be of use to others, as indicating, previous to a visit, the position and character of the statues that will be shown. Here, in Florence, I formerly made an effort to see the works of Michael Angelo, at San Lorenzo, at torchlight—the application was refused; but, as merely on account of its novelty. I hope the remembrance of it may lead to success the second time trying. If I succeed, I shall announce it for the benefit of others. Giulian and Lorenzo night and day should not be left in the gloom these long nights, when there are so many souls near that need, and some that would duly prize the chance to look upon them. I doubt they cannot look grander by one light than another; but I hope to try. *

THE STUDY OF THE LAW.

Perhaps there is no profession possessing so many *discipulos* as that of the law, nor is there any of which the greater part of its students acquire so superficial a knowledge. This may be accounted for in numerous ways. The study of the law opens so vast a field for the exercise of genius, and for the delightful recreations of reading and literary meditations, that most of its votaries are drawn aside from the comparatively dry pursuit. Its very rudiments, Blackstone and Justinian, show to the young student how little he knows and how much there is for him to learn. In the former, the references which are made to old English History and to that of Europe, inspire in his mind a desire to understand them thoroughly, and this leads him almost irresistibly to a search among the best (which are the most voluminous) historians of those times; and in these the connection again refers him to the records of classic antiquity, where he becomes bewildered and lost among the innumerable authors of those times. In this way, also, he imbibes a taste for the historic, poetic, and philosophic learning of the Greeks and Romans, which tends greatly to lessen his affection for his profession; and while they give an elegant erudition to his mind, detract greatly from its more solid attainments. While poring over the heroic deeds of Achilles and Hector, or grieving at the misfortunes of Priam and Ulysses, old Coke upon Littleton and Blackstone lie neglected in the corner. Instead of studying the statutes of Queen Elizabeth, he is lamenting the perfidy of the beautiful Helen, or the unfortunate loves of Antony and Cleopatra. This prepossession for

classic lore will, unless early connected, always hinder him from becoming an eminent lawyer, for the nature and objects of the two are so widely different, that one cannot be attended to without excluding the other: in other words, a man cannot be a classic *scholar* and a *lawyer*. By this we do not mean to say, that the young student should never devote any time but to the ancient authors; on the contrary, we recommend a yearly perusal of Cicero De Oratore and the oration of Demosthenes in the originals; and at leisure intervals, (if a student should have any,) he might read the didactic works of Plato and Aristotle, with the splendid productions of Livy and Thucydides. These would enlarge the grasp of his mental powers: making them of a more analytical nature and giving them, withal, a freedom of action and a perspicuity of expression which could be gained from no other source. But deriving, as he does, so many benefits from this course, the student has still the same great disadvantage to contend with, that of acquiring too much fondness for such pursuits, and unless he can learn to govern his desires with an absolute power, he need not hope ever to gain distinction—at least, in the *law*. Thus we see one great difficulty in the way of becoming a lawyer. Another is the extreme reluctance which men show to patronising an inexperienced attorney. We are all naturally so selfish, as to be willing to see others suffer greatly, rather than to bear a little ourselves. Before we would risk a few dollars in the hands of a poor but worthy young man, we will throw it into the hands of one who has as much practice as he can attend to. But this should never discourage a beginner, for he will always find among mankind some noble soul, whose feelings are congenial with his own, or who has, perhaps, been placed in the same situation, that will lend him a helping hand out of all his difficulties. Without trusting, however, to this seemingly precarious support, the student has only to do his duty towards his fellow men, and to act in accordance with his best interests, always honorably, regardless of the opinions of others, except so far so they are conducive to his own aggrandizement; and in spite of the world and fortunes frown, he will rise. I know no better illustration of the progress of a lawyer than that of the eagle's flight. At first, it rises but a few feet above the ground, and continues circling around and around, until there is a perceptible elevation, when his circles are more extended, his risings higher and higher, until finally he gets beyond the sight of mortals, and is lost amid the grandeur of the clouds. So the lawyer. At first, his task appears groveling and confined; for years he may remain in the same situation, but after a while people begin to discover his talents, they notice his assiduity; and from this, henceforth, his progress is upward. He embraces now within his power the genius of "good luck," and he is no longer a "beggar of fortune," but *she* bows to *his* control. First, he becomes famed as a good attorney; next, as a man of splendid talents; and lastly, as an able statesman; for these we may mark as the three eras in a lawyer's life in *this* country. Above all things, let a lawyer remember this passage from the Inferno of Dante,—cxxiv.

> "——— Che seggendo in piuma
> In Fama non si vien, ne sotto coltre;
> Sanza la qual chi sua vita consuma
> Cotal vestigio in terra di se lascia
> *Qual fummo in aere*, o in acqua la schiuma."

"'Tis not by reposing on pillows or under canopies that fame can be won, without which, he who passes life is as the smoke in the air, or the foam

on the wave, which leave no vestige of their existence." It applies more peculiarly to him and his profession than to any other. We seldom find men of very great genius, eminent lawyers, for persons of such minds are always averse to study and thought; they reach a thing rather by inspiration than by application, their fancies are continually running ahead of their reflection, and fancy and law are alike oil and water which it is impossible to commingle. He who would be great in the law must "bide his time," and adopt the good old Latin motto of "Omnia vincuntur perseverando patientia ac virtutē." While he is thus patiently waiting, every moment should be devoted to the study of principles and deductions; while engaged in bodily amusements, his mind should be undoing some knotty point, or ruminating upon some principle of ethics, and following it out to all its consequences. It will not do for the student to satisfy himself with a knowledge of crude and isolated propositions and demonstrations, but he must trace back the origin and cause of such a principle, he must notice the state of society in which it was first produced, and must watch the alterations which it may have undergone during the changes which have taken place among men. It is for this reason that all law students are advised to peruse and re-peruse, again and again, Hume's History of England, for there is to be found, in a smaller compass than anywhere else, the best account of the customs, situation and institutions of those people, from amongst whom emanated the fundamental principles of existing laws; and understanding their social and political organization, we can easily account for the origin of their laws. While I am on this subject I will merely recommend *three* books, which every one should be perfectly familiar with, before *touching* Blackstone, and he will thereby find his future course wonderfully facilitated. These books are Hume and Smollet's England, (or if preferred to Smollet's continuation, Macaulay's,) Hallam's Middle Ages, and the Old Testament. To him a thorough knowledge of the laws of the ancients is very necessary, and the Old Testament scriptures treat almost solely of the laws and customs of the Jews, the oldest people on earth. Next, a thorough understanding of the feudal institutions is indispensable to a correct comprehension of the common law, and from no work is this knowledge to be more easily gained, or by none to be more deeply impressed upon the mind of the reader, than by Hallam's Middle Ages. The History of England, with its benefits, have been alluded to above. Another requisite for a lawyer, and which character is indeed inseparable from a lawyer's, is that he should be an honorable man and a high-toned gentleman. There have been so many *little, petty-fogging attorneys* who have put on the robes of a lawyer, that it is necessary that every gentleman of the profession should consider himself as one of its main pillars and strive always to support its dignity. So many underhand, contemptible tricks have been resorted to by these nuisances for the purpose of gaining practice, that with many honest men a lawyer is now considered but another name for a rascal. "O, tempora, O, mores," cried the indignant Horace, who had not half so much cause to complain of them as any gentleman lawyer has now.

"Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor."—*Virg.*

PORTRAITS IN PEN AND PENCIL.

PHILIP FRANCIS THOMAS.

Philip Francis Thomas was born at Easton, the county town of Talbot County, Md., on the 12th of September, 1810. He was the son of an eminent physician, who pursued the practice of his profession in the same county for more than fifty years. His mother was the daughter of Philip Francis, a gentleman of Irish descent, and of the same family as Sir Philip Francis, the reputed author of "Junius' Letters." Portraits of several distinguished members of this family are still in possession of a near relative of Mr. Thomas.

Young Thomas was placed at the academy at Easton, then, and for many years, under charge of an Irishman named Thompson, a teacher of great celebrity, particularly of the classics. Here he continued with great advantage, until the death of Thompson, when he was sent to Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa., where he remained about two years, until he was suspended for some youthful indiscretion; and returning home, entered the office of Wm. Hayward Esq., of Easton, as a student of law.

He was admitted to the bar in November, 1831, and in a very short time enjoyed an excellent practice. The peculiar bent of his genius, however, impelled him towards public life, and he soon became active in politics, warmly espousing the democratic side, in opposition to even other members of his family, who were all federalists and whigs. But the democratic party were, unfortunately, in a minority of several hundreds in Talbot, and when nominated to the House of Delegates in 1834, he was with his whole ticket defeated by a considerable majority. On the 5th of February, 1835, he was married to Miss Kerr, of Talbot County.

In 1836, we find him again before the people, advocating the call of a convention to reform the constitution of the state; a measure ardently desired by the larger counties of Western Maryland, but unpopular with the smaller counties of the East, and the Eastern Shore particularly. He also warmly defended the stand taken by the nineteen democratic electors, then producing great excitement throughout the state. The democratic party was however again defeated at the October election of that year in Talbot by two hundred votes.

The legislature of 1836, passed a bill amending the constitution, so as to give the people a direct vote in the election for governor; and in 1837, Mr. Thomas took the bold step of canvassing his county alone and without nomination; contrary to the advice and wishes of his warmest friends. Under these disadvantages, he made so gallant a fight, that he was defeated by only seventeen votes. He had succeeded, however, in rallying his party, and infusing into it the best possible spirit. He was a member of the convention which assembled in Baltimore in 1838, under the amended constitution, to select a democratic candidate for the gubernatorial office. The convention nominated Wm. Grason, and Mr. Thomas boldly pledged a majority in Talbot County for the nominee. The pledge was most gallantly redeemed, the county gave Grason 130 majority, elected the whole democratic ticket for the legislature, and Mr. Thomas, who was on the ticket, was elected by over 190 votes. Since then, with the exception of one year, Talbot County has been thoroughly democratic.

Although the democrats had succeeded in electing their governor, the whigs had majorities in both branches of the legislature. In this body, Mr. Thomas was called upon to play a prominent part, and soon achieved a high reputation for acuteness in debate, sound correct views, and extensive information.

Many questions of vital importance to the state were brought forward and discussed at length. Not the least important of these grew out of the position of the state with regard to her works of internal improvement. Already a debt of eight millions of dollars has been incurred in their prosecution. This sum, though large, had proved to be utterly inadequate to their completion. These works were on a gigantic scale, a panic had seized upon the people, and through them was communicated to the legislature. Those interested in the works called loudly upon the state for further aid. Mr. Thomas' position was one of peculiar difficulty. His immediate constituents, and indeed the whole people of the Eastern Shore, had always been warmly opposed to the whole system of pledging credit of the state to raise funds for the construction of public works. In this state of things he did not hesitate to advocate warmly the policy of extending the credit of the state in aid of these works. In his situation, it must be conceded, that to do so required no small degree of boldness, foresight, and freedom from prejudice. His views were urged with force and effect. "He regarded the subject of the completion of the public works, considering the magnitude of the debt already incurred, as a question of finance. He believed the most certain means of extrication from debt and of relief from perpetual taxation, would be found in an increase of the debt, for the purpose of rendering the works available; the question was, in fact, whether the works should be abandoned, with a loss of all that had been expended on them, or the debt increased, in the hope of ultimate relief from the fruits of the works themselves." With these views he voted for aid to the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, to the amount of $1,370,000; for several measures of relief to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; and for a loan of $1,000.000, to the Susquehanna and Tide Water Canal.

His advocacy of this last-mentioned measure was based upon his conviction of its vast importance to the commercial prospects of the city of Baltimore, and his belief that the interests of the whole state were in no small degree dependant upon the commercial prosperity of this city. The sagacity of these views has since been fully vindicated, by the rapid increase of the city of Baltimore, and the prosperous condition of the works of internal improvement, all of which are contributing lazily to the Treasury, except the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, which has not yet reached the mineral regions of the state.

Other questions of an exciting nature occupied the attention of the legislature at this session. There were four contested seats, and the committee made majority and minority reports in each case. Parties were almost equally divided, and long and fierce debates ensued. Mr. Thomas participated in these debates freely, and with great effect.

At the close of this session of the legislature, Mr. Thomas' friends determined to run him as a candidate for Congress, in the district which he resided. The chances of successs were slender, but the triumph would be, therefore, the greater. They relied implicitly upon his powers; and with the accustomed readiness to encounter odds, he placed himself at their disposal.

He was accordingly nominated in the summer of 1839, by a convention

held at Centerville, in Queen Ann's County, as a candidate to represent that district in the House of Representatives.

The district composed of the counties of Cecil, Kent, Queen Ann's, Caroline and Talbot was thoroughly whig, and had been for several terms represented by a whig of high talents and character, the Hon James A. Pearce, at present a senator in Congress from Maryland. Mr. Pearce was again nominated by the whig party. The district was canvassed thoroughly and warmly, Mr. Pearce and Mr. Thomas often meeting upon the stump. During this canvass, Mr. Thomas was arraigned upon the stump, and in the newspapers for his internal improvement votes, in the preceding session of the legislature, and warm appeals were made against him to the popular prejudices of his district, and of his own county particularly, upon that subject. He defended himself by a frank and candid avowal of his views and opinions as given in the legislature, and as set forth above.

The result was the election of Mr. Thomas by nearly 200 majority, every county in the district giving him a majority except Kent, the county of Mr. Pearce's residence. When Mr. Thomas took his seat in Congress he was twenty nine years of age.

The history of the first session of that Congress will be long remembered. It was stormy and tumultuous; its discussions and proceedings marked throughout by the most intemperate feelings ingendered by party strife.

The chief exciting causes of this violent party feeling, were the celebrated cases of the Jersey and Pennsylvania contested seats. After the organization of the house, which was delayed for more than a month, Mr. Adams occupying the chair temporally, Mr. Thomas was placed upon the committee on the militia, then charged with the consideration of the plan of the Secretary of War, recommended by the President, for enrolling and disciplining the militia of the United States. Its deliberations were therefore of much more consequence than usual. The plan had been freely and openly denounced by the whigs throughout the country, and the President charged with the design to raise a standing army. This occasioned the debates in the committee to be frequent, long, and violent. The committee finally divided in their report, the majority sustaining the President's views, and the minority reporting against them. Mr. Thomas was also somewhat unexpectedly called upon, to take part in the most exciting matter of the session, the excitement of which was, perhaps, fortunately for the whig party, confined to the committee. Very soon after the house was organized, Mr. Fisher of North Carolina asked to be excused from serving on the committee of elections, and Mr. Thomas was named as his successor. Some of the ablest men in the house were members of this committee. Among them were Fillmore, Truman Smith, and Botts, on the whig side, Campbell of South Carolina, (chairman,) A. V. Brown of Tennessee, and Medill of Ohio. When Mr. Thomas became a member of this committee, the contest from Pennsylvania, between Ingersoll and Naylor, was nearly disposed of; he therefore declined participating in the proceedings relative to that case. Whilst the committee were proceeding with the case, the New Jersey contestants were at home taking testimony. The amount of labor imposed upon the committee may be judged of from the fact, that they brought with them evidence applicable to something short of six hundred contested votes.

It was therefore necessary to authorise the committee to sit during the

sessions of the house. These sittings commenced in the spring, and continued almost to the close of the long session of Congress, lasting frequently 12 or 15 hours per day, and on one occasion at least, during the whole night. Each contested vote was separately canvassed, the testimony on each side read by the contestants, and discussed by them, and then debated by the members of the committee, often with great violence, after debate, decided by yeas and nays, recorded upon a journal kept by a special clerk. As may be readily conceived the most important questions arising under the laws of evidence, and of residence involving "Conflict of Laws," were continually coming up for discussion.

During this investigation, General Harrison was nominated as the whig candidate for the presidency; and the whig members of the committee were too clear sighted not to discover, that their policy was to protract its sessions and delay its report. Much capital was to be manufactured out of the New Jersey case by artful misstatements and denunciations of the democratic party, and the report being delayed or prevented, contradiction or explanation would be nearly impossible. The course pursued by these gentlemen in accordance with this policy, prevented the committee from reporting until a short time before the close of the session. In proof of the interest taken by Mr. Thomas in this case, and of his habit of attention to business, it is proper to state that he was not absent from the committee room a single day during its sittings, which lasted several months. He was, therefore, rarely in the house, and of course had no opportunity to participate in its proceedings.

He united with the majority of the committee, in the report giving the seats to the contestants, against the *Broad Seal* of the State of New Jersey; and prepared a speech for its defense in the house.

This, however, he was not permitted to deliver, as upon the production of the report, a few days only before the close of the session, the previous question was resorted to and all debate cut off.

After the adjournment of Congress, Mr. Thomas returned to his post on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and took an active part in the presidential campaign, visiting several of the counties of his district, and addressing the people in behalf of the democratic candidate.

At the close of his congressional term, he was again nominated for a seat in the Congress called together by General Harrison in the spring of that year; a due consideration for his private interests however, induced him to retire from public life. and apply himself more closely to his professional pursuits. The nomination was therefore declined. He now resumed the practice of his profession with increased energy, and the office of Judge of the Land Office Court for the Eastern Shore becoming vacant by the demise of Thomas J. Bullet Esq., a very eminent lawyer, the appointment was tendered to him by Governor Grason, and accepted.

He continued to discharge the duties of this office untill by law it was abolished and merged in the Western Shore Land Office, of which the Chancellor of the State is *ex officio* Judge.

In the fall of 1843, he was prevailed on to represent Talbot County again, in the House of Delegates of Maryland, and was accordingly nominated and elected to a seat in that body. Here a wide field was opened for the exertion of his talents. The finances of the state were in a miserable condition. The public works had failed to yield a revenue, and the interest of an enormous public debt was to be raised by direct taxation. The work of taxation had been commenced in 1840; but great

difficulty had been experienced in enforcing the provisions of the tax laws, and even if enforced, they were clearly insufficient to raise the necessary amount of revenue. The whigs, as usual, had the ascendancy in the legislature. Indeed they had carried the state elections in 1843, by the force of loud and reiterated promises to redeem the credit of the state. But a gubernatorial election was to come off on the ensuing fall, and an increase of the taxes might be hazardous with effect upon that election. They therefore preferred proving by the paper calculations of their Committee of Ways and Means, that the existing tax laws, if enforced, would yield revenue enough to meet all the state's engagements with a margin. In a speech of great power and effect, Mr. Thomas reviewed and denounced the course of the whigs with regard to the State's finances; demonstrated the utter fallacy of their paper calculations; and called upon them to redeem the promises upon the faith of which they had been elected, and proceed at once to the passage of bills which should be effectual in producing a revenue adequate to the public exigencies. They, however, contented themselves with relying upon their calculation, and protesting that they had done all that was necessary. It may be appropriately stated here, that at the very next session of the legislature the allegations of Mr. Thomas with regard to the insufficiency of the whig revenue laws, were abundantly sustained. Governor Pratt, (to whom too much praise can scarcely be awarded for his administration of the financial affairs of Maryland, at this fearful crisis,) told them in his inaugural address that they had failed to sustain the public faith, and advised a series of measures for raising additional revenue, which they forthwith enacted into laws.

At the same session, Mr. Thomas again advocated measures for the completion of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, regarding it as more peculiarly a financial measure than before. Finding that the anxiety of the whigs for success in the next gubernatorial election, and their fear of hazarding their chances, had completely paralyzed their state faith energies, and that no renovating measure was to be expected from them at that session, within the last two or three days of the session Mr. Thomas introduced a bill providing for an exchange of the stocks of the state in her internal improvement companies, for state bonds.

Out of this grew the charge of "repudiation," made against Mr. Thomas, when a candidate for the office of governor,—a charge which it will be easily seen, it was necessary for the whigs to make in order to cover up their own dereliction, which he had so successfully and fearlessly exposed. The charge, however, was not and could not be substantiated, as will be seen from the accompanying circumstances. The stocks, it is true, were at a very low point, but the bonds were in the hands of those who had purchased them at prices ranging from $40 to $60, and the exchange would have worked no injury even at that time. Indeed, subsequent events go far to show, that no injury would have resulted to any one, if the bill had become a law; except that the capitalists who held the bonds and received the stocks in exchange for them, would have had to expend their money in the completion of the works in order to save themselves, instead of lending it to others to effect the same object. Then, as avowed and as shown by the late period at which the bill was introduced, the object of its author was rather to show up to the people the true state of things, than to effect its passage, which indeed could not have been reasonably expected. Besides, at the same session, Mr. Thomas had warmly opposed the law for the sale of coupons belonging to the Sinking

Fund, upon the ground, that the state could not rightfully by her own act depreciate her own securities, with a view to profit by purchasing them herself at depreciated prices, and that such a measure would be anything but good faith to her creditors. and calculated to deceive her people.

He was again upon the ticket for the legislature in 1844, but the great popularity of Mr. Clay in Maryland, and the desperate exertions of the whigs, occasioned the defeat of the whole ticket in Talbot County. Mr. Thomas was himself defeated by 18 votes.

In 1845, he was again nominated and elected to the House of Delegates. The great question of the session was that of conventional reform. As usual he supported the measure of reform by convention with great warmth, and discussed it at length, in a speech which infused fresh hopes into the bosoms of its friends, and gained for himself a high rank as a parliamentary orator and debater.

This session of the state legislature closed his legislative career. He was about to be called to a higher and more responsible post than the people of his state had yet bestowed npon him, and one far more difficult to obtain. In all parts of the state his name had been spoken of in connection with the office of governor, at the election to take place in October, 1847.

As soon as he became aware of the serious intention of the party to make him their candidate for this high office, he acquiesced with his accustomed readiness to serve them, but declined doing anything whatever which could be construed into an effort to obtain the nomination, believing, as he then and has since avowed, that it was a high honour if obtained without solicitation, but worthless if procured by asking or by any attempt to forestall the opinion of the party.

Under these circumstances, he received the nomination and accepted it; canvassed the whole state, defended himself and party against the charge of "repudiation," which was everywhere made by the oposite party, and was elected by a larger majority than either of his predecessors had received. Mr. Thomas did not fail to avail himself of the opportunity presented by the gubernatorial campaign, to discuss the measure of conventional reform, with which he has been during his whole career thoroughly identified. It is believed that his earnest and eloquent advocacy of that cause in all parts of the state, contributed materially to its success.

It is not proposed to attempt even a sketch of the administration of Governor Thomas; the limits of the present notice forbid it. His inaugural address, delivered on the 3d of January, 1848, before the two Houses of the Legislature, in Annapolis, and a large concourse of citizens, elicited much and deserved admiration. It contains a lucid and learned argument in favor of conventional reform, in which the errors and absurdities of the present seventy years old constitution of Maryland, are strikingly set forth, the enormous patronage of its executive, the great cost of its judiciary, and the utter absurdity of the position that the people in prescribing the mode in which the constitution should be amended or changed by the legislature, had parted with their own right to alter, change, or abolish the instrument at their pleasure.

His message to the legislature, at their December session of 1849, is also an admirable state paper, remarkable for the excellence of its style, its methodical arrangement, and the perspecuity of its detail.

In it he displays the most perfect understanding of the complicated financial affairs of Maryland. With justifiable pride, he exhibits the result

of a wise system of revenue laws faithfully administered, shows a balance in the treasury after meeting all engagements of nearly $500,000, and predicts the payment of the whole debt in thirteen years, but declines recommending any reduction of the taxes. It is due to Governor Thomas, that the reasons upon which this advice is given to the legislature should be set forth in his own words. "The right of a community to incur any pecuniary liability binding the property of its citizens, implies the corresponding duty of providing the ways and means for its extinguishment, within a reasonable time. No one race of men is possessed of the moral power to entail upon its successors the payment of a debt, created for its own supposed advantage, or by reason of its own reckless improvidence. The existing debt of the State of Maryland, has been contracted with the consent, or recognised as binding by the acts of the present generation, and whether the one or the other, upon the same generation is devoted the high moral obligation of relieving posterity of its burden." Upon the slavery question, transmitting the resolutions of many states, he says: "Non-intervention is all the south has ever asked, and however reasonable the request, it has been more than once boldly, if not indignantly refused;" and he advised the legislature, "to make the solemn declaration in advance, of the unalterable determination of this state, in case of the passage of the 'Wilmot Proviso,' or any similar scheme, to make common cause with the south and resist to the end so palpable a violation of her right." In conclusion, he says, "upon the Governor of Maryland is devolved peculiarly and exclusively, the execution and enforcement of the system of revenue, enacted for the redemption of public debt, and whether the complicated character of these laws, the revenue which they produce, or the number of agents charged with its collection and payment, is adverted to, it may well be inferred that so far from a sinecure, the executive office is one of ceaseless labor, anxiety and care."

The condition of the finances of Maryland show abundantly that these duties have been zealously and faithfully performed by the present executive. The duties of the executive of Maryland, under our present unwise constitution are onerous in the extreme. There is no board of public works, no bureau of accounts, all devolves upon the executive. The distribution of an enormous patronage is a perpetual snare to his feet. Truly has it been said, that he who confers an appointment sought by many, makes all but one *disappointed*, and that one *ungrateful*. Happy the man who steers his barque safely through an ocean so vexed, and turbulent; who does his duty fearlessly and well, and is rewarded by the cheers of his friends and the respect of his enemies. For such a one, there is but one better reward, the approving voice of his own conscience.

In person, Governor Thomas is of medium size and tolerably robust. His movements are rapid and graceful. The portrait accompanying this sketch gives an accurate resemblance of his face and features in a state of rest, but like most portraits, fails to convey an idea of the same face when illumined by the spirit within. His manners are cordial, frank, and affable; his style of speaking is unusually felicitious.

Governor Thomas will be forty years old when the term of his present office expires. In the prime of life, and possessing the confidence and affections of the people of his state, it is to be presumed that he is destined at no very remote period to play out the part which he has commenced.

FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL REVIEW.

During the month money has been very abundant, with falling rates in almost all the Atlantic cities. The importations of goods have been large; and the consequent demand for exchange, considerably aided by a demand for silver for the continent, independent of the ordinary operations of commercial balances. The exports of stocks have also been very considerable, amounting, as indicated on the transfer books at Washington, from their opening, January 1st to the close, June 1st, for dividends of July 1st, to four millions. In addition to this, considerable amounts of coupon stocks, and also of company securities have been sent abroad, probably to the full extent of $10,000,000 in the 6 months. The demand for these securities continues unabated; and the result of releasing so large an amount of American capital at high prices from their investments, has tended to increase the abundance here, without inducing, as yet, any material speculation. Three important financial operations have taken place, indicating, in their results, the abundance of money. The Erie Railroad proposed to issue, for the completion of the road to Lake Erie, $3,500,000 Income Bonds—so called from the net income of the road being pledged to the payment of principal and interest of the bonds, which are payable after five years, and bear 7 per cent. The contractors took $1,000,000 of the bonds at par, and the bids for the remainder reached $6,412,000, ranging from 89 to 91—and the whole amount, $25,00,000, was awarded to bidders over 90. The state of Ohio, also, in order to meet stocks falling due, proposed bids for $2,600,000, of five and six per cent. stocks, and the bids amounted to $3,100,000, of which the following was awarded:—

ACCEPTED BIDS FOR THE OHIO STATE LOAN.

Six per Cent. Stocks of 1875.

$10,000	$15 26	prem	J. P. Hamilton.
10,000	15 64	"	" "
5,000	15 75	"	" "
5,000	14 83	"	L. & E. De Coppet.
17,000	14 03	"	" "
13,000	13 63	"	" "
12,000	12 77	"	" "
13,000	12 33	"	" "
200,000	14 03	"	A. Belmont and others.
200,000	13 81	"	" "
200,000	13 58	"	" "
200,000	13 06	"	" "
200,000	12 81	"	" "
200,000	12 38	"	" "
$200,000	$11 81	prem	A. Belmont and others.
125,000	11 06	"	" "
$1,610,000			

Five per Cent. Stock of 1865.

$200,000	0 28	prem	A. Belmont and others.
200,000	0 78	"	" "
200,000	1 58	"	" "
200,000	1 88	"	" "
185,000	2 04	"	" "
$985,000			

All but $25,000 of the bids accepted were for foreign account. The $1,610,000 six per cent. loan, is redeemable at the pleasure of the state, after the year 1875—interest payable semi-annually in the city of New-York. The $1,000,000 five per cent. loan is redeemable at the pleasure of the state, after the year 1865—interest payable semi-annually in the city of New-York.

The proceeds of these loans are applicable to the redemption of similar amounts falling due after December 31st, and until that time the larger proportion remains at five per cent. interest on the stocks, as collateral. That is to

say, the state loans $2,500,000 at five per cent. on its own stocks, with a margin of five per cent. from the face. This indicates the abundance of money.

The state of Pennsylvania, in order to meet $3,500,000 of five per cent. loans falling due, and which are subject to taxation, issues proposals for that sum in a four per cent. stock, not subject to taxation.

Among the evidences of general prosperity, which on all sides indicate the beneficent operation of those democratic principles, that were established in the administration that gave place to the Galphin dynasty, are to be reckoned the revenues on public works. These afford an index as well to the quantities of produce and goods transported or interchanged between agriculturists, manufacturers, and merchants, as to the increasing number of persons, who, either by business or pleasure, are induced to spend some portion of their earnings in locomotion. For the purpose of observing the progress of business in this respect, we have compiled from official returns the receipts of the leading public works, as well canals as railroads, for consecutive years, and the results are as follows:—

REVENUES OF LEADING PUBLIC WORKS.

	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.
Ohio Canals	$613,302	$805,019	$785,882	$713,173
New-York Canals	2,756,106	3,635,381	3,252,212	3,266,226
Pennsylvania "	1,196,977	1,295,494	1,587,995	1,633,277
Total Canals	4,565,385	5,735,894	5,626,089	5,612,676
New-York Railroads	2,315,078	3.166,340	3,724,470	4,289,205
Massachusetts "	3,940,504	5,210 081	5,651,884	6,118,214
Philadelp'a & Baltim'e Railroad	568,555	643,065	638,102	627,904
Reading, &c., Railroad	1,900,115	2,002,945	1,692,555	1,933,590
Baltimore & Ohio Railroad	797,064	1,101,936	1,213,664	1,241,705
Georgia Railroad	400,935	383,863	582,014	626,813
Macon and Western Railroad	128,430	147,768	161,569	198 517
South Carolina Railroad	589,081	718,110	800,073	892,403
Litlte Miami Railroad	116,052	221,139	280,085	321,398
Michigan Central Railroad	277,478	347,555	373,981	600,986
Wilmington & Roanoke Railroad	317,822	331,480	317,459	310,397
Total Railroads	$11,343,114	14,274,282	15,435,856	17,161,132
Total Canals	15,908,499	20,010,176	21,061,945	22,773,808

Thus, as indicated by freights and passages on public works, the internal business of the country has in four years increased 40 per cent., or 10 per cent. per annum since the present tariff came into operation. This proportion was, however, greater than appears from the figures, because the rates of travel on many of the works were considerably reduced.

It is to be observed that the canals, the revenues of which are derived mostly from freights, swelled to a very high figure in 1847, from the extraordinary demand for produce in that year, and on the New-York and Ohio canals the figure of that year has not again been reached. A consequence of the large sales of that year may be traced in the enhanced revenues of the railroads, which are to a greater extent derived from passenger traffic. Thus, in Massachusetts, the revenue from freights rose from $2,307,681 in 1847 to $2,615,577 in 1849; while from passengers it rose from $2,650,513 to $3,234,136. In all sections of the Union where different interests reflect upon the railroads, the general results

are the same. The Michigan and Ohio roads show the progress of business in farming districts; the Georgia and South Carolina roads that of the cotton districts; the Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New-York roads that of the trading interests; while those of Massachusetts reflect more particularly the development of manufacturing resources; and these latter have not prospered the least. The amount of capital now invested in those of Massachusetts is $51,801,126, having increased twenty millions in four years, and nows pays an aggregate average profit of six per cent. from the net earnings of the works—a fact which does not indicate any very speedy revulsion like that which has overtaken the railroads of England. It appears that the produce and business of certain sections paid to capital invested in transportation $6,800,000 more money in 1849 than in 1846; and this at reduced charges, and without embracing freights on the canals. There must have been enhanced industry, and more abundant production, to have effected so large an apparent payment. As far as returns have been made for the present year, there has been an increase over the figures for 1850.

The imports at the port of New-York have been, as seen in the official table which we recently published, large, and this continues to be the case as compared with last year. Since the first of May, the imports, according to our weekly returns, have been as follows:—

IMPORTS OF DRY GOODS—PORT OF NEW-YORK.

	Wool.	Cotton.	Silk.	Flax.	Mis.	Total.	1849.
May 3	58,476	67,959	44.864	51,133	11,575	234,067	303,952
" 10	125,103	138,783	308,791	91,079	29.655	691,411	580,856
" 17	150.319	125,314	197,932	66,760	9,267	518,592	282,332
" 24	302,834	177,885	174,588	127,446	6,300	789,009	158,368
" 31	190,504	149,897	269,591	80.392	7,300	637,735	184,479
June 7	288,205	157,243	323,387	91,059	21,970	944,694	310,026
" 14	203,402	148,680	147.818	65,389	38,730	703,539	373,913
" 21	57,658	62,327	131,669	42,531	4,898	299,077	380.923
Total	$1,376,551	993,008	1,838,123	507,743	129,625	4,834,864	2,574,846

This is a very large increase in the supplies of goods, mostly in silks; and it is wonderful that, under the operation of a tariff so high as that which is now imposed, quantities so great can find sale in competition with those of our productions. The fact is apparent in the large quantities of raw material taken by manufacturers, and the present firmness not only of domestic but imported goods, under these large supplies of the latter, added to the rapid increase of southern and western factories, that a very considerable demand for goods exists in the country at large, and much in excess of last year. The abundance of the capital, and the stimulus recently given to the adoption of steam power, have combined to multiply factories in every locality. Two new factories are announced in Georgia, of 5000 spindles each—the one in Campbell county, just completed, and the other in Cobb county, just commenced. These southern works not only take supplies of cotton directly from plantations, but curtail to the extent of their operations the market for corresponding eastern and northern goods, without conflicting much with the finer descriptions imported. The prices which this year have been obtained for cotton have put into the hands of the south the means of entering the field of manufacturing. In order

to compare the rise in the value of the cotton crop, we shall take the number of bales exported from the United States, and the average prices monthly in New York—these showing generally the average value of the whole export:

COTTON EXPORTED FROM THE U. STATES, SEPT. 1 TO JULY 1.

	1849.			1850		
	Bales.	Prices.	Value.	Bales.	Prices.	Value.
To Jan. 1.	483,793	6¾a7½	13,570,600	362,335	11 a12	16,662,810
January	179,307	7¼a8	5,460,168	145,572	13 a13½	7,716,316
February	208,690	7¼a8¼	8,009,390	129,166	12½a13½	6,742,636
March	360,353	7¼a8	10,810,590	211,729	15¼a13¼	10,904,043
April	293,168	7¼a8	8,795,010	159,806	12¾a13¼	8,314,592
May	203,400	7¾a8¼	9,550,712	120,220	12¾a13¾	6,689,660
June	243,398	8¼a9¼	8,438,980	*79,282	13 a13¾	4,226,237
	2,117 210		$61,655,430	1,214,000		$61,256,294
Total '48.	1,645,895		51,876,069			

* June 1 to 14.

The accuracy of this mode of estimate is tested in the fact that the exports for 1848 and 1849 were $51,876,069 and $64,655,430 each for ten months. The official value of the whole year 1849 was $66,396,967. It will be observed also, that the exports for June, 1849, embraced the *whole month*, while for this year it is only half the month. If the exports for the last half of the month equal those of the first half, then the value of cotton exported this year, since September 1st, will have exceeded by nearly $1,000,000 the value of the large crop of 1849, and by $14,000,000 that of 1848. The supply of bills from this source this year is quite equal for the month to that derived from the same source last year, and exceeds by nearly 3,000,000 that of 1848. It is also to be considered that the stock now in the ports is 404,000 bales, worth $21,412,000 against 289,000 bales, worth $10,115,000, last year; that is to say, there is a value of 11¼ millions more on hand this year than last, and this is equal to cash. Under all these circumstances the Southern interests are prosperous. They have obtained more money for much less cotton, or they have obtained an average $52 per bale this year against $30 last year. The whole receipts stands as follows:

		Rate.	Value.
Sept. 1 to June 15, 1849	bales. 2,610,000	30	$78,300,000
Sept. 1 to June 15, 1850	1,912,000	52	100,984,000
Decrease	668 000		
Increase			22,684,000

That is to say, for 668,000 bales less cotton they have had $22,684,000 more money. Those large planters, therefore, whose crop was nearly an average, have had a most prosperous year; and the south, as a whole, has had less expense of bale rope and bagging, freight, transportation, &c., for the same value of sales. This has given them considerable means, not only for the purchase of goods, but for the establishment of factories; and this latter fact will exert its influence in another year.

POLITICAL MISCELLANY.

SENATORIAL FESTIVAL.

The clear-sighted, sagacious and patriotic course pursued by Senator Dickinson, as the representative of the great State of New-York in the National Senate, under the trying circumstances in which the democracy and the country has been placed, through the attempt of a few individuals to introduce sectional questions for selfish purposes, has won the admiration and respect of all parties. And, while the Whig Common Council were constrained to bow to public opinion and tender the great statesman civic honors and the hospitalities of the city for his services in relation to the establishment of a mint, his fellow-citizens, the democracy of the county, held a festival at Tammany-Hall, to testify their sense of his distinguished services in the cause of the Union and human rights. On the appointed evening, June 17th, the honored guest entered the dining-room, leaning on the arm of Charles O'Conor, Esq., the President.

The Vice-Presidents were John D. Van Buren, Royal Phelps, and John A. Lott, Esqs., and General Ward.

The guests numbered some two hundred, being all that could obtain tickets. Including among them Ex-Senator Stewart, of Maryland; the Hon. John McKeon, District-Attorney; Edw. Sandford, Esq.; Robert McLane, Esq., of Baltimore; Hon. Samuel Beardsley; Judge Barton, of Pennsylvania; Hon. Benjamin Brandreth; Hon. A. Birdsell; Ex-Mayors Lawrence, Mickle, and Morris; Ex-Alderman Stoneall; F. B. Cutting, Esq.; George Law, Esq.; Mr. McMurray, and other distinguished democrats.

As soon as the cloth was removed, the President of the evening, Mr. Chas. O'Conor, rapped to order, and proposed the first of the regular toasts, which was:—

"The Union—Conciliation called it into being; simple and even-handed justice will preserve it forever."

Mr. O'Conor proceeded to express, briefly and eloquently, the sentiments entertained by the democracy of the State for the distinguished guest, whose course rising above faction, had so eminently illustrated the genius of the Union.

"On the other hand, we have (said he,) seen the democrats, whom we have been accustomed to revere, to whom our hopes have been given during a quarter of a century, (I don't speak of one man, I speak of many,) I say we have seen the democracy—the sworn public officers who pledged their oath to support the Constitution—we have seen the fanaticial free-soilers, devoted to the establishment of dogmas which would destroy all harmony as well as the Constitution, since they violated all principle. Among the patriots who have been most distinguished in supporting the compromise of the Constitution, was the illustrious representative of New-York, whose vote at all times, and at every step of the question, has been true to the Constitution, true to the South, and faithful to the North, as a just representative of the great State of New-York."

Mr. Dickinson responded in a speech of great power—listened to with the liveliest interest—clearly demonstrating that the principles of self-government

whether applied to California or New-York, is the true basis of human liberty. The speech struck that chord of the democratic heart which ever responds to a sound principle; and the impression that New-York in the person of Mr. Dickinson is worthily represented in the United States Senate, was general.

SENATOR ELMORE.

South Carolina has been peculiarly unfortunate in the loss of eminent men, who represent her state sovereignty in the national councils. The death of the immortal Calhoun, on the 31st March, 1850, was followed by the appointment of the Hon. Franklin H. Elmore, to fill the vacancy. His credentials were presented on the 17th April, but his career only reached the 27th May, when he died at Washington, at the age of 60 years.

The Hon. Franklin H. Elmore was a native of South Carolina, and for a number of years past has been one of her most prominent politicians—a man of gigantic intellect, he possessed all the elements necessary to a great statesman. He was twice elected to Congress from the Charleston district of his native state, but in 1842 retired, with a determination to enter no more into public life. He was soon, however, called to the presidency of the Bank of South Carolina, to the interests of which he has since been most devoted. Upon the election of Mr. Van Buren to the Presidency, he was tendered the appointment of Minister to England, but declined, preferring a more private life. The same post was tendered him by Mr. Polk; but he again refused to accept. Mr. E. was a man of great personal popularity, and the legislature of his state, in 1848, elected him to the Senate of the United States, the news of which election he received about a week after it was made. He immediately repaired to Columbia, where the legislature was in session, and tendered his declination, positively refusing to take his attention from the duties of president of the bank; which he continued sedulously to discharge, until on the death of Mr. Calhoun, he was called upon by the Governor of South Carolina, to supply the vacancy in the United States Senate. This appointment he accepted, upon the condition that he should not be expected to accept and serve another term. In the domestic relations of life, Mr. Elmore was a kind husband, an affectionate father, and a firm friend. He was the intimate friend, and enjoyed the full confidence of his predecessor in the Senate. He married, in early life, a sister of the late Hon. Dixon H. Lewis, of Alabama, who survives him, with eleven children.

Hungarian Independence.—*Speech of the Hon. Alexander W. Buel, of Michigan, delivered in the House of Representatives, Feb.* 20, 1850.

The great problem of self-government as respects the Caucasian race, has been satisfactorily solved in the United States, and the steady light shed from our conspicuous and refulgent institutions, is penetrating the thick gloom of despotic affinities in Europe and like the fire which guided God's chosen people through the wilderness, leads the aspirations of expectant Europe towards their rightful inheritance of liberty. Bound about as those people are with the force, wiles, and wickedness of aristocratic oppressors, their struggles are more arduous and more hopeless than were those of our revolutionary sires in their darkest days. While they cling, hopefully, to our example in the hour of their trial, they look at least if not for direct aid against a common enemy, for such

encouragement as expressed sympathies may bestow—and these it is our obvious duty to proffer. A few noble hearts, who feel for the great principles of freedom whenever they may be jeoparded, have recognized this duty, and boldly demanded of the administration, why it has hesitated in the aid of Hungary to perform a duty which was promptly discharged in the case of France? The speech of Judge Buel most ably covers this ground, and eloquently sketches the geographical and political relations of the brave and intelligent Hungarians, to the rest of Europe, describing with great force and accuracy the gigantic exertions and skilful operations of the immortal Kossuth, not only on behalf of his own countrymen, but for the cause of freedom in Italy. He then, with becoming sarcasm, remarks:

"Let us now, Mr. Chairman, turn from these scenes of triumph to ourselves, to the American Executive and Cabinet. What were they doing whilst Hungary was sending her money to Venice and preparing to march to the relief of that Republic? What did they, or the President's 'agent in Europe' do, whilst the Sultan—yes, the Sultan, was openly expressing his sympathies for Hungary? What did they do, whilst even the autocrat of Turkey was loudly protesting against the march of Russian troops through her territories to the conquest of Hungary? Nothing, nothing. No kind protest or recognition fell from their lips. With tomb-like silence they listened to the burning appeal of Hungary, *whilst the grave of Washington spoke louder than his* LIVING MODEL. The voice of the dead was heard even above that of the living.

"Sir, we look in vain, in vain about us, for some evidence of a sincere, *heartfelt* and *practical* sympathy of the Administration, towards unhappy Hungary; and we are constrained to say, that in neglecting to recognize Hungary as a *de facto* government, at the period of her triumph over Austria, the President and his Cabinet departed from the settled policy of the country, 'disappointed the friends of freedom, and did violence to the sympathies and wishes of the American people.' The war, then, must go on: and it must go on, not merely for the sake of Hungary, but for the sake of order in Poland, order in Germany, order in Italy, and order in Europe.

"Now we have reached that point, when the aid of willing Russia was invoked, and she precipitated upon Hungary her Cossack legions to the number of 200,000, thus bringing into the field an army of 400,000 men. And for what? To *prevent* a revolution in Hungary? No, sir, to overthrow one already consummated; to undo that which had been already done. The real question was between Hungary and Austria. Did not the prayer of Austria for Russia help admit, as against herself, the triumph of Hungary, and her ability to maintain her independence? Did not the intervention of Russia with so mighty an army admit it, as against Austria? And should the American Executive have hesitated to admit, what had been thus admitted by Russia and even Austria herself?

"It mattered not, sir, in my opinion, what might be the result of the Russian invasion. It was not a question whether Hungary be independent of Russia, or whether she was able to maintain herself against the countless legions of the Czar. In such a struggle she might fall; yet the Executive should have hoped on to the end, well knowing that the voice of history utters a warning in the ears of the oppressor; and that there are times and circumstances which may give birth to 'one of those desperate struggles,' in which a just Providence yields not 'the race to the swift, nor the battle to the strong;' well knowing, that if history points to her Cherronea, she points also to her Thermopylæ; if she points to the gloomy banks of the Delaware, she points also to Bunker's Hill; if she points to the dark omens of the past, she points to the bright omens of the future.

The Executive, then, should have done his duty. He should have spoken the truth boldly. He should have done what Russia had done before him—

acknowledge the valor, the power, the independence of Hungary, and her ability to maintain it as against Austria. The kings and princes of the earth might have dissented from him, but their struggling and oppressed millions would have hailed it with joy. Our principles would have justified it; our consciences would have approved it. The blood of our revolution would have approved it, and liberty would have breathed more freely throughout the world."

He analyses, with great perspicuity, the flimsy pretext of the President's message, that he waited until Hungary could prove her ability to maintain her government permanently, before recognizing it. We would probably come the "day after never," with "the rest of mankind," when "all the world" is dead to recognize the government. But Judge Buel asks why so scrupulous a government permitted its minister to recognize the French Republic on the *third* day of its existence? We regret that our space will not permit more copious extracts from the very excellent speech of Judge Buel, but must refer our readers to the document itself.

UNITED STATES SENATE—YEAS AND NAYS.

The following are the leading questions on which the yeas and nays were taken in the Senate, showing the state of parties. The numbers of the questions, as stated, refer to the columns of votes in the table; and the vote of each member is expressed by Y for yea, and N for nay. The House votes will appear in the next number.

1. A resolution being offered to the effect, that Father Theobold Matthew be permited to sit within the bar of the Senate, was carried—yeas, 33; nays, 18.

2. On motion of Mr. Douglass, the Memorial and Constitution of Deseret, were referred to the Committee on Territories—30 to 20.

3. Mr. Douglass moved, that the bill to provide for the organization of the territorial governments of California, Deseret, and New-Mexico, and to enable the people of Jacinto, with the consent of the State of Texas, to form a Constitution and State Government, and for the admission of such state into the Union, upon an equal footing with the original states, in all respects whatsoever, be referred to the Committee on Territories was agreed to—yeas, 25; nays, 22.

4. A resolution, presented by Mr. Clemens, requesting the President to inform the Senate if any person, and who, has been appointed Governor of California? Also, whether any agent has been appointed, with instructions to organize a State Government for that territory? Who fixed the qualifications of the voters? and what they were? Under what law elections were held? Whether any census of the territory has been taken? What instructions were issued to an agent or governor? Whether any similar steps have been taken in relation to New-Mexico? And on what ground he states in his message, that the people of New-Mexico will soon ask for admission into the Union? Was passed—48 to 3.

5. Mr. Hale presented a memorial from the Society of Friends, asking that no state should be admitted into the Union, or territory erected, in which slavery was not prohibited; which was laid on the table—25 to 21.

6. Mr. Hale presented a memorial from citizens of Delaware and Pennsylvania, asking for a peaceful dissolution of the Union; the motion to receive the petition was rejected—51 to 3.

7. Mr. Seward presented a petition from the citizens of Honesdale, Wayne county, Pennsylvania; which was read as follows:

"*Petition for the establishment and protection of freedom in the Territories of the "United States.*

"*To the Congress of the United States:*

"The undersigned, citizens and electors of the State of Pennsylvania, residing in Honesdale, in the county of Wayne, respectfully pray, that slavery, and the slave trade, may be expressly prohibited by an act of Congress, in all the Territories of the United States."

Mr. S. also presented the following; which was read:

"*Petition to secure to alleged fugitives the right of trial by jury.*

"*To the Congress of the United States:*

"The undersigned, citizens and electors of the State of Pennsylvania, residing in Honesdale, in the county of Wayne, respectfully request, that provision may be made by law, that whenever a person shall be arrested as a fugitive slave, in any state other than that in which he is alleged to be held to service, he shall not be delivered to the claimant, or his agent, except on the finding of a jury, that he is the slave of the claimant."

The yeas and nays having been ordered,

Mr. Hale called for the reading of the petitions, and they were read as above.

The question being then taken, the yeas were 19, nays, 18.

8. *March* 12.—Mr. Foote renewed the motion for the appointment of a select committee, to whom to refer the plan of Mr. Bell for the settlement of the slavery question. This plan, identical with the suggestions of Mr. Webster, embraces the following propositions:—

1. To admit California, with suitable boundaries.

2. To provide for the purchase of the disputed territory of Texas, to be given up to New-Mexico.

3. To provide for the admission of two or three more slave states from Texas.

4. To provide governments for the Territories, without any legislation whatever on the subject of slavery.

The resolution was carried—24 to 22. Of the Senators, 14 were absent.

9. Mr. Seward, of New-York, having presented a petition for the enrolment of slaves in the militia, Mr. Clay moved that the prayer of the petitioner be rejected. After some ineffectual attempts of Mr. Seward to excite debate upon the subject, the motion of Mr. Clay was carried—48 ayes, noes, none.

10. Mr. Foote, of Mississippi, having moved to refer the resolutions of Mr. Bell, and also those of Mr. Clay, relative to the Territories and California, to a committee of thirteen; Mr. Benton moved the following amendment, which was lost—28 to 26.

Provided, Nothing in this resolution shall be construed to authorize the committee to take into consideration anything that relates to the admission of the State of California into the Union.

11. The motion recurring upon Mr. Foote's motion, Mr. Benton offered the following amendment, which was rejected—31 to 23.

Provided, That nothing in these instructions shall be construed to authorize the said committee to take into consideration anything that relates to either of the four following subjects:

1. The abolition of slavery within the states.

2, The suppression of the slave trade between the states.

3. The abolition of slavery within the forts, arsenals, dock-yards, and navy grounds of the United States.

4. The abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

And provided, further, That said committee shall not take into consideration any questions relating to the subjects of domestic slavery in the United States, which shall not be specially referred to it by order of the Senate.

12. Mr. Benton having again brought forward his defeated amendments, and finding them again rejected, moved to lay the whole subject on the table—lost, 28 to 24.

13. The pending question being upon Mr. Benton's instructions to the com-

mittee, declaring that Congress had no power over slavery in the states, nor the internal slave trade; and that Congress ought not to abolish slavery in the District, nor in the forts, arsenals and dock yards of the United States.

Mr. Clay moved to amend this proposition, so as to read,

Provided, That the Senate does not deem it necessary, and therefore declines to express, in advance, any opinion, or to give any instructions, either general or specific, for the guidance of the committee.

This was adopted—29 to 22.

14. After some fifteen or twenty motions by Mr. Benton, which were all voted down by about 10 to 28, the final question was taken upon the motion to refer Clay's and Bell's resolution to a Select Committee of 13, without instructions, and adopted—yeas, 30, nays, 22. So the Compromise Committee was carried by a majority of 8. It consists of Henry Clay, of Ky., Chairman; Lewis Cass, Mich.; Jesse D. Bright, Ind., Samuel S. Phelps, Vt.; William R. King, Ala.; Solomon U. Downs, La.; John Bell, Tenn.; D. S. Dickinson, N. Y.; Daniel Webster, Mass.; James Cooper, Penn.; James M. Mason, Va.; Willie P. Mangum, N. C.; John M. Berrien, Ga.

And they reported a bill.

15. *June* 5.—Mr. Chase offered an amendment, that nothing in Mr. Davis's amendment, which proposed that the territorial legislatures may pass laws for the protection of property of every kind that may be introduced into them, shall be construed so as to authorize the introduction of slavery into the territories; it was rejected by yeas, 25; and nays, 30.

16. Mr. Jefferson Davis'sa mendment, which proposed to permit the territorial legislatures to pass such laws as may be necessary for the protection of property of every kind, which may have been, or may hereafter be, introduced in said territories, conformably to the constitution and laws of the United States; was rejected—yeas, 24; nays, 31.

17. Mr. Seward moved to amend the thirty-eighth section of the compromise bill, by adding the provisions of the Wilmot proviso; rejected, by yeas, 23, nays, 33.

18. Mr. Berrien moved to amend the tenth section, so as to strike out the clause restricting the territorial legislatures from passing any law in respect to African slavery, and substituting therefor, the words, "in respect to the establishing or prohibiting;" adopted—yeas, 30, nays, 24.

19. Mr. Walker moved to amend the section, by introducing a clause abolishing *Peon* servitude in the territories.

Mr. Dickinson said he should vote against it, because it was calculated to embarrass the bill; and the subject was one that should be left to the discretion and intelligence of the legislatures of the territories; rejected—yeas, 20, nays, 32.

20. Mr. Baldwin moved to amend the 27th section, by adding the following: "it being hereby intended to be declared, that the Mexican law, abolishing slavery, shall continue to be in force in said territories, until altered or repealed by Congress;" rejected—yeas, 23; nays, 32.

21. *June* 14.—The motion, by Mr. Clemens, to fill the blank in the 39th section, relating to the boundaries of Texas, with "one million"—was lost—yeas, 8; nays, 30.

22. *June* 14.—The motion of Mr. Turney, to strike out the Texas Boundary clauses, &c., from the Compromise Bill, was lost, 27 to 24.

23. *June* 18.—Mr. Soule proposed the following amendment to the Compromise Bill:

"And when the said Territory [of Utah] or any portion of the same, shall be admitted as a state, it shall be received into the Union, with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission"—adopted—38 to 12.

24. *June* 19.—Mr. Davis, of Mississippi, submitted an amendment repealing all the pre-existing Mexican laws in the territories, restricting the possession and enjoyment of every species of property under the Constitution and laws of the United States Senate—rejected, 18 to 29.

SENATE—THIRTY-FIRST CONGRESS.

Assembled, Monday, December 3, 1849.....Expires, March 3, 1851.

MILLARD FILLMORE, of New-York, *President ex officio.*

[Whigs in *Italics;* Democrats in Roman; Freesoilers in SMALL CAPS. The figures before each Senator's name denote the year when his term closes. Whigs, 24; Democrats, 34; Freesoilers, 2.

The Hon. John C. Calhoun died March 31, 1850, and the credentials of his successor, Franklin H. Elmore, appointed by the Governor, and presented April 17, by Mr. Butler—Mr. Elmore not present. Mr. Elmore died at Washington, May, 27th.

Robert W. Barnwell was appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Elmore. Mr. Hunter presented his credentials, and Mr. Barnwell took his seat June 24th.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Ala.	1853, Jeremiah Clemens	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y		N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y		Y	Y
	1855, William Rufus King		N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Ark.	1853, William K. Sebastian	N	N		Y	Y	N		Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N			Y	Y
	1855, Solon Borland	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N		Y	N	N	N	Y	Y			Y	N	N					
Ct.	1851, *Roger S. Baldwin*	Y		Y	Y	N	N	Y	N		Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
	†1855, *Truman Smith*	Y			Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Del.	1851, *John Wales*	Y	Y	Y		N	N			Y	Y	N										N	Y	Y	
	1853, *Presley Spruance*		N	Y	Y	Y	N			Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Flori.	1851, David Levy Yulee	N	N	N			N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y			N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
	†1855, *Jackson Morton*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N		N	Y	Y
Ga.	1853, *Jno. Macpherson Berrien*	N	N	N	Y		N	N	Y							N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
	†1855, *William C. Dawson*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y							N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Indi.	1851, Jesse D. Bright	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N			Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N
	†1855, James Whitcomb	Y	Y	Y	Y		N	Y		Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N		Y	N	N	Y	N
Ill.	1853, Stephen A. Douglass	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N			Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N			Y	Y		Y		
	†1855, James Shields	Y	Y		Y		N			Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Iowa.	1853, Geo. Washington Jones	Y	Y	Y	Y		N	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	
	1855, Augustus Cæsar Dodge	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Ky.	1853, *Joseph R. Underwood*	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N		N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
	†1855, *Henry Clay*	Y	N	N		N	N		Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
La.	1853, Solomon U. Downs	Y			Y	Y	N	N	Y		N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	
	†1855, Pierre Soulé	Y			Y	Y		N		Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Maine	1851, Hannibal Hamlin	Y	Y	Y	Y				N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y		Y		N
	1853, James W. Bradbury	Y	Y	Y		Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y				
Mass.	1851, *Daniel Webster*						N			Y	N	N	Y		N	Y	N	N	Y	N		N	N	Y	N
	1853, *John Davis*	Y	Y		Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y		Y	N	N
Md.	1851, Pratt							N	Y		N	N				N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
	1855, *James A. Pearce*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y		Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y		N	Y	N	Y	Y
Miss.	1851, Jefferson Davis	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y		N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
	1853, Henry Stuart Foote	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N		Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N		N	Y	Y
Mich.	1851, Lewis Cass	Y				Y	N		Y		N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N		N	N	N	Y	N
	1853, Alpheus Felch	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y			N	
Mo.	1851, Thomas Hart Benton		Y	N	Y		N		N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
	1855, David R. Atchison	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
N. H.	1853, JOHN PARKER HALE					N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	
	†1855, Moses Norris, jr.	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y		Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
N. Y.	1851, Daniel S. Dickinson	Y	Y	Y	Y		N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N		
	†1855, *William Henry Seward*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	
N. J.	1851, *William L. Dayton*		N	Y	N		N		N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N		Y		Y	N	N
	1853, *Jacob W. Miller*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N			Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N		Y		Y	N	N
S. C.	1853, *Willie P. Mangum*	Y	Y	N		N	N		Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N				
	1855, *George E. Badger*	N	Y	N	Y		N		Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Ohio.	1851, *Thomas Corwin*		N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y		Y		N
	†1855, SALMON P. CHASE	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y		Y	N	N
Pa.	1851, Daniel Sturgeon	Y	Y		Y	Y	N	Y	Y			N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N		N	Y	N	
	†1855, *James Cooper*	Y	Y		Y	Y	N	Y		Y				N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
R. I.	1851, *Albert C. Greene*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N		N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y		Y	N	N
	†1853, *John H. Clarke*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N		N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N				Y	N	N
. *C.*	1853. John Caldwell Calhoun	N							N						died										
	* Franklin H. Elmore																		died						
	Robert W. Barnwell																								
	1855, Andrew P. Butler	N	N	N	Y		N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N		Y	Y	Y
Tenn.	1851, Hopkins L. Turney	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N		Y	Y	
	1853, *John Bell*	Y		N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Texas	1851, Thomas J. Rusk	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
	1853, Samuel Houston	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N									N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Vt.	1855, *Samuel S. Phelps*		N		Y		N		N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N										N
	1853, *William Upham*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N		N		Y	Y				Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y		Y	N	N
Va.	1851, James M. Mason	N	N	N	Y			N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N		Y	Y	Y
	1853, Robert M. T. Hunter	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N		Y	Y	Y
Wis.	¶1851 Henry Dodge		Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
	‡1855, Isaac P. Walker	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Cal.	William M. Gwin																								
	John C. Fremont																								

* Appointed by the Governor to fill a vacancy till the Legislature meet. † Had not seats in the 30th Congress.
‡ Was instructed to vacate his seat by the Legislature that elected him. ¶ Father of Senator Dodge, of Iowa.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

HISTORY OF ALABAMA, from 1540 to the close of the year 1820. By Albert J. Pickett, Montgomery, Alabama.

It is with great pleasure that we always greet any account the most meagre, which throws any light upon the early times and history of any of our States; and this sensation is doubly enhanced, when a gentleman and a scholar presents the reading public with a work so authentic, and at the same time so attractively written as this History of Alabama by Mr. Pickett, judging from the first chapter which has reached us in pamphlet form, describing the invasion of Alabama by one thousand Spaniards under De Soto, in 1540. In order to convey an idea of the general character of the history, we will here transcribe the account of it by the author:

"The history of Alabama, from the early period of 1540 until the close of the year 1820, has been written by the undersigned. If now published, it would form two volumes of five hundred pages each. He is now engaged in revising it for publication. It has been a work of immense labor, and attended with considerable outlay in money. If he had known, in the first instance, the cost and difficulty in procuring oral information; the time required to collect manuscript, documentary and book evidence, and to reduce the whole into historical form, he would scarcely have imposed upon himself such a task. But now that it is accomplished; by rescuing from oblivion the most important information, he does not regret the completion of a work which must be a benefit to his countrymen and to posterity.

"The undersigned has not written the History of Alabama for pecuniary gain. His time and labor have been given voluntarily and freely to the public. All he asks is the return of the actual outlay, by the sale of the work. He feels assured, that the people of Alabama, who possess a commendable State pride, will favor the enterprise to that extent.

"In the meantime, the undersigned respectfully invites the attention of his fellow-citizens of this State, and of the Union, to the following pamphlet, entitled the "Invasion of Alabama by De Soto, in 1540;" being the first chapter of the forthcoming work. He has been for years engaged in procuring the most accurate information in regard to De Soto's route through Alabama. Before the Indians removed to Arkansas, he conversed with the oldest and most reliable of them, and since then with intelligent old Indian countrymen,—few of whom yet linger in the world. He has not only made himself familiar with the Indian tradition upon this point, but has the evidence of General Alexander McGillivray, a talented and learned Creek Indian, well skilled in historical and political knowledge, and who ruled this country with eminent ability from 1775 to 1793. The undersigned has also been suffered to peruse the manuscript history of the Muscogee Indians, written by George Stiggins, a half-breed Indian, who received in his boyhood some particulars of the route of De Soto from the most ancient Indians. In addition to all these, the undersigned has obtained the oldest French and Spanish maps of this country, upon which the towns of Coosa, Tallise, and others through which De Soto passed, are properly laid down. He is particular to mention his sources of information, to satisfy the public upon the correctness of the following journal; for many American writers, unacquainted with the geography of this State and the Indian names, have prodigiously erred in conducting De Soto into Tennessee and Kentucky. Others have incorrectly carried him from the head waters of the Coosa across to those of the Warrior, and thence by the modern city of Tuscaloosa. Theodore Irving, in his Conquest of Florida, has in a great measure been accurate and faithful in describing the route of De Soto and the incidents attending it. Our own able, accomplished writer and earliest pioneer in Alabama history, the Hon. A. B. Meek, of Mobile, has also given a condensed but graphic account of this expedition, published in a monthly Magazine, entitled "The Southern," Tuscaloosa, 1839. He is generally correct as to De Soto's route, and entirely so in regard to the character of the invasion and those particulars of it which he describes.

"But while the undersigned has been aided by the Indian tradition, an accurate knowledge of the country, and other collateral proof, in the following narrative, his main reliance has been upon the original journals of De Soto. Of all historic evidence,

a daily journal kept by a disinterested person is the most reliable. Such the undersigned believes to have been the character of the writers who made notes upon the expedition of De Soto. They entered in their note-books the day of the month, and even the day of the week, of each day's march, when anything particular happened. Although the undersigned has adopted more generally the journal of the Portuguese eye-witness rather than the other, in regard to marches and the names of the towns, yet he is not prepared to agree with most American authors in condemning the other, as less accurate and the least to be relied on in all respects. Indeed, he has been astonished, that the journals of the expedition should have so well agreed. They, however, differ sometimes, but not more than other writers who pass through the same scenes.

"One of these journals was written by a cavalier attached to De Soto's expedition, who was a native of Elvas, in Portugal. He finished his narrative the 10th of February, 1557, in the city of Evora, and it was printed in the house of Andrew de Burgos, printer and gentleman of the Lord Cardinal, the Infanta. It was translated into English by Richard Hakluyt, in 1609, and is to be found in the supplementary volume of his voyages and discoveries, London, 1812. It is also published at length in the Historical Collections of Peter Force, of Washington City.

"The other journal of the expedition of De Soto, in possession of the undersigned, was written by the Inca Garcellasso de la Vega, a Peruvian by birth, and a native of the city of Cuzco. His father was a Spaniard of noble blood, and his mother the sister of Capac, one of the Indian sovereigns of Peru. Garcellasso was a distinguished writer of that age; he had heard of the remarkable invasion of Florida by De Soto, and he applied himself diligently to obtain the facts. He found out an intelligent cavalier of that expedition, with whom he had minute conversations of all the particulars of it. In addition to this, journals were placed in his hands, written in the camp of De Soto, one by Alonzo de Carmona, a native of the town of Priego, and the other by Juan Coles, a native of Zafra. Garcellasso published his work at an early period in Spanish. It has been translated into French, but never into English. The copy in our hands is entitled "Historie de la Conqueste de la Floride ou relation, de ce qui e'est passe dans la decouvte de ce pais, pais, par Ferdinand De Soto, Composee en Espagnol, par L' Inca De La Vega, et raduite en Francois, par Sr. Pierre Richelet, en deux tomes, A Leade, 1731."

"Without further trespass upon the patience of the reader, the undersigned subsubscribes himself, respectfully, "A. J. Pickett."

The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. By Edward Gibbon, Esq. With Notes, by the Rev. H. H. Milman. A new edition; to which is added a complete Index to the whole work. In six volumes. Vol. I., 12mo. pp. 590. New-York: Harper Brothers.

The great historical work of Gibbon, with all its pretended faults, "is," as the editor remarks, "indispensable to the student of history." For research and varied learning, luminous arrangement, and general accuracy, it will doubtless remain a standard work upon the subject of which it treats. Recent editions have been made more valuable from the critical comments of M. Guizot, as well as others. The present learned commentator has derived the principal portion of his materials from the French translation, with the notes of M. Guizot, a German translator, with the notes of Wenck, and from other equally respectable sources. The critical notes of successive commentators contribute to render the present edition all that could be desired; and the enterprising publishers have rendered an important service to the student of ancient history in presenting them in this improved shape. The work is published in uniform style with Harper's edition of Hume and Macaulay's History of England. The first volume, before us, is to be followed, at short intervals, with the remaining five of the unabridged work.

Shakspeare's Dramatic Works, with Introductory Remarks and Notes, original and selected. Boston edition: Phillips, Sampson & Co.

This beautiful edition progresses promptly, at the extremely low price of 25 cents per number, each containing a play, illustrated by an exquisite engraving of its chief female character. Number sixteen, containing Macbeth, with a portrait of Lady Macbeth, has made its appearance. This very beautiful edition attracts much attention.

Iconographic Encyclopædia of Science, Literature and Art; systematically arranged. By G. Heck; with five hundred steel engravings, by the most distinguished artists of Germany. The text translated and edited by Spencer F. Baird, A.M., M.D., Professor of Natural Sciences in Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. Rudolph Garrique, Publisher, No. 2 Barclay-street, Astor-House, New-York.

This great and valuable work continues regularly to make its appearance, in semi-monthly numbers. Parts eight and nine have now been issued, embracing plates 11 to 42, and letter text pages, 401 to 449 and to 68, Vol. 2. The style of the execution of the plates wins the admiration of every observer. They have a distinctness of outline, and a finish in detail, but seldom met with. The deep lines are given with a clearness and precision, showing the most perfect specimens of printing. The whole is incredibly cheap, being but $1 for twenty of those admirable plates, accompanied with eighty pages of letter text.

Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution: or, Illustrations of Pen and Pencil, of the History, Scenery, Biography, Relics and Traditions of the War of Independence. By Benson J. Lossing; with 600 Engravings on wood. By Lossing and Barrett; chiefly from original sketches by the author. Harper Brothers.

Numbers two and three of this great work, to be completed in twenty numbers, semi-monthly, at 25 cents each, have appeared. It should be in the hands of every American, and probably no publication will be more popular. Its beautiful pictures, with both pen and pencil, of every scene of struggle and suffering in that great effort of our forefathers for freedom, will be eagerly sought by all.

The Professor's Lady. By Berthold Auerbach. Translated by Mary Howitt. Harper Brothers.

A very interesting German Tale.

The United States Lawyer's Directory and Official Bulletin, for 1850; comprising the name and place of residence of every Practising Lawyer in the Union; the names and places of residence of the Commissioners of Deeds, appointed by the Governors of the various States; together with the Manual of the American Legal Association, compiled by John Livingston, of the New-York Bar, Editor of the United States Monthly Law Magazine. John Livingston, 54 Wall-street.

Not only for the legal profession, but for all persons doing business in the Union, this work is of extraordinary utility. It comprises a list of 19,527 Practising Lawyers in the United States, alphabetically arranged, according to States and Towns. The typography is superb—bearing the imprint of George F. Nesbitt.

Reginald Hastings: or, A Tale of the Troubles in 164–. By Eliot Warburton, Esq., author of "Hochelaga," &c. Harper Brothers.

This forms No. 143 of the Library of Select Novels.

Harper's New Monthly Magazine. Harper Brothers.

This is a new enterprise in the way of periodical literature. It purports to glean from the entire circle of periodicals the choicest productions, and to combine them in one well-printed magazine of 144 pages, at $3 per annum. It is not intended for any particular class of readers, but to keep all "posted up" in relation to the literary events of this progressive age.

The Gallery of Illustrious Americans. New-York: Published from Brady's Gallery.

The fifth number of this great national work is devoted to a portrait and sketch of the life and character of the Hon. Henry Clay. The portait, drawn and engraved by D.

Avignon, is in the same finished and masterly style of the portraits embraced in former numbers of this work. The biographical notice, from the pen of C. Edwards Lester, Esq., is a model of artistic elegance and diction. It is one of the most laconic and comprehensive portraitures of character we have ever read. The sixth number is occupied with Col. J. C. Fremont.

TREATISE ON MARINE AND NAVAL ARCHITECTURE: or, Theory and Practice of Ship-Building. By John W. Griffiths, Marine and Naval Architect. Illustrated by more than 50 Engravings. Burford & Co., Astor-House.

The sixth number of this great work has made its appearance, and fully sustains the great reputation of the architect and author.

LATTER DAY PAMPHLETS. Edited by Thomas Carlyle. Phillips, Sampson & Co. Boston.

This number six speaks of "Parliaments," and embraces Congress in its clear and energetic strictures upon the talking spirit of the age.

THE HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. By Edward Gibbon. 12mo, pp. 643. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co.

This new edition of the great work of Gibbon, accompanied with notes by H. H. Milman, is published in a handsome, but cheap form, so as to place the work within the reach of every one. The fourth and fifth volumes of the edition have appeared, and the sixth will comprise the work.

THE FARMER'S GUIDE TO SCIENTIFIC AND PRACTICAL AGRICULTURE; detailing the Labors of the Farmer in all their variety, and adapting them to the Seasons of the Year as they Successively Occur. By Henry Stephens, F.R.S.E., author of the "Book of the Farm," etc. Assisted by John P. Norton, A. M., Professor of Scientific Agriculture in Yale College, New-Haven. 8vo, part I, pp. 64. New-York: Leonard Scott & Co.

This work will combine two large royal octavo volumes, including over 1,400 pages, with eighteen or twenty steel engravings, and more than 600 engravings on wood, in the highest style of the art, illustrating almost every implement of husbandry now in use by the best farmers; the best methods of ploughing, planting, haying, harvesting, *&c.*, *&c.*; the various domestic animals in their highest perfection. In short, the *pictorial* feature of the book is unique, and will render it of incalculable value to the student of agriculture.

SIX MONTHS IN THE GOLD MINES, from a Journal of three years residence in Upper and Lower California—1847, '48, '49. By E. Gould Buffum, Lieut. 1st reg't New-York Volunteers. Lea & Blanchard, Philadelphia.

This is by no means the least interesting of the many books that have already been written upon California. It is the experience of "a digger," and in so far differs materially from the superficial observations, although interesting, of Bayard Taylor and others. Mr. Buffum does not sacrifice fact to fancy. He tells the story of his experience with admirable conciseness and clearness. Mr. Buffum reconciles the contradictory stories that have reached us in relation to the climate, by calling to mind the fact that California extends through ten degrees of latitude. As a whole, he thinks it the most salubrious climate in the world. We recommend his book to those interested in that region.

THE PILLARS OF HERCULES: or, A Narrative of Travels in Spain and Morocco, in 1848. By David Urquhart, Esq., M.P. Harper Brothers.

The view taken by Mr. Urquhart of the state of affairs is new, or at least runs counter

to the generally received opinion of the condition of that people which he considers superior to the English; chiefly, it would seem, because in their negative condition they have one religion, one race, one interest, and the absence of paupers. All these points are open to criticism; but the economical and political views Mr. Urquhart takes of the material interests of the people are exceedingly interesting and instructive.

THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF ANDREW COMBE, M.D., "Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, &c., &c. By George Combe. A. Hart, (late Carey and Hart,) Philadelphia.

The great popularity of Dr. Combe's works on Physiology and Hygeiene, is attested in the continued sale of successive editions. Not less than 60,000 copies of the "Principles of Physiology have been printed and sold. The Life and Correspondence of the Author, one, who impresses his views on the public so forcibly will have interest to his readers, who are counted by tens of thousands.

TRAVELS IN SIBERIA: Including Excursions Northwards, down the Obi, to the Polar Circle and, Southwards, to the Chinese Frontier. By Adolph Erman. Translated from the German, by W. D. Cooley. In two volumes. Lea & Blanchard.

This important work, second only to Humboldt's immortal production, has won an extensive fame for its scientific author, who, in 1844, received the Royal Geographical Society's Medal, with distinguished honor—the President, Sir Roderick Impey Murchison, ranking him next to Baron Humboldt. It lays bare, with singular felicity, the great geographical peculiarities of that hitherto unknown region, Siberia. The existence of a Siberian Magnetic Pole, was a discovery of vast importance amid other contributions to science of great interest. This edition, readable and cheap, will doubtless be extensively circulated.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE WATER-CURE: A Concise Exposition of the Human Constitution; the Conditions of Health; the Nature and Causes of Disease: the Leading Systems of Medicine; and the Principles, Practice, Adaptations, and Results of Hydropathy, or Water-Cure; showing it to be a Scientific and Comprehensive System for the Preservation and Restoration of Health: founded in Nature, and adopted to the wants of man. By Thomas L. Nichols, M.D. New-York: Fowler & Wells.

This is a very able exposition of the nature of the Hydropathia science, by Dr. Nichols, one of the most successful and able of the practitioners of that popular branch of the curative art.

THE HISTORY OF PENDENNIS: His Fortunes and Misfortunes, His Friends and His Greatest Enemy. By W. M. Thackeray. Harper Brothers.

Part five of this most able of the works of Mr. Thackeray, has made its appearance. The story grows in interest as the work progresses. The depth and variety of character drawn by the successful pen of Mr. Thackeray, are second to none of the modern novelists.

MOHAMMED, THE ARABIAN PROPHET; A Tragedy in Five Acts. By George H. Miles. Phillips, Sampson & Co., Boston.

With true American feeling, which on all occasions distinguishes Mr. Edwin Forrest, he during the past year offered a prize of $1,000 for the best original five-act tragedy. Of more than one hundred, the present obtained the award, and it would seem the munificence was well bestowed. A charm is imparted to the characters—which are mostly historical—through the happy manner of treating the subject.

THE MORNING WATCH: A Narrative. George P. Putnam, 155 Broadway.

Engd by H.S. Sadd[illegible]

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THE

UNITED STATES MAGAZINE,

AND

DEMOCRATIC REVIEW.

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THE QUESTION OF UNITED STATES SENATOR.

At the next general election in this State, representatives will be chosen on whom will devolve the choice of a Senator in the Congress of the United States. At no period since the organization of the government has this duty involved higher considerations in itself, or more material consequences to the well-being of the country, and to the position and destiny of the Democratic Party. Here, in this great commonwealth, it is the greatest public question of the day: and reaching far beyond the boundaries of a single State, it will affect, for good or evil, the polity and political condition of the republic.

We do not propose to treat this question in any narrow or partial view of it, or to crib it within a restricted range of personal remark. It is broad, national, enlarged, in its scope and aspect; and ought so to be considered by all to whom the public welfare is a paramount object of solicitude and promotion.

The condition of the country demands all this solicitude and devotion. The slavery agitation, at intervals for more than a quarter of a century, has threatened its domestic peace, and invaded its tranquility. It is the only real evil of our confederation which may be said or believed to menace its dissolution. It is the only deep-seated malady in which are the seeds of a premature national mortality. Wise and good men, and true patriots, seek to arrest the one, and extirpate the other. It is the province of enlarged and disinterested statesmanship to mollify and heal the distempers in the body politic—to check the tendencies to irritation, whether springing from over-sensitiveness to imaginary wrong, from ideal and abstract views of an inevitable condition of things, from embittered feeling, from selfish personal aims and calculating ambition, or from wilful, sinister and mischievous design. Such has been the labor and result of the better statesmanship of the country. At intervals in the history of the republic, when these sectional irritations and distempers

have risen to a high and fierce excitement, they have been calmed by the councils and efforts of the true men of the times, whose fidelity to the constitution and the *national* interests, have placed them above the temptations of a temporary sectional popularity and personal ambition, and beyond the power of an interested demagogism. At no former period, have such counsels and efforts been more imperiously demanded by the common interests of the people of all the States of the American Union. A marked sectional line, dividing the country into geographical opposites, is attempted to be drawn—nay, has been drawn. On either side of this imaginary zone, are the fanatics, the zealots, of each. These, excited by a supposed self-interest, or by the arts of demagogues, or the appeals of crafty and venal aspirants to distinctions which are only attainable by them through a morbid, disturbed and embittered state of the popular mind, are arrayed, with high acerbity of feeling and much sectional prejudice, against each other. The old party lines, exhibiting the well-settled diversities of opinion as to principles and measures of government, which, since the adoption of the constitution have divided the American people, have become, if not effaced, far less distinct, and are far less recognised; and in their stead, we have the fierce spirit of sectionalism,—restless, reproachful, taunting—rushing to extremes—seeking its personal objects through every form of irritation—careless of the Union and its continuance, and ready, and in some instances more than willing, to dissever its ties. That great bond of union, hitherto cherished with a fond and earnest devotion, and any hostile allusion to which has been regarded as a treasonable thought or intent, is in some quarters freely spoken of as a thing to be disregarded, if not rudely thrown away. State is arrayed against State—a spirit of sectional reprisal and hostility is inculcated—strife and animosity have usurped the place of fraternal feeling; and national pride, national honor, and national elevation, are merged in the aspirations of a narrow local or geographical "point of honor," or a still narrower point of personal advancement. While thus in the States a fell spirit is abroad, pernicious in itself and in its consequences—the source of immediate mischief and of still greater prospective evil,—Congress, constitutionally required to act for the States and for all the people in the aggregate, presents a spectacle never before witnessed at the national capital. At this moment, eight months of the session have been spent literally in empty, unavailing and angry disputation upon this single topic, the slavery agitation, without even an approach to the practical and necessary public duties of the representative body—leaving all action affecting the every-day rights, interests and pursuits of the great constituent body untouched—representing indeed only the outside agitation, contributing to it, supplying it with aliment, provoking its renewal as the masses become wearied with its continuance, and reviving the flame of faction, whenever the popular voice for a moment checks its intensity, and diminishes its force. Such are the general condition and aspect of our country at this moment. The peril, if heretofore alarming, is now imminent.

The origin of the present slavery agitation we trace to the attempt to force upon Congress and the country a needless and irritating abstraction. We mean of course the Wilmot Proviso. The legitimate offspring of the earlier abolitionism, and of its ally the former federal and present whig party, it seeks a kindred object by kindred means. From the era

of the Hartford Convention, when the anti-slavery element became an ini gredient in the nostrums of federalism—at the agitation of the Missour, Question—during the subsequent series of the right-of-petition agitations with their adjunct, the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia—until the adoption of the Atherton resolution finally arrested the combined labors of party and fanaticism,—the former, at each successive period, sought the aid and votes of the latter, by a pretended excessive zeal for freedom and "free soil," a professed horror of servitude, and by incessant assaults upon the South, their institutions and their rights.

While the Democratic Party, national in its character, catholic in its creed, and patriotic in its course of action, successfully contended for the rights of the States, for the maintenance of the Constitutional guaranties, and for the assertion of a broad and national Americanism, which knowing no section, disregarding geographical lines of division, and sustaining the great, common and equal rights of all the members of the confederacy—claiming for each what it conceded to all—resisted and arrested these agitations, preserved the Union intact, and carried forward the nation—not a section or part of it—in a career of prosperity, honor and renown, unexampled in the history of nations,—the Wilmot Proviso, the last of the efforts of combined abolitionism and partyism, was thrown upon the country in the midst of a war, in which the American arms—not the chivalry or patriotism of the North or the South, but of all sections and portions of the Republic—had achieved a series of victories of matchless brilliancy, and had won a deathless name. Its design was to embarrass the administration in the prosecution of the war, to prevent the conclusion of an honorable and advantageous peace, and to clog the valuable acquisition of territory—an incident of the war and the peace—with conditions, intended to disparage the administration, afford aid and comfort to the common enemy, and to furnish recruits and means to recover the political power of the country for the combined whig and abolition forces.

The combination succeeded at the last Presidential election, aided by this element of discord, and the Democratic Party was overborne. A motley administration, with professions of no-partyism which all its practice has falsified, and with a pretended hatred of a course of proscription, an indulgence in which above all things has signalized its actions, was brought into power. The long war of Sectionalism and Federalism against the Democracy of the nation, in which the latter had so often proved victorious, resulted at last in the elevation of an ultra whig cabinet. It will surprise no one, that such an administration, coming in with such helps, should have aimed to continue and perpetuate the means by which it reached a position, so earnestly desired, so unscrupulously sought, but so seldom attained; and that it should combine with provisoism and abolitionism in resisting, and if possible frustrating, the great measure of adjustment and compromise, now before Congress, by which these deleterious agitations may be quieted, the general tranquility of the country restored, and the Union, its blessings and benefits, placed upon a basis of strength and stability. It will surprise no one, because it is obvious that any fair adjustment of the slavery question must deprive those who war against the national democracy of their chief reliance; and that the moment these agitations are quieted, their star will decline, and the Democratic Party resume its ascendancy.

Such are the circumstances under which the question of the choice of a Senator in the Congress of the United States will come before the people of this State. It is, we repeat, a question of the highest import to them, to the great interests of the country, and to the re-ascendancy of the National Democratic Party. It will affect not only the present time, (for we regard the present as extending through the current senatorial term) but a distant and important future. The selection will run through the expiring period of the present administration, the next great political contest, and the entire period (as we hope and believe,) of a succeeding *democratic* national administration. It cannot be overrated in the magnitude of its influences and consequences. It claims from all sincere democrats, an active and earnest solicitude. They have a right to insist that to the full extent of their agency in the issue, their representative in the Senate of the United States should not be less firm than true—intrepid in the maintenance of the faith and cause of the democracy—"honest, capable and faithful to the Constitution"—with high, just and liberal qualities, but with no taint of sectionalism, or of that modern political solecism, "free democracy." Such a man, or an open, undisguised, unquestionable political opponent, may well be the position of the democracy of this state; since, while on the responsibility of the election of the former, they may stand with honor, for the latter, his course, his acts and his opinions, they could not be held to any accountability.

To whom then do all concurring circumstances point, not only as the "bold exponent of a nation's will," but as the true-hearted, inflexible and able representative of the people of New-York? We answer unhesitatingly, to Daniel S. Dickinson.

In all the stations to which he has been called by the favor and just appreciation of the state, Mr. Dickinson has sustained himself with eminent ability, with the clearest integrity, and with consistent devotion to the public interests and the well-being of the democratic party. Frank, direct and sincere, no man can doubt for a moment where or how to find him. No man can accuse him of any deviation from the democratic faith and truth; nor has he ever turned aside from either to advance his personal interests, or to gratify any aspirations of ambition or desire of revenge; nor has he, at any time or for any purpose, lent himself to any supposed popular clamor, or to any of the devices by which demagogues seek to win applause and secure a temporary personal elevation. Perhaps no man is freer than he from craft or cunning, or the stratagem of the selfish politician. He is as far above any mean act, or any concealment of his opinions, as he is fearless in the avowal, with unhesitating and uncalculating intrepidity, of all that his position or the public occasion demands.

It is a noble feature in the tendency of our institutions, that genuine worth and solid qualities in our public men afford a passport to the popular confidence. From his first entrance into public life to the present moment, Mr. Dickinson has advanced steadily in the general estimation; until now, no one occupies, in one of the ablest and most distinguished legislative bodies in the world, a more commanding or more honorable position. Perhaps no man in the Senate of the United States is at this moment better qualified, or is enabled more efficiently, to promote the wishes of his state, and the rights and interests of its citizens, and to further all the relations which belong to its position as the greatest and most powerful of the American confederation of states.

But, it is particularly in the progress of this important question, which

now agitates the country, that MR. DICKINSON's course has been at once conspicuous, consistent and patriotic. From the beginning, he saw the question in its true aspect. He saw that designing men would urge agitation, and renew the appeals to sectional feeling, and that honest men might be misled by them. As a friend of the best interests of the country, in a spirit of conciliation and patriotism, he sought to withdraw the whole question of the domestic policy of the states and territories from Congress, where it does not belong, and to vest it or leave it in legitimate and constitutional hands. He sought to place it upon a basis, at once liberal, equal, and constitutional. He was the first to declare the rights, as well of the people of the territories, as of the states; and, to refer to them and to their legislatures all questions concerning their domestic policy. In his place, in the Senate, at the session of 1847, he offered the well known resolutions, in which this sentiment is avowed. They were as follows:—

"Resolved, That true policy requires the government of the United States to strengthen its political and commercial relations upon this continent, by the annexation of such contiguous territory as may conduce to that end, and can be justly obtained; and that neither in such acquisition, nor in the territorial organization thereof, can any conditions be constitutionally imposed, or institutions be provided or established, inconsistent with the rights of the people thereof to form a free sovereign State, with the powers and privileges of the original members of the confederacy.

"Resolved, That in organizing a territorial government for territory belonging to the United States, the principles of self-government upon which our federative system rests, will be best promoted, the true spirit and meaning of the Constitution be observed, and the confederacy strengthened, by leaving all questions, concerning the domestic policy therein, to the legislatures chosen by the people thereof."

In a speech delivered before the Democratic State Convention, held at Rome, in Sept., 1849, he enforced these positions, and reviewed, with convincing ability, all the phases of the anti-slavery question, and the source, design, and effect of the sectional organization in our own state, which at two general elections had divided and defeated the democratic tickets.—On that occasion, he expressed, with prophetic forecast, the belief that the day was coming when the doctrine of these resolutions would be the settled policy of a large majority of the American people. Already the declaration is realized. However scouted in the outset by sectional feeling and ultraism, or denounced by designing partyism, it has become a ruling sentiment, and forms the ground-work of the great measure of adjustment, which some of the wisest and ablest statesmen of the country, representing both the great political parties and sections of the Union, in a liberal spirit of concession, and with an earnest desire to put an end to the present agitations, have presented for the consideration of Congress.

In the composition of the Committee of Thirteen, and in its deliberations, MR. DICKINSON, from his high position, his well known constitutional views, and his patriotic course, was called to share. In devising the committee's plan of adjustment, he efficiently participated. His course in this respect, as indeed during all the period of these sectional agitations, has, we cannot doubt, met the approval of the great body of the democracy of his state. The recent dinner given at Tammany Hall, in honor of MR. DICKINSON, to which he was invited by so large a num-

ber of prominent Democrats of the City of New-York, and of the southern counties, was a gratifying proof of the prevalent sentiment. Whatever may have been their views in relation to questions of local organization, towards him, his public course, the respect and attachment due to him, and their determination to approve, uphold and sustain him, the feeling was as enthusiastic as it was unanimous. We regret that it is not within the compass of our pages to give to our readers all the proceedings of this cordial and well-deserved tribute to our distinguished senator; but as an able and forcible exposition and review of his course and opinions, upon the slavery question, and as affording the best means of forming a just judgment of it and of him, we append to this article a sketch of his speech on that occasion, and claim for it a careful perusal. We append, also to this number, extracts from Mr. Dickinson's impromptu reply to Mr. Clemens, in which he vindicated the northern democracy from the imputations of southern ultraism, as illustrative of his manly and elevated tone and bearing, and the anti-sectional character of his views.

To the Democracy of this State, the question of a choice of Senator, far transcends every other. It outweighs, in itself and in its immediate and remote consequences, all questions of State candidateship, separately and collectively. That a liberal spirit should pervade the deliberations of the September State Convention, no one will deny; nor is it denied that concord and union, in the formation of a State ticket, upon a basis which distinctly recognizes the usages, principles and organization of the Democratic Party, are rightly prized and much desired. This sentiment, so far from derogating from the importance of the senatorial question, adds to its force, and to the high duty of doing justice to it and to a well-approved public servant. It can lend no aid to any device or combination, to deprive the state of its just weight in the national councils, or to withhold from one who deserves their confidence, the tribute of their approval. Personal justice to him, not less than the public interests and the interests of the National Democratic Party, calls for his re-election, and presents it as a rule for the action of the friends of that party, which ought not to be compromised or lost sight of for a moment. They ought by no means to allow themselves or the country to be deprived, especially at this juncture in the affairs of the nation, of a representative so well qualified to maintain the rights and promote the interests of both. There are no public considerations which call for the dismissal *by the democracy of the state*, of a devoted and capable democrat, of long experience in public affairs, and of high and rising reputation in the state and throughout the Union; and none which they can recognize, that do not appeal to their best judgments, their sense of justice, and their patriotism, to adhere to and sustain him, as one on whom they can rely under all circumstances, whose ability to serve the State, in any question that may come before Congress, is greater than that of any one who could take his place, and whose qualities, in every respect, fit him for still higher usefulness in any emergency that may arise in reference to the claims of a democratic constituency or the general interests of the country. It is not too much to say that the Democracy of all the States of the Union look with solicitude upon the result of the approaching election in this State, so far at least as it can affect this object.

If the friends of the proposed measure of adjustment shall be defeated, through the labor of antagonistic and combined extremes, north and south,

in their efforts to carry it through, and to quiet these agitations, at the present session of Congress, such a result, however unfortunate it may be regarded by sincere friends of the Union and of the country, here and elsewhere, will afford an additional reason for securing for the State the aid of the patriotism, talent, and influence, which are conceded to Mr. Dickinson in the future discussions and efforts to effect these great objects.

It is true, we do not recognize the *claim* of any man to a continuance in office or station, as a matter merely personal to himself. But when every proper consideration points to such continuance—when duty to the state, the nation, and to the individual, contributes to and unites in such a result—when the interests of the two former, and the fair right of the latter, to the continued confidence and adherence of his friends, demand it, it cannot be urged as an act of injustice to any of the capable democrats of the State, that he should be preferred, but would be a reproach upon him, and imply a degree of ingratitude, for which the democratic party has never yet been accused, if he were not.

That his Whig opponents, and those who aim to keep up a distinct and factious organization as a "free soil" party, will labor, through affiliated efforts, to prevent the re-election of one, whose steadfast devotion to the cause and principles of the Democratic party, render him an object of their hostility and a target for their assaults, may be expected. Fidelity is a virtue which most encounters the malice of interested or disappointed Recreancy. The faithful Abdiel, of all who in the earlier annals of Defection and Rebellion stood fast by the ancient faith, was most the object of the hate and ire of the faithless. But nothing could be more suicidal than the omission by the Democratic Party to sustain, with all their energies, one who has never betrayed his friends or his party, who has given a free and honest service to his country, who has discharged all the high trusts committed to him with equal talent, assiduity and fidelity, and who, in the elevated and liberal avowal of his opinions, and in the prompt but courteous performance of his public duties, has won, not less the personal esteem and respect of his political opponents, than the confidence of his friends. Upon the re-election of Mr. Dickinson, the democracy of the State may unite; but his friends, impelled by a just sense of duty to him, and by considerations higher than such as spring from any mere personal question, can never consent to sacrifice him upon any supposed ground of expediency, or any claim of pretended sections in the Democratic Party. Justice to one who, in all public stations, has been found capable andrhonest, not less than a due regard for the paramount interests of the country, imperatively forbids any such concession.

SPEECH OF THE HON. D. S. DICKINSON,

AT THE GREAT PUBLIC DINNER, IN HONOR OF HIM, AT TAMMANY HALL, *June* 17, 1850.

As soon as the cloth was removed, the President of the evening, CHARLES O'CONNOR, rapped to order, and proposed the first of the regular toasts, which was—

"*The Union*—Conciliation called it into being,—simple and even handed justice will proserve it forever." Drank enthusiastically.

Music—"Hail, Columbia."

After full honor was done to the first toast, Mr. O'CONNOR rose to propose the second. In doing so, he said:—He could not help making a few observations, in which he would endeavor to express simply and briefly, the sentiments which gave rise to the toast which he was about to propose. We are assembled, said he, fellow citizens, as the democracy of the city of New-York, representing the democratic party of the State of New-York, as well as all who deserve the name of patriots in the great commercial metropolis of the new world—the city of New-York—to do honor to the representative of the State of New-York in the Senate of the United States. (Applause.) Whatever of party we may represent in respect to other portions of the city, whatever of party associations may happen to be connected with the particular spot, the very building in which we are assembled to do him honor—I say we receive and hail him as the true, and trusty, and faithful representative of the almost unanimous sentiment—I might say the unanimous sentiment—of the commercial metropolis, the whole city and State of New-York. And why, gentlemen, is it, that we see this singular unanimity? A gentleman who but a few years ago was elected to an elevated public office by the choice of a political party, is now hailed by all honest men as the true representative of right principles! Why, gentlemen, is this so? It is for a few reasons that can be very briefly explained, and which will, in my mind, justify this unanimity. The constitution of the United States, fellow-citizens, was founded on principles which declare that a certain species of right in the service of men should be recognized and protected by the constitution—that the constitution which was adopted by nine of the old States should form the constitution of the United States of America, and that those who chose not to come in, were at liberty not to enter that Union. Gentlemen, none of the States declined. The constitution was unanimously adopted by the old thirteen States; it was adopted on principles which render it incumbent on every American citizen to recognize, as just, liberal and honorable, the maintenance of every right which that constitution secured to every citizen. On those principles our government has been maintained to the present hour, and on those principles alone can our confederacy be held together. (Applause.) Those principles were repeated by the democratic party in 1848. They planted their banner on the principles contained in the constitution, which the father of his country, in the hour of his retirement, declared could never be infringed upon without danger to the Union which his arm had established. (Applause.) I will not look to results, gentlemen. The battle is fought and ended, and therefore is past. We are not now to complain of results. But, gentlemen, it is clear that we have an administration which none of us helped to establish. The struggle, however, which was commenced in 1848, has gone on with remarkable results, affecting in an extraordinary manner the positions of men. We have found, with no small degree of pleasure, the names of whigs, the principles and associations of whigs lost sight of in devotion to the Union. (Applause.) We have seen the distinguished men of the whig party, whose particular views of internal policy on certain questions have excited our disapprobation, or engaged our

opposition—we have seen them forgetting their party distinctions, and uniting with the patriots of every party on any compromise, or on any arrangement by which the Union could be relieved from the perils by which it was surrounded. On the other hand, we have seen the democrats, whom we have been accustomed to revere, to whom our hopes have been given during a quarter of a century, (I don't speak of one man, I speak of many), I say we have seen the democracy —the sworn public officers who pledge their oaths to support the constitution— we have seen the fanatical free-soilers, devoted to the establishment of dogmas which would destroy all harmony as well as the constitution, since they violated all principles. (Cries of "Right," and great applause.) Among the patriots who have been most distinguished in supporting the compromise of the constitution, was the illustrious representative of New-York, whose vote at all times, and at every step of the question, has been true to the constitution, true to the South, and faithful to the North, as a just representative of the great State of New-York. After a few additional remarks, the chairman proposed the second regular toast, in compliment of the guest of the evening, which was

"*Our Guest:* By unwavering fidelity to the Union, he truly represents the Empire State; by according justice to every section, he has attained it for his own."

The toast was received with immense enthusiasm, loud cheering, and the most vehement applause, which lasted several minutes, after which,

Mr. Dickinson responded, and spoke as follows:

Mr. President and Gentlemen—The highly complimentary remarks and sentiments which have just been uttered, the magnificence of the festival with which I have, as your representative, been honored, demand from me a response suited to the occasion. The kind allusion to my humble services in the public councils, inspires me with sentiments and emotions which I will not attempt to conceal or describe. It is the highest motive of the representative to discharge his important trusts with fidelity; and if I have, in executing mine, secured the approbation of the democratic party of the Empire City, I shall feel assured that I have not been unmindful of the obligations which rested upon me as a representative of this great State and great commercial emporium of the Union. The occasion is not only flattering in the highest degree personally, but it affords the most gratifying evidence that the democratic party, chastened and instructed by the reverses which domestic strife and division have brought to its once potent and successful career, is about to profit by its dear-bought lessons of experience, and laying aside all matters of minor consideration, and leaving each to the indulgence of his own private sentiments, to organize again upon that ancient and catholic creed which was prescribed by the purest and best of men—a creed which is as broad as the light and comprehensive as space, which knows no North, no South, no East, no West, but regards all as children of a common father, and seeks, by the wise influences of its genial principles of progress, to usher in the day when all shall drink alike at the pure fountain of liberty— when violence and oppression shall exist only in the remembrance of the wrongs they have done; and when, so far as is consistent with our nature, every root of sorrow shall be plucked out from the great garden of the world. We see on either hand, evidences of fraternal union. The dove, bearing the olive-leaf to our window, assures us that the dark waters which have overwhelmed us have assuaged, and that we can meet and worship again around the altar-fires of our fathers in our ancient temple. Let us, then, only remember the past as the mariner does the shoals and the storm where his best hopes have been wrecked— that he may avoid them, and look forward upon the future to the bright prospects which await our united efforts. By the favor of my democratic-friends, I have been long devoted to the public service. The best—though not the greatest portion—of my life has been withdrawn from the interesting cares of domestic life, and the practice of a lucrative profession, that I might fulfil responsible public trusts, and gratify a laudable ambition; and if I have failed to discharge my duty according to the ability which has been given me, I must have been basely ungrateful, and that without motive. The period during which I have, in part, represented the proudest sovereignty of the confederacy in the Senate of

the United States, has been without its parallel in our eventful history. To claim to have been exempt from error through all the vicissitudes, which have, at such a time, attended public affairs, would be claiming that which has not been vouchsafed to the wisdom of man. But the occasion affords me a pleasing opportunity to render an account of my stewardship to those who have a right to know the reasons which have influenced me, and I embrace it with alacrity. In doing so, the history of the absorbing questions, which have agitated the country, is necessary to a correct understanding of the matter, and to my own justification, and to these ends only, it will be briefly, but in no spirit of recrimination, reviewed. The subject which has constituted the most unfortunate element of sectional strife has been, and still is, the application of the ordinance of 1787 to the recently acquired territories—territories won by the common valor and common effort of wise heads and patriotic hearts, upon the field of battle—territories purchased by the common blood and common treasure of every section of the Union.

Repeated efforts have been made in Congress, from time to time, to give these territories a civil organization; but they have all proved fruitless and unavailing, for the reason that one portion insisted that no government should be erected unless this restrictive ordinance was applied to it, while another insisted, with equal pertinacity, that none should be erected with it:—one section contending that it was necessary and proper to prohibit the extension of slavery by the legislation of Congress; the other, that such action by the national legislature, was unjust, improper, and unconstitutional—calculated, if not intended, to wound and insult their feelings, and to degrade them in the scale of social and political being, and insisting upon their right to pass into the territories and enjoy them in common with the people of the free States, with the institutions peculiar to themseves. That the whole ground may be surveyed understandingly, it should be remembered that those who urge the application of this ordinance, claim for it no further or higher office than that it will, if adopted, prohibit slaves from going trom the States to the territories—making a few less slaves in Maryland or other States, and placing them in the territories. The South have often and earnestly declared that a prohibitory act of Congress upon this subject would compel them to sever the political bonds which unite the States in confederacy, and have appealed to their sister States, and to their representatives in Congress, to cease from its agitation. But, although it has already formed parties, based upon no higher principles than geographical lines—more dangerous to our free institutions than a combined world in arms against us, and has sown broadcast in our midst the terrible elements of sectional hate—it is still pressed on, as though those who urged it recked little of the consequences which might follow. It is conceded by those who know most of the soil, productions, climate, and physical configuration of the territories in question, that slavery can never go there, there being no adequate demand for its most unwieldy and expensive labor—the labor of the natives being both abundant and cheap. And although considerations of much higher import influence and control my action upon all that relates to this difficult and dangerous subject, I am one of those who believe that Congress can pass no law sufficiently inviting in its rewards, or stringent in its penalties, to force slavery there, and keep it there for a single year. But the South regard it as a point of honor: they hold all interference with the question an infringement of a constitutional right; and they fear that when this particular power has been exercised by Congress, some other of more practical importance, and more deeply injurious to them, may be first asserted, then insisted on, and finally applied, until State sovereignty shall become an empty name, and they be placed at the mercy of the general government, wielded by the potential voice of a controlling majority in the free States. We are, numerically, the stronger party, and should remember that minorities are constitutionally sensitive and jealous of encroachment. Majorities can at all times, enforce their rights, by the exercise of their power, and they should be admonished by the highest dictates of justice and generosity, to treat with marked delicacy and indulgence the rights of those who are, in all but numbers, their sovereign equals. I have long and anxiously con-

templated this question in all its bearings, and, notwithstanding I do not hold the South exempt from error in her reciprocal policy—notwithstanding she has, as well as ourselves, her ultraisms—for ultraism always hunts in couples, and each nurses its counterpart—notwithstanding a portion of her statesmen have occasionally abandoned, as I have thought, her strongest ground, to stand upon her weakest and most impracticable, I have long believed that, in all that relates to this sectional strife, she has been "more sinned against than sinning." (Applause.) The institution of African servitude, from its very nature, must be at all times painfully sensitive; and there is no offense on earth which humanity brooks with so little patience as external interference in domestic affairs. Scarcely was the act of our own emancipation legally signalized, when societies were organized in our midst, and presses were established with the avowed purpose of putting down the institution in other states. Missionaries went forth upon their errand of mischief, and every means of vexation and annoyance that ingenuity could devise and vigilance execute, was employed to sap and undermine, and render valueless, the institutions of the South, and to disturb the relations between master and servant. (Voice—"True.") We repealed, unnecessarily and vexatiously, our laws which permitted our Southern friends to bring with them their household servants, when visiting our State for a few weeks, upon business or pleasure; and in the judgment of our own Courts violated the constitution by legislative enactment, in endeavoring to throw obstacles in the way of their recovering summarily, according to previous legalized usage, their fugitive slaves; and it will be found to be a painful, yet instructive truth, that the darkest passages in the history of human servitude have been written there from a necessity imposed by the officious intermeddlings and malign influences of a misguided and spurious philanthropy. As a sentiment, there is no doubt that the Northern people of all classes and all parties, regard with disfavor the transfer of slavery from the States to the territories, and, in that general sentiment, I have often declared my concurrence. It is not, however, because I have more sympathy for the slave in the new settlement than the old, for in such change his health and comfort would probably be promoted; but it is because I believe the moral, political, and social condition of the whites much better without than with it; and while I have never employed liberty and freedom as cant phrases to signalize my superior philanthropy, and do not propose to do so, I experience high gratification when I see a new State, in founding her political organization, adhere to what I regard the true principles of economy, and reject an institution which sooner or later, must bring more of embarrassment and evil than ever it can even of imaginary good. Yet, since it is a constitutional right, upon the broadest principles of free self-government, I am quite willing that each political community should judge for itself, whether it will have it or not. (Cheering.) But while thus concurring in sentiment with those who do not favor the transfer of slavery to the newly acquired territories, I am quite free to declare, that much sooner than see this otherwise happy and Heaven-favored confederacy divided—sooner than see a single star in our constellation blotted from the firmament—sooner than see the fraternal relations which ought to exist between this sisterhood of States turned to systematic menaces and angry reproaches, I would see every member of this unfortunate race, bond and free, well provided and provisioned for the journey, in one dark and mighty cloud, march from the old States to the new territories, or any other section of the Union, there to reside, if the inhabitants would permit them. (Cheering.) If this be treason, let those who will, make the most of it. And, I will further add, that if necessary to the success of the movement, I would consent that those who causelessly agitate the subject in any section of the Union, including their noisy sympathizers, real and spurious, might go along with them. (Laughter and applause.) We have already seen that the only office which it was proposed to accomplish by the ordinance of 1787, was to prevent the transfer of slavery from the States to the territories; and none can fail to see that if it had been adopted, and have performed all that its most strenuous advocates claim for it, it would have rendered but a poor compensation for the evil which has followed in its train of sectional strife, and heart-

burnings, and bitterness. Slavery is now confined to the Atlantic slope, and the strength of our institutions has been put to trial by the formation of sectional combinations to prevent by federal legislation its crossing to the other side. Let us for a moment reverse the picture, and transfer it all to the Pacific, and inquire whether the same spirit of sympathy would desire to bring it back again? As is usual, when any questionable expedient is to be urged upon the consideration of the country, the peculiar votaries of the proviso doctrine have exhausted history for the purpose of gaining for its support the authority of illustrious names. True it is, that under other circumstances a similar proposition was introduced by those whose purity and patriotism rendered their names immortal; but a moment's consideraton of its history will show that it was introduced for no such purpose as the present, and that it has little if any, application to our present condition. (Applause.) The ordinance of 1787, providing that slavery or involuntary servitude should be excluded from the North-western territory, was adopted while the States were united under patched-up and imperfect articles of confederation; but when a constitution was framed, it was silent in all that related to the exercise of such a power; and as many opinions are drawn from its reading, upon this subject, as there are lines in its composition. Not intending, however, to enter upon a constitutional disquisition, I will merely add, that in organizing territories, in some cases it has been applied by Congress to territory north of 36 deg. 30 min.—the Missouri compromise line—and in some not; but never excited serious objection, or even attention, until the effort to apply it to a bill providing means for terminating the war with Mexico. It was there attempted to provide in advance, before any territory had been acquired, and that, too, in the very heat of the war, for the exclusion of slavery from any territory which might be obtained. The South, whose sons were then bleeding by the side of our own, on the parched sands of Mexico, regarded this as a gross insult, as well they might; and here was sounded the first conch-shell of sectional sedition upon this subject;—here originated the flame which has since spread far and wide, and has threatened the very citadel of liberty with conflagration. I have but given a brief and faithful history of the origin of the proviso excitement. The motives which influenced the movement at the time and under the circumstances, I leave to Him who tries the hearts of men, and to that country which eventually does justice to all. In 1787, when the ordinance was applied to the North-western territory, and until 1808, the foreign slave trade was authorized and was prosecuted with vigilance and success. Now it is by law piracy upon the high seas. Then it was a question between the coast of Africa, where the negro could be purchased for a few dollars' worth of trinkets, and the fertile valleys of the Ohio and Missippi, where he would command from five hundred to a thousand dollars; and this inducement was strong enough to transfer him. Now the foreign slave trade being abolished, it is a question between the cotton, rice, tobacco and sugar plantations of the Southern States, where it is profitable, and the grazing and grain-growing regions of the new territories where it cannot earn its own support, and where in the language of John Randolph, "if the slave does not run away from the master, the master will away from him." Slave labor, like every other department of human affairs, founded in pecuniary considerations, is controlled in its movements by the principles of profit and loss, and of demand and supply. ("Good.") Like free labor, it will eventually be found where there is the greatest demand and where it pays the best profit. It may linger in an old settlement, where it has long been, after it has ceased to be profitable; but it will not go to a new one unless invited by reward. So long as the spirit of cupidity is inseparable from man, it will go where a majority of the people desire it, and not elsewhere; and since it is tolerated by our fundamental law, a majority who favor it will soon be found where it is greatly to their advantage. When the water-fowls spend their winters at the north and their summers at the south, we may then begin to apprehend that slave labor will go from where it is profitable and is wanted to where it must be unprofitable and is not demanded; and those who deem it necessary can take steps to arrest its progress. (Laughter.) If it is said, on either hand, that it might go to the

mineral regions for the purpose of operating in the mines, and that the restriction in this respect was material, the practical answer is furnished in the fact, that the proviso was urged on one hand and resisted on the other, with greater pertinacity, before the mineral treasures in the territories were dreamed of, and no regard, therefore was had to the employment of slave labor in mining. Besides, the constitutional convention was held upward of one year after the mining was in successful operation—not a single slave was there, and although seventeen of the forty-eight members of the convention were from the slave States, a clause inserted in their constitution prohibiting slavery, passed unanimously; all of which shows that it was utterly unnecessary for the purpose for which it was proposed. But all these lessons are unheard or unheeded, and we are yet told, with as great assurance as ever, that slavery will now most certainly overleap all the laws of nature, of man and of demand and supply, and find its way to the remaining territory, unless prohibited by a congressional proviso. Like the benevolent old lady, described in the early school-books, who feared that the remnant of an old gun barrel, without lock or charge, would go off, as an amateur performer—they fear that the slaveholder will disregard his own interest for the sole purpose of removing his slave from one point where he is wanted, to another where he is not, and subvert the fundamental principles of freedom by a mere change of geographical position. Another reason has sometimes been gravely urged in favor of the application of the proviso to the territories, which it would perhaps be disrespectful to pass by. It is admitted that if slaves should pass from the States to the territories, and leave the States free, it would not be an evil of such crying magnitude, as it would not increase the number; but it is said, that the business of breeding will be carried on in the old States in a greater ratio, as a new field opens—the business of marketing, the increase in the new territories—and thus retain the evil in the old settlements, and extend it in the new. A magnificent problem, truly! reducing the theory of reproduction to an exact science! He who first produced this solution, should, like the Syracusean philosopher, run naked through the streets, crying out like a public bell-man his mighty discovery and achievement in political physiology. Hereafter, let the shade of Malthus on Population hide its diminished head, remembering that by a recent discovery, it has been ascertained that unless prevented by restrictive legislation of Congress, slaves, like migratory birds, will hatch in one latitude and spend the residue of their time in another. (Great laughter.) In my limited reading, I recollect of but one single instance, where procreation was prosecuted as a separate branch from ordinary affairs of human economy, and that was, during some of the desolating wars of Greece. Finding all her men in warlike service abroad, and fearing her effective force might be reduced by the casualties of war, a detachment was sent home to the end, that in due time her armies might be replenished. But for this sage discovery, one would have supposed that the slaveholder, like other men, would desire to turn the labor of his servants to the greatest account, and would, therefore, place them where the industry of the father, mother and children would, according to their ability, respectively, contribute to the prosecution of the business. Suppose, however, this idle vagary should be carried into practice—let us see what would be the operation. We have now two unorganized territories only, New-Mexico and Utah. Recently, the period of territorial pupilage before the formation and admission of a State, has been very brief, and bills have already been before Congress for the admission of both these territories as States of the Union. All who have read and understand the constitution, admit, that when the State is formed, slavery may be admitted or excluded as shall suit the pleasure of the people of the State, regardless of federal legislation or provisos; and when we reflect how great is the spirit of adventurous enterprise—how deep the interest our newly-acquired possessions have created—how extensive the every-day increasing facilities for intercommunication, and how numerous are that busy, restless class who are seeking a change of home and scenery, we must conclude that these territories will be admitted as States, at farthest, within five years. Those, then, who are to rear slaves in the old States for the territorial markets, must send the progeny there at about four years of age,—a

period at which, if they are deprived of a mother's care, and she left behind them, they should at least be attended by some active, and known, and self-signalized sympathizer of the race, to serve as nurse. But, those who have thought it to be their duty to resist this sectional agitation in all its forms, are, from a certain quarter, suddenly reminded that the young State of California is entitled to unconditional and immediate admission, and every one who is not willing to disregard all surrounding circumstances, and join in the steeple-chase of immediate admission, is an enemy of California. Immediateism is a word coined in the prolific mint of abolitionism years since, and has no charms or terrors for me. I am, and ever have been, for the earliest admission of California, consistent with the embarrassing circumstances from which she is inseparable, and while I shall receive lessons on that subject from those who are loudest for her immediate and unconditional admission, with great patience, I am quite ready to compare notes, examine records, and try conclusions with the self-constituted, *par excellence*, friends of the immediate admission of California. I invoke the truth of history to show who are her best and truest friends. This infant State, I need not say, is a part of the possessions which we acquired from Mexico: and let the record of the times tell who gave a vigorous support and who did not to that policy which wrested this gem of the Pacific border from vice, and ignorance, and barbarism, to free and happy institutions, and the stars and stripes of liberty. Who, sir, when our army was in a foreign and semi barbarous land contending with forces superior in numbers, and a foe proverbially subtle and treacherous—when our sons and our brothers were stricken with the diseases of a fatal climate, and were dying, far from those they loved, with no soft voice to whisper words of consolation, and no gentle hand to smooth their rude pillow, or close their eyes in death—when the best heart's blood was ebbing from the gashed bosom of the dying soldier, refused necessary supplies of food and clothing, or sought to affix a bill appropriating moneys for the speedy and honorable termination of the war, the "Wilmot Proviso?" Those who would now put all suspicion to flight by shouting, at the top of their lungs, for the immediate admission of California. And let history tell, too, when a treaty of peace was concluded with Mexico, who sought to affix the same pernicious minister to sectionalism to this treaty with that government, and give Mexico, as it would have done, a controlling voice over the domestic policy of the free people of California? Fortunately, however, the people of California were spared this humiliation by the votes of those who are now denounced as her enemies. I, by no means, question the motives of those who thought it their duty to pursue this course, but would suggest that whoever is worthy to receive lectures upon the subject of California—those who stand in such a relation to her and to the country as I have just described—are not the persons to give them. But she, it is said, has declared for the great principle of human freedom. True, she has not only asserted, but carried into practical operation, the first and last great principle of freedom, and one for which I have long and ardently contended—that of self-government, and of choosing such domestic institutions as were suited to the tastes and condition of her own people, uninfluenced either by the provisos of Congress or the interference of Mexico, with which domestic policy all who profess to believe in the capacity of man for self-government, should be satisfied. (Applause.) And, if she had decided to admit, instead of exclude, slavery, as the Constitution and the great principles of human freedom authorized her to do, no one beyond her own borders would have had cause of complaint. Her action would have still been that of human freedom, in the most comprehensive sense of the term. Human freedom does not consist in enslaving the minds and controlling the actions of the race to whom the destinies of this government have been committed, or placing them under the control of foreign despotisms, lest they may admit among them another, constitutionally held in bondage; but consists in permitting them to lay themselves the foundation of their government on such principles, and to organize its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Keeping in view this principle, it is my desire to see the white race and the true principles of self-government preserved first, and to leave the freedom of the

black race to those who have them in charge, and are responsible to their God and their country accordingly. But, let us inquire for a moment, under what process this exclusion of domestic slavery was made an article in the fundamental law of California. It was not under the influences of that political catholicon, the Wilmot proviso, nor under the dictation of Mexico, interfering in our affairs by virtue of a treaty stipulation, but under the true and not the spurious principles of human freedom—the freedom of the white race, to whom not only the cause of human liberty here, but throughout the world, has been committed by a beneficient Providence, under the freedom of self-government in the broadest sense—that freedom which is based upon man's intelligence and capacity and not upon provisos and restrictions, and tyrannical legislation of Congressional masters or foreign governments, without representation, voice, or vote by their own people; which believes our brethren and neighbors, whose enterprise has carried them to the shores of the Pacific, as wise there as before they left us, and as well qualified to choose for themselves as we are to choose for them. This is the kind of human freedom which I am proud to advocate, upon which I have stood, and upon which I will stand hereafter. In December, 1847, after it had become apparent that legislation by Congress over the question of slavery in the territories would lead to unhappy if not alarming consequences, I introduced into the Senate of the United States certain resolutions, declaring boldly the true principles of our system to be self-government, and that all questions of domestic policy in the territories ought to be left to the people thereof, under the principles of the constitution, and in accordance with the rights of the several states. This was, so far as I know, the first time this principle was formally presented. But how was this principle of human freedom received there, by those who now so far outstrip me in principles of civil liberty, and who are so anxious for its development that they cannot wait for California to be admitted? The principle was denounced by orators and presses in no measured terms, and those cogent and convincing arguments "traitor" and "dough-face," applied without stint or mercy to its author. If I had proposed to change the federal constitution so as to force slavery into every state and territory, or to have abolished the Christian religion, and placed that of Mohammed in its stead—to have burned every Bible, and legalized the brazen revelations of Joe Smith—or to have applied the knout or the bow-string for the non-payment of debts, I could not have been more bitterly or opprobiously assailed. The resolutions declaring the principles of self-government were pronounced to be a fraudulent device, instigated by the South, for the purpose and with the design of extending slavery to the territories. In short, they, figuratively at least, called me

> "Misbeliever, cut-throat, dog,
> And spat upon my Jewish garbardine."

They were unwilling to trust the people with themselves, lest, like children who can walk just enough to fall into the fire, they should destroy themselves wilfully or unwittingly, and declared that nothing but the application of the proviso by Congress, and that quite speedily, would ever save California from the blighting curse of slavery. When an ancient prophet sought to show the depth of his grief over the slain of the daughters of his people, he lamented that his head were not waters, and his eyes a fountain of tears, that he might weep day and night incessantly; but, the sorrows of some for the curses of slavery which was to find its way into California if self-government was tolerated, and the proviso was not applied, were evidently much greater than those of the sympathetic prophet, and to enable them to make adequate exhibitions of regret, it would have been necessary for them, (to use a commercial phrase,) to have gone into liquidation altogether. (Great laughter.) But the proviso was not applied, and the people were left to assert their rights by resorting to first principles. They assembled in convention, and formed a constitution, and, as we have already seen, though upwards of one-third of its members were from slave states, and had been residents of California on an average of about two years only, an article excluding slavery was unanimously inserted. And when this practical commentary has been furnished for the benefit of those who fear the transfer of

slavery from one point to another above all else—those who have derided and reviled the principle of self-government, proclaiming in effect the people unworthy to be trusted with their own domestic policy—who have arrayed popular prejudice against its advocates, and hunted them as though they had been beasts of prey, but who, we see now step in and stand volunteer godfathers to the infant state, and denounce its early, uniform and consistent advocates as its enemies—we might well imagine this an age of brass, instead of an age of gold. (Laughter.) The great principle of human freedom for which I have contended, has been the freedom of the white race, leaving each political community free themselves to say how far they would or would not tolerate domestic slavery as existing in a portion of the states. amongst them; and if it is not freedom to permit a community to do just as it pleases with its own domestic concerns, I know not what is. (Applause.) There always has been, and there always will be, a strong repugnance on the part of free men to have their domestic affairs controlled by those who are not chosen by themselves. It was not disloyalty to the British crown which caused the revolt and revolution in the American Colonies, but a determination to resist the legislation of the British Parliament over their domestic policy, and when their cup of wrongs was filled to overflowing: for this reason they severed the ties which bound them to this tyrannical system with the sword. Our whole republican theory and federative system, rests in the principles of self-government, and he who believes that he is qualified to govern both himself and his neighbor; and that one community of free men should regulate and control the domestic affairs of another equally free and equally intelligent, thousands of miles distant, should write a treatise justifying the aggressions of the British Parliament upon the colonies, and add an appendix in favor of the divine right of kings! But I have another parallel to run between the human freedom which I advocate and that which is practised by those whom I find so much in advance. The Constitution of the United States makes all the states, old and new, sovereign equals. The original states were founded in the true principles of freedom; for the only restriction upon them was that their form of government should be republican. Slavery had been planted here by the mother government, and each state was left to treat it as it thought best. They could adopt or reject, continue or abolish, or modify the institution of slavery, as should suit their own interest or sense of propriety. The new states to be admitted, if admitted according to the principles of the constitution, must be admitted with the same rights and privileges, unrestricted or unimpaired, or they will not be sovereign equals. And yet we have seen that strenuous advocates for human freedom sought to make a treaty stipulation with Mexico, to last through all time, that the free people of California should not be left as free as other states, to choose their own institutions, lest, perchance, they might be inclined to exercise that privilege improperly or improvidently—making their sovereignty inferior to that of their sister states, and dependent in this respect upon the caprice of the miserable government from whom the very territory had been conquered, leaving them to do as they pleased if they should do as a Mexican treaty dictated. While I by no means question the purity of the motives of those who thus exhibited their sense of free government, I submit, that however ardent and sincere may now be their friendship for California, they should exercise some small degree of charity and forbearance for those who are, as I confess myself to be, very far in arrear of this extraordinary and peculiar system of human freedom. The democratic theory teaches the simple yet sublime principles of equality. One of the primary articles in its cherished creed, is the repudiation of every species of monopoly, and I am strongly opposed to it in every form of gender, number, person and case. (Cheers.) I do not claim to be more sincere and honest than my fellow-men, acting free from excitement, and with a due regard to their responsibilities to society; and I do not believe that in the Divine economy all the honesty and sincerity, or all the benevolence and philanthropy, were allotted to any particular class. The question of slavery in all its aspects is full of difficulty, and when fiercely agitated in a confederated government, as an element of sectionalism, is fraught with danger and peril. It is a problem too mysterious for human solution; but if its subjects shall in pro-

cess of time be returned to the barbarous land from whence they were taken, without the attribute of humanity, bearing with them the blessings of civilization and Christianity, it will prove that the wise decress of an inscrutable Providence intend that for good which man's cupidity and violence, and wrong intended for evil. I have given this subject deep and anxious consideration, and my conclusions are too well matured and too strongly founded in reasons and serious convictions to be lightly yielded. At the same time I am prepared to extend to those who have arrived at other results, all that toleration so necessary to the free exercise of opinion and manly discussion, and so essential to the development of truth. (Cries of hear!) From the foundation of the world to the present moment, loud professions of superior integrity have been distrusted, disbelieved and disregarded by the masses of men; and those who have asserted a higher and purer order of sanctity than their fellows, have excited more of disgust and derision than of admiration; for, it is a popular idea, that according to the verse—

> "A man may cry 'Church,' 'Church,' at every word,
> With no more piety than other people;
> A daws' not reckoned a religious bird
> Because it keeps a cawing on a steeple."

When I think of those who are among the most active negro sympathizers, I am reminded of an anecdote of two scape-graces in the Italian states, one of whom turned priest with no obvious change of character. The other being convicted of a crime, sent for a confessor, and his old companion came. "What is to be done?" inquired the priest. "See if we can look each other in the face without laughing," was the reply. (Laughter) The unfortunate African race can never attain to a true state of freedom so long as they remain amongst a people so unlike them in physical development, and so greatly their superiors. Whether nominally free or not, their condition will be one of degradation and vassalage, and it is alike due to all to look the question full in the face. They have with us now, few privileges of citizenship, nominally, beyond the protection of the laws, and none really; and if they were extended to them in theory, they could not successfully carry them into practice. However much this may be deplored by the real philantrophist or bewailed by the spurious one, it is painfully true. They have been free with us upwards of a quarter of a century, and their condition, physical, mental and social, is, as far as concerns their own action, as abject now as it was on the day of their emancipation. In all but the name of freedom they are as much, and many of them more, the objects of sympathy as those who are held in servitude, and fed and clothed, and cared for by a legally recognized master. (Cries of "True! true!") The measure which is now before the Senate, called the adjustment, or Compromise Bill, and is attracting much public attention, was presented by a committee of thirteen, of which the distinguished senator from Kentucky, Mr. Clay, was chairman, and of which I had the honor to be a member. There were bills before each House of Congress for the admission of California, and almost every conceivable form of plan for the organization of the territories. There were also propositions to fix the disputed boundary line between Texas and the territory of New-Mexico—to abolish the slave-trade in the District of Columbia—to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and a bill for the reclamation of fugitive slaves. These were all, in some form, the subjects of strong support and opposition, and of spirited and bitter controversy. Amid the sectional strife which prevailed, and the crimination and re-crimination which were cast back and forward, and the difficulty during the excitement and conflict of those acting together efficiently and understandingly, who were disposed to pass some measure or series of measures, doing equal and exact justice to all, as far as practicable, it was deemed best to commit the whole subject in contest to a large committee, composed of about equal numbers from the North and South, and from each great political party. The committee was raised and reported. They reported one bill, admitting California with her own prescribed limits, organizing the residue of the territories acquired from Mexico by simple governments, without any proviso; and as the southerly line of New-Mexico was in serious dispute

between that territory and Texas, it proposed to fix a suitable and convenient boundary between them, paying Texas—should she consent to the arrangement—a fair pecuniary compensation for the surrender of her claim. They reported a bill to abolish the slave-trade in the District of Columbia, and reported strongly against the abolition of slavery there. There was, at the time of their report, and for weeks had been, a bill before the Senate, and under discussion, for the reclamation of fugitive slaves, and the committee simply recommended that it pass, with one or two amendments or modifications, which they proposed. This bill never had any more connection with the bill for the admission of California than any other bill before the Senate, except that both were subjects of sectional irritation and controversy. There is doubtless a decided majority in Congress in favor of the admission of California: but it is equally true, that a strong and vigorous minority were and are opposed to its admission, and had declared their determination to resist it to the last extremity. It is not to be denied that there were irregularities in her organization, not but that her selected boundaries are exceedingly ample; but under all the circumstances of her neglect by Congress, and the well-ordered proceedings of her intelligent people, I deem her well entitled to admission, and would, could I have done so, with a due regard to her own good, in common with the interest of the whole country, have voted to admit her the day she sent us her constitution. (Great applause.) Not having, however, opposed the policy which brought her within the Union, or proposed to place her domestic concerns within the control of Mexico, I have had no necessity of being clamorous in my professions in her favor, and could afford to treat all that relates to her as a practical question. If I had wished to create and foster sectional parties, that I might ride upon the whirlwind and direct the storm—if I had lived, and moved, and had my being in the disturbance of the public peace, I would have urged the immediate admission of California by the iron rigor of a numerical majority; but wishing to bring her in, if possible, with the good feeling, if not the consent, of all, and believing her admission would be sooner obtained by the organization of her sister territory at the same time than otherwise, I have pursued that course, and shall continue to do so until the policy succeeds, or is defeated—and if defeated, after all fair efforts are exhausted to quiet the whole question, I shall regard it as a high duty to go for the admission of that young state as a separate measure. If it then provokes sectional feeling and unhappy consequences, I must say to those most interested, "Thou can'st not say I did it."

It has been often stated and often repeated, that the admission of California was placed upon a level, and made to depend upon the passage of a bill for the recovery of fugitive negroes. This was an erroneous statement originally, and although often repeated and endorsed, has scarcely yet fallen within the questionable adage, that fabrication, persevered in, is as good as truth. The only question upon which the admission of California is made to depend, is the simple organization of the territory which was acquired with her, and as a necessary consequence, the adjustment of its disputed boundary. We stipulated in the treaty by which we acquired the territories of California and New Mexico, that they should be incorporated into the Union of the United States, at a time to be judged of by the Congress, and in the meantime protected in the enjoyment of their liberty and property, and secured in the free exercise of their religion, without restriction. We took these territories from the government of Mexico, and left them without any, in defiance of solemn treaty stipulation. California has framed a government, and is now enjoying a portion of its benefits. New Mexico has none, although she is as deserving of a government as California; and her necessities are much greater. These territories of California and New Mexico were formerly held by Spain, and were together side by side transferred to Mexico; they were both transferred to us by the same treaty, upon the same piece of paper, in the same article, and neither is supposed to have suffered detriment; and it is confidently hoped that their being in the same bill now, if that should hasten the admission of the one and the organization of the other, and restore kind feelings between conflicting sections, may not sully the fame or dim the lustre of either. (Cheers.) The adjustment of the

boundary between New Mexico and Texas, is not only one of the first and highest duties of the government, for the controversies growing out of it are exceedingly angry between the respective claimants, and a resort to arms and violence, the law of the border, is seriously threatened. The boundary is generally believed to be the dividing line between the free and the slave States, and the first drop of blood shed in a controversy over it, will provoke one of the most sanguinary wars in the history of civilization. An extensive region of country is claimed by each, and some of the ablest men in the nation differ as to which is right; and hence the propriety of fixing it by peaceful stipulation. The other questions are of less moment, and an examination of them in detail would consume too much time. I have given these measures of adjustment, as a whole, my full assent; not that I agree with all the details, for I do not; but I deem them generally just, suited to the public exigency, calculated to restore peace, and destroy that hot-bed of sectionalism, where those spring up and flourish who feed like vampires upon the best heart's blood of their country. I have pursued the course I have, because I believe it was demanded by the highest consideration of duty, and that the best interests of the country were in jeopardy. I did not accept a high public trust without preparing to meet the storm, as well as the sunshine. When I was yet a child, I learned from the public act of one great man, to disregard all ordinary considerations when the interests of the country were imperiled; and that man was Andrew Jackson, and that act was taking the responsibility. (Tremendous cheers.) If I have declared military law, or suspended the *habeas corpus*, I will pay my fine. I have uniformly sought to erect simple territorial governments by Congress, without any restrictions upon the power of the people immediately interested; and although the bill before the Senate contains a clause prohibiting legislation upon the subject of slavery by the people of the territory, I voted against inserting it in committee, and have voted to modify it so as to give more power to the people that it did originally, and in favor of striking it out entirely, in the Senate; and upon that occasion I remarked, among other things, as follows:

"Now, sir, I wish to state, once for all, that it is not my intention, either directly or indirectly, to favor, by voice or vote, the extension of slavery, or the restriction of slavery, in the territories, by Congress, or any interference with the subject whatsoever. Nor am I influenced in this conclusion by the local laws of the territory in question, either natural or artificial—the laws of nature or the laws of man; and for all the purposes of present action, I will not inquire what they are, in either respect. I will stand upon the principles of non-intervention by Congress, in the broadest possible sense, for non-intervention's sake, and to uphold the fundamental principles of freedom, and for no other reason—and will leave the people of the territories and of the States to such rights and privileges as are theirs, under the constitution and laws of the United States, without addition to, or diminution from, such rights, by the action of Congress."

I should do injustice to my own feelings if I did not bear testimony to the patriotic zeal and good faith with which this plan for adjusting sectional controversies is supported from the North and South, the East and West, and from members of both political parties. One spirit seems to animate them, and that is, to do justice to all, and once more give the country quiet, and the government power to perform its ordinary functions. But it has vigilant, earnest, and unyielding opposition, and, while we may hope for its success, the result must be considered uncertain. But whether it succeeds or is overpowered, there is one whose special efforts in its behalf have earned the approbation of his country, and wrung warm approbation from its opponents, for his great ability and manly independence. I mean Mr. Clay, of Kentucky.—(Cheers and applause.) Strong and decided a political opponent as he is, I deem it no more than justice to say, that his position in its support is a most commanding moral spectacle. Full of years, his eye still kindles with the fire of youth, and his enlarged experience throws back from the evening of his days a flood of light and learning, as the sun retiring in the western horizon sheds his hues of golden beauty upon the eastern mountains. He is entitled to the gratitude and thanks of every

friend of his country, regardless of party considerations; and may they be cheerfully awarded!

The whole question, then, as we have seen, about which the country has been so unhappily agitated and divided, which has silenced and treated with contempt the warning voice of the father of his country against sectional combination, which has caused the structure of our republican system to tremble to its foundation in the face of the corrupt and stultified monarchies of Europe, which has divided churches, arrested the action of Congress, absorbed the attention of State legislatures, misled sensible men, and unsexed worthy females, and which, above all, seriously threatens the integrity of the Union, is, when stripped of its embellishments, merely whether persons of color, held in servitude in the slave States, and to be so held, shall be restrained by the law of Congress from being transferred to the new territories, if their masters wish to transfer them there, which few think probable, even should the people there interpose no objection—an agitation which for a purpose comparatively trivial, sports at a game where the destiny of the world's freedom is the hazard. Shall we experiment upon our institutions because they, like all that is human, have not attained perfection, when the experiments suggested propose no remedy, and only increase the evil by agitation? Would we blot out forever, if we could, the glorious luminary of heaven, because now and then a dark spot is descried on its disc? Shall we reject every political and moral good, because a mixture of evil must flow from the same fountain? During the present session of Congress, while the Senate of thirty free and independent sovereignties were discussing with recriminatory spirit this fearful source of ills, and calculating the point at which all political relations must be severed, a stranger and a few companions entered the chamber. He was evidently a foreigner. His forehead was prominent and intellectual, his pale face denoted deep thought and painful anxiety and emotion, and a silvery beard swept his breast. He gazed upon the scene with deep and absorbing interest; but from ignorance of our language, thank Heaven! he was unconscious of what was passing. It was the Governor of Comorn, who had fled for his life from the murderous and inhuman despotism of Austria, to our great and only earthly city of political refuge for the oppressed, here to enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The scene furnished a volume full of interest and instruction, and replete with poetry and eloquence. It was a picture more vivid than was ever portrayed by human pencil. I gazed upon its painful pleasing features, until its image still lingers in my sight. I wished that every American citizen might look upon it as I did, and feel the emotions which my heart experienced. But a few days since, availing myself of the hospitality of a senatorial friend, I spent two days at Annapolis, and visited the hall where the immortal Washington, after carving out the liberty which we in common with twenty-five millions of our fellow-beings, this day enjoy, with a victorious yet unpaid army, who adored him, under his command, surrendered his commission and his sword voluntarily to the representatives of a few exhausted colonies. (Applause.) That sublime occasion yet imparts its sacred influence to the place and there is eloquence in its silent walls. But where, said I, are the brave and patriotic spirits who here fostered the germ of this mighty empire? Alas! they have gone to their rewards, and the clods of the valley lie heavily on their hearts; while we, their ungrateful children, with every element of good before us, forgetting the mighty sacrifices they made for their descendants, trifle with the rich blessings we inherited, and are ready, with sacrilegious hands, to despoil the temple of liberty which they reared, by years of toil and trial, and cemented in blood and tears. Oh, could we not have deferred this inhuman struggle until the departure from amongst us of the revolutionary soldier, with his bowed and tottering frame, and his once bright eye dimmed! Ask him the cost of liberty, and he will "Shoulder his crutch and show how fields were won," and tell you of its priceless value. And yet we are shamelessly struggling in his sight, like mercenary children, for the patrimony, around the death-bed of a common parent, by whose industry and exertion it was accumulated, before the heart of him who gave them existence had ceased to pulsate. Amid all these conflicts it has been my policy to give peace and stability to the Union

—to silence agitation,—to restore fraternal relations to an estranged brotherhood, and to lend my feeble aid in enabling our common country to march onward to the glorious fruition which awaits her. (Lond cheers.) I have opposed and will hereafter oppose, the hydra-monster Disunion and its snaky influences, in any and every form, and howsoever disguised or in whatsoever condition—whether in the creeping larva, or upon its attractive wings of gossamer—whether in the egg, or the full-fledged bird of evil omen—whether in the germ, or the stately upas with its wide-spread branches—whether it comes from the North or the South, or the East or the West, and whether it consists in denying the South her just rights, or in her demanding that to which she is not entitled.—(Cheers.)

The Union of these States, in the true spirit of the constitution, is a sentiment of my life. It was the dream of my early years—it has been the pride and joy of manhood, and, if it shall please Heaven to spare me to old age, I pray that its abiding beauty may beguile my vacant and solitary hours. I do not expect a sudden disruption of the political bonds which unite the States of this confederacy; but I greatly fear a growing spirit of jealousy, and discontent and sectional hate, which must, if permitted to fester, finally destroy the beauty and harmony of the fabric, if it does not raze it to its foundation. It cannot be maintained by force, and majorities in a confederacy should be admonished to use their power justly. Let no one suppose that those who have been joined in matrimony will remain so despite the commission of mutual wrongs, because they have once enjoyed each other's confidence and affection, and propriety requires them to remain united, and to rear those whom Providence has taught to look to them for sustenance and protection. A chafed spirit, whether of a community or an individual, may be goaded beyond endurance, and the history of the world has proved that the season of desperation which succeeds is awfully reckless of consequences. But, woe be to him by whom the offense of disunion comes! He will be held accursed when the bloody mandates of Herod and Nero shall be forgiven, and be regarded as a greater monster in this world than he who, to signalize his brutal ferocity, reared a monument of several thousand human skulls; and, in the next,

> "The common damned will shun his society,
> And look upon themselves as fiends less foul."

And now, amid this mad and bootless crusade of sectionalism, where should stand the Empire State of the confederacy, and the commercial emporium of the Western hemisphere—where two-thirds of the commercial business of the Union is transacted, and two-thirds of the public revenues collected—which, in a few years, will be the center of the commercial world, when a bill payable in Wall-street will command a premium throughout the habitable globe, and whose Mint, about to be established, will coin the money for all christendom?—a state composed of three millions of free and happy people, which has founded a system of internal improvements and of universal education, the pride and glory of the age—a city whose munificence has given ears to the deaf, tongue to the dumb, and eyes to the blind—has fed the hungry, clothed the naked, and founded institutions of religion and charity, the admiration of philanthropists throughout the world, and caused her sons at home and abroad to point to her and exclaim with gratification,

> "This is my own, my native land,"

—Shall she lend her mighty influences to the cause of sectionalism? She has once saved the honor and integrity of the Union, and enabled it to outride the storm, when all other resources failed; and let her again put forth her potential voice, and calm a convulsed country. In the second war of independence, when our ports were blockaded by hostile fleets, while the tomahawk and scalping-knife, stimulated by foreign gold, were working their hellish deeds upon the women and children of our frontiers—when the very federal capitol was a smouldering ruin, and the arm of the national government fell paralyzed,

too feeble for the Herculean task, it was the New-York merchants and bankers who stepped forward with their money and their credit, and inspired new life and energy, and secured for the arms of their bleeding country victory and honor. The shouts which then went up from a patriotic people, and were echoed back, have scarcely died away in my imagination from the distant hills. Let the same patriotic spirits again stand forth, and by the commanding influence of their great moral power, cast oil upon the troubled waters of domestic dissension, calm the fears of the timid, subdue the spirit of the factious by their indignant frowns, and expel all selfish and sectional feeling from our borders. (Applause.) And, especially, where shall stand the democratic party of the Empire State, and the bulwark of her strength, in the city of her pride—that party which, with the great national democratic party of the Union, has administered the government from its foundation, with the exception of two or three brief intervals, and those reverses produced by dissensions in its own ranks—whose principles of progress have brought the country to a state of prosperity unexampled in the history of men—that party whose creed is simple and catholic—which inculcates the capacity of man for self-government, without reservations or provisos, which professes to adhere to a strict construction of the constitution—to preserve inviolate the rights of the States, and to abstain from all officious intermeddlings in the domestic affairs of others—which resists the accumulation of power by the general government, whether in the executive or Congress, and seeks to commit it as far as practicable to the hands of the people immediately interested; and which, above all, eschews all sickly sentimentality and spurious benevolence, and all temporary and hobby-riding issues, that it may the better advance its great principles of human regeneration—of freedom and good will—and the amelioration of the condition of man? I will not now recount the history of its triumphs, which this course of policy has given: but are they not written upon every page of our country's history with a pencil of light? Let then, the democratic party of New York unite, one and all, upon the ground of its early cherished principles—let it evince its faith in the capacity of man for self-government by its works, and not seek to enforce the legislation of Congress over the domestic policy of a political community which has no vote or voice in its councils, but regard man practically as well as in the abstract as wise as his neighbor, leave each State and territory to such rights and such privileges as the constitution gives them—to their own choice and responsibility respectively, and peace and friendship will again be restored to all sections, and the success of sound principles be speedy and enduring. (Long continued applause. and six cheers.) I give you, in conclusion, as a sentiment, Mr. President,

"*The Democratic party of New-York, and its principles*—freedom of opinion, freedom of the press, and freedom of self-government." (Great applause.)

Extracts from Mr. Dickinson's reply to Mr. Clemens, of Alabama, United States Senate, January 17, 1850.

I have taken no part in this debate, Mr. President, and I regret that it has arisen, and especially that it has passed beyond its own boundaries. In the hour which is usually appropriated to morning business, I was engaged in attending to my correspondence, which is my custom, and I therefore paid but little attention to this matter. But some things have fallen from honorable Senators during this debate, and especially from the junior Senator from Alabama, (Mr. Clemens,) which require not only to be noticed, but to be noticed here and now. Sir, that Senator when he undertakes to characterize the sentiments of whole communities, and the opinions of entire bodies of men, comprising a large majority of the people of this Union, enters upon the execution of a work which might well have been left to older, if not to better soldiers. In regard to this matter, Mr. President, though I have done no more

than others, I think I may say, without the fear of contradiction, or of being charged with unnecessary egotism, that I have stood up to it upon all occasions. I long since saw that it was a question fraught with perilous consequences. I saw that there was an evil spirit of sectionalism rising, both in the North and in the South, having for its object agitation for sectional advantages, and I have condemned it secretly and openly—in thought, word, and deed. I never have lent myself to such unholy and wicked designs, and if God gives me that strength which he has thus far in mercy extended me, I here declare again, where it should be declared, that I never will, but that I will lend my best energies to crush and destroy it. I have stood here under the sanctions of an official oath, and the requisitions of the Constitution, like Casabianca, upon this question, which has so unfortunately, to say the least, agitated the country for the last few years, and here I will stand, even though immolation be the consequence. Others, too, of my northern democratic brethren have shown no less devotion to the Constitution they have sworn to support. I have stood up, not for the South, but for the rights of all, as guarantied by the Constitution. I have disregarded personal consequence, and have scorned to count the chances of ephemeral popularity and place. I have permitted reproach and obloquy to discharge on me their exhaustless quivers of poisoned arrows, that I might secure the right; and when I hear myself, and those with whom I have acted, in rolling back the black and bitter waters of sectional strife, denounced as unworthy of reliance—all in one grand mass excommunicated from communion and fellowship with the democratic Church—in a single verse, and told, too, that we are less to be tolerated than our political opponents, I feel inclined to repel, in pointed and emphatic phrase, a denunciation so wholesale and unjust. * * * * *

The northern sentiment upon the subject of slavery is, in many respects, entirely dissimilar to those of the South: but when we are told that there must be a sectional issue raised because of this, let the voice which so declares come from the North or from the South. I stand here to repudiate it. The people of the North regard the question of slavery as a constitutional guarantee, precisely as do the people of the South, and as such are ready to respect it. It is the political agitators in both sections who have made all the mischief. Sir, take a small number of men out of the northern and also out of the southern sections of this Union, or silence their clamor, and this accursed agitation could be settled in less than a single week. I am for maintaining the Union in spirit as well as in form; and I have deprecated the assaults which I have seen made upon the Constitution occasionally in the non-slaveholding States, in the refusal to deliver fugitives from service according to a solemn provision of that instrument. But this, sir, I look upon as a matter which must be reformed at home, as it will be by a sound and healthy public opinion, when it shall set a just estimate upon the interference of political agitators, and condemn a morality that is purer than the fundamental law. But I will not even dwell upon the alleged errors of any section of my country. If she has ever been astray, rather than contemplate it, I would, like the son of the erring patriarch, walk backward and cast the mantle of concealment over it. I desire to preserve in all its vigor the glorious inheritance which our fathers gave us; to see the South secure in the full possession and enjoyment of their constitutional rights. I have stood by them when I thought them right, regardless of peril, and will now aid in shielding them for unjust and improper aggressions upon their institutions. In this struggle numerically they are the weaker party, and when I have seen them unjustly assaulted and assailed, my sympathies have been with them; and I have exposed and denounced not only the sectional agitators, but have warned those against excitement whose views and intentions are just, but who have been provoked to retaliation by just such wholesale sectional assaults as are now heaped upon the North by the Senator from Alabama. Sir, crimination begets recrimination; and although men may put on the garb of philosophy for an occasion, they are yet liable to be betrayed by impulse and excitement; and when they hear distinguished southern men day after day making sectional appeals, grouping all together and condemning all in gross, without stint or exception, they in their turn will make other declarations, and thus the work goes on. One sec-

tional agitator begets another—a blow given brings a blow in return, and thus sectional agitation makes the meat it feeds on. I have already said I regretted that this subject has been introduced. Allow me to say, that I do not regret that it is about to reach its culminating point. I care not how soon this may be the case. I believe that the great mass of the people of the South are honest, just, and generous, and that all they desire is to remain secure in the possession of their rights. I believe too, sir, that the great mass of the people at the North are equally just and equally generous, and true to the Constitution, and that they too desire nothing more than what they deem to be their rights, and the rights of the whole people, and best calculated to advance the honor of the Confederacy and the interest and happiness of mankind. When reviled I will not revile again. I will by no means repudiate the southern Democracy. They have too often proved themselves worthy of the name they bear. Nor, sir, upon the question of this Union, much and radically as I differ with them upon other questions, will I repudiate the patriotic among our opponents. This question shoots too deep and stretches too high to be measured by political parties; and when the day of trial comes, if come it does, every patriotic man will breast himself for the shock, and sectional agitators will be foiled. The Constitution throws its broad ægis over this mighty Republic; and its people worship at its shrine with more than Eastern devotion. They have contemplated the priceless value of the Union. They have thought of the blood and tears by which it was purchased. They see the proud vessel bearing majestically onward, and they exclaim in the language of the poet:

"Thou, too, sail on, O, ship of State!
Sail on, O, Union, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hope of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate;
We know what master laid thy keel,
What workmen wrought thy ribs of steel;
Who made each mast, and sail, and rope,—
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
In what a forge and what a heat
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope."

They will cheer on this noble ship; they will stand by this Constitution; they will adhere to this Union; and although the northern people are opposed to the institution of slavery, the great mass of them have no intention or disposition to trench improperly upon the constitutional rights of the South; and this they will prove, should the occasion arise, even though they should sell their lives in her defense. Sir, if it should come to the worst, as it never will, so firmly are the northern people devoted to the Constitution, that if armed incendiarism, foreign or domestic, should push her mad crusade against the South, and she be placed in peril, I am free to declare, I would, and so I believe would every patriotic man of the free States who had a sword to draw, draw it in defense of their southern brethren, and of the rights guarantied to them by a common compact, and stand by them to the death. (Applause.) But, sir, they will only stand by her when she is right; and so long as she is so, no sword will be called into requisition, except against a foreign and a common foe. The very heat, natural and artificial, to which sectional agitation has attained, will work its own cure. It will burn itself out. Northern agitators and southern agitators, will find themselves side by side in this errand of mutual mischief. And the great mass of the American people will look upon this Union as it is, and upon southern rights and northern rights as they are, and will stand by them and protect them. * * * * * * * * * * * *

THE DOOM OF NAPOLEON.

(Concluded.)

Sir Walter Scott, whose genius was better adapted to writing romances than history, and whose "Life of Napoleon" is a stain upon his own, insists (vol. ii. ch. 52) that Napoleon "surrendered to the British flag," and was a "*prisoner of war*;" and that "the question between Napoleon and the British nation was not one of *justice*, which has a right *to its due*, though the consequence should be *destruction* to the party by whom it is to be rendered, but one of generosity and *clemency*;" that "Napoleon had considered every plan of escape by force or address; that none seemed to him to present such a chance of a favorable result as that which upon full consideration he adopted"—and that *plan was an unconditional surrender to England.*

We shall shortly show that this assertion is utterly false, in fact proved so by the very testimony which Scott adduces. But before analyzing the proof we cannot but pause to notice the headlong contempt, or perhaps ignorance, of the laws of nations which it implies. Napoleon, as we have seen, had become a private person and a subject of France, mingling with the mass of the population. Who, before this, ever heard of a lawful war being waged by a foreign power against one sole subject within the limits and under the protection of a nation, and not against the nation itself? And yet, Lord Eldon in his *unfinished* argument* in justification of the detention of Napoleon, denies emphatically that England and the allies were then at war with France. If they were not then at war with France, and Napoleon was no longer in arms against them, (and it is not pretended that he was,) what pretence was there for calling him a prisoner of war, or treating him as such? Can a prisoner be made without war? In America, we call this process "*lynching*," and the English name for it is "*kidnapping*." The house of Tudor kidnapped Mary Queen of Scots, and beheaded her; that of Brunswick kidnapped Napoleon Bonaparte, and strangled him by a slow process. The latter case was far more flagrant than the former, because the victim was guilty of no crime against the English throne or people, but came to them as a friend and a suppliant.

But let us see whether the facts give any countenance to the idea that England might lawfully treat him as a prisoner, or exercise any personal restraint over him not lawful in regard to any other foreigner.

He had been expelled from France by its governors, who placed its military forces in requisition to accomplish the ostracism, thus making France too his enemy. Such was the work of treason and faction. *He had no longer any country or any home.* This was no fiction; it was a fact. He could find a home and protection only among strangers, and on a foreign soil; and he must, with such means as he could prepare, either re-commence the war against the allies and against the Government of France, that is, a

* See Life of Lord Eldon, by Twiss, vol. i.

foreign and a civil war at the same time, and fight it out until killed, or disarmed and captured—or he must find an asylum abroad. His right so to levy war resulted directly from the right of self-defense, which is given by nature. Nor was he at that time in such straitened circumstances as to make his surrender to the British necessary, in order to save his life. His situation was not desperate. There was a garrison of fifteen hundred men on the Isle of Aix ready and willing to join him, and to conduct him back to Rochefort, where there was a strong garrison also ready and willing to place him at their head. The garrison of La Rochelle were equally enthusiastic. The army of the Gironde, stationed at Bordeaux, under General Clausel, numbering ten thousand men, were ready to join him; that of La Vendee, numbering still more, commanded by General Lamarque, was also ready. The army of the Loire would undoubtedly have shown him equal devotion. The country people everywhere were ready to flock to his standard; and there is not the slightest ground to doubt, that had he so willed it, a force of more than one hundred thousand men would immediately have followed him to Paris. Surely, the man who could land from Elba with four hundred men and revolutionize France by the magic of his name and voice—dispersing the court and royal family, and transform the ball-room of the allies at Vienna into a den of tigers—could on this occasion, by exposing the treasons of Fouché and his followers, and appealing, as none but Napoleon could appeal, to the patriotism of the French nation, have made such a stand against his enemies as would have compelled them to recognize the claims of humanity, at least towards his person. One blast of his war-trumpet, one accent such as he uttered at the Pyramids, would have aroused the slumbering millions of France, and covered the land with armed men. He might have protracted such a war for years, and perhaps until some new Thermopylæ had swallowed up the insulting invaders; for the French people, who, when their struggle for liberty began, knew what it was to keep a force of 1,200,000 men in the field wherewith to confront these despots, were by no means broken. They were fatigued, but not cowed; and with new men, and new and more terrible energies, such for instance as characterized the committee of public safety in 1793, they might still have rolled back the tide of invasion. But the old nobility had come back, and such an effort must have been attended by scenes of paternal bloodshed—scenes which Napoleon, by his healing policy, had caused to cease in France, and from which his soul turned away with unconquerable aversion. He had faith, too, in the future, and preferred to let time disembarrass the true national party of its temporary entanglements, and, like a prophet, resigned his people to prevent afflictions, in order that they might be the better prepared for the blessings of the future.

Again; he might have concealed himself among his friends in France. There were millions who would have lent their aid to protect, and few, very few, who would have betrayed him. He might thus have remained for years, and until his passage to America should have been secured.

A third mode of escape presented itself, which, had he been willing to see a whole ship's crew sacrificed, would in all probability have been successful. There were two French frigates in the harbor of Rochefort, the Medusa and the Saale, both of which had been assigned to him by

the provisional government for the purpose of taking him to the United States, though not allowed to leave the harbor without the passports. The English blockading force then (July 10th) consisted only of the Bellerophon 74, Captain Maitland, one sloop of 22 guns, and a ship's pinnace. Captain Ponet, of the Medusa, carrying 62 guns, proposed to take the lead of the Saale, and in the night to proceed and attack the Bellerophon, and lash his frigate to her while she lay at anchor, and thus by engaging her in close contest, and preventing her for a time from pursuing the Saale, enable the latter vessel to pass out through the Pertuis or channel between the islands to the ocean. The Saale was a well-armed frigate of the first class, to which the remaining English force could have opposed no effectual resistance. Matters were certainly much worse at Marengo, and Arcola promised a much more hopeless morrow. But the step could be taken by sacrificing in cool blood the Medusa and her crew; and Napoleon would not permit so terrible an offering to his personal safety. He chose rather to trust to the hospitality of England, and to claim the rights of a suppliant. He had been assured the year before by Lord Castlereagh, the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, that if, instead of going to Elba, he had retired to England, he would be received by her with the most profound respect, and that he would find it much better to trust to English honor than to any treaty which could be negotiated; which assurance was communicated to him through M. Caulincourt.*

The safe conducts not having arrived, Napoleon resolved to ascertain the cause of delay.

And here it is necessary to look closely into the evidence, with a view to ascertain what was his real design in going on board the English ship. If he went under a promise or an encouragement of protection and good treatment, or if falsehood was resorted to by the English captain to induce him to place himself in his power, and Napoleon was thereby deceived, England had no right over his person, and was guilty of the blackest duplicity.

Count Las Cases, who was an eye-witness, then attached to the Emperor, says, that "on the morning of the 10th of July, he went in company with Savary to the British cruisers to know whether they had received the safe conducts which had been promised to Napoleon and his suit, by the provisional government, to proceed to the United States; that the answer was that they had not, but that the matter should be immediately refeared to the commander-in-chief, (Admiral Hotham.) Having stated the supposition of the Emperor's setting sail with the frigates under *flags of truce*, it was replied that they would be attacked. He then spoke of his passage in a neutral bottom, and was told in reply that all neutrals would be strictly examined, and perhaps even conducted to an English port;" "but," says he, "*we were recommended to proceed to England, and it was asserted that in that country we should have no ill usage to fear.* We returned at two in the afternoon." Such is Las Cases' account of his first interview with Captain Maitland, of the Bellerophon, which took place on

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* Count Montholon's Memoirs, vol. i., ch. 3. See also Caulincourt's Napoleon and His Times. Scott vainly attempts to cast a doubt upon this fact; it is no wonder.

the 10th. Even Maitland admits, that in this first interview, on being told by Savary, that Napoleon sought nothing but peace and tranquillity, he asked:—"if that is the case, *why not ask an asylum in England?*" It is to be observed, that this proposal of Maitland was the *first* observation made on either side about his going to England. It was of course intended and understood as an *invitation.* What honesty was there, therefore, in his *pretended subsequent remark*, that Napoleon must place himself "unconditionally at the disposal of the Prince Regent?" Such a qualification would have been an insult, and is utterly improbable. It would, moreover, have been to expose the trap, if one had been set or intended by Maitland.

Having waited four days without receiving any answer to his inquiry, on the morning of the 14th Las Cases returned to the Bellerophon, accompanied by General Lallemand, to ascertain *whether any answer had been received?* "The captain (Maitland) replied that he expected it every moment, and added, that if the Emperor would embark immediately for England, he had INSTRUCTIONS to convey him thither; and still further declared it as his *private opinion*, and several other captains who were present, expressed themselves to the same effect, that there was *not the least doubt* of Napoleon's meeting with all possible respect and good treatment; that there, neither the King nor his ministers exercised the same arbitrary authority as those of the Continent; that the English people possessed a generosity of sentiment and liberality of opinion, far above sovereignty itself. I replied, that I would return and communicate the captain's offer to the Emperor, as well as the whole of his conversation. I added, that I thought I had a sufficient knowledge of the Emperor Napoleon's character to induce a belief that he would not feel much hesitation in proceeding to England thus confidentially, so as to be able to *continue his voyage to the United States.* I described all France south of the Loire as being in a blaze; stated the propositions hourly made to him from various directions; his determination not to become either the cause or a pretext of a civil war; the generosity shown by him in abdicating, merely to render the conclusion of a peace more easy; and the firm resolution he had taken to banish himself in order to make it more prompt and complete."

General Lallemand had known Maitland in Egypt; he had also been condemned to death by the Bourbons during Napoleon's residence at Elba, for a political offence. He inquired of Maitland, "whether England would give *him up to France* in case of his going voluntarily to England?" The captain replied in the negative, "repelling the question *as an insult.*"

Las Cases, when about to leave and return to the Emperor, "summed up the conference, by telling Maitland that it was possible from the state of affairs, and his own intentions, the Emperor would avail himself of Captain Maitland's offer, *so as to get safe conducts for America.* The latter begged it to be understood, that he would not guarantee the permission we demanded being granted;" i. e., permission by the English Cabinet to proceed to America.*

The Emperor was now on the little island of Aix. Las Cases and

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* Las Cases' Journal, vol. i., pp. 18, 19.

Lallemand returned to him, and communicated what had passed, and thereupon, and before stirring an inch towards the British ship, Napoleon wrote to the Prince Regent the following letter, never equalled in manly eloquence and heroic sentiment; worthy of him, and him alone; as much above the character of him to whom it was addressed as Olympus is higher than Phlegethon:—

"Royal Highness:

"The sport of the factions which divide my country—an object of hostility to the greatest powers of Europe—I have finished my political career, and come, like Themistocles, to sit down by the hearth of the British people. I place myself under the protection of their laws, which I claim from your Royal Highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

"Napoleon."

This letter was immediately, on the same day, communicated to Captain Maitland, by Las Cases and General Gourgaud, and read by him. General Gourgaud proceeded in the British ship, the Slaney, towards England, to present it to the personage to whom it was addressed. Two copies of it were taken by two other captains at the time Maitland read it.

Napoleon remained on the island until the next morning, when he proceeded in the French vessel, L'Epervier, towards the Bellerophon. Captain Maitland sent his barge to meet the Epervier, into which the Emperor entered. As he was stepping on board the Bellerophon, he remarked: "*Captain Maitland, I come on board your ship to place myself under the protection of the laws of England.*" To which, as Count Montholon, an eye-witness, testifies, Maitland *bowed, but made no reply.*

Such is Las Cases' and Montholon's account. We here see no design whatever on the part of the Emperor to "surrender," or to make himself a "prisoner of war." On the contrary, he carefully, very carefully, and as if to rebut any such inference, informed Maitland—first, by causing him to peruse the letter to the English Regent, on the 14th; and, secondly, by the emphatic language he used when going on board on the 15th—that he came not as a prisoner, but as a suppliant. No conduct could have been more cautious. Nor did Maitland, in either of the conferences which took place, drop the slightest hint that he should consider him as a prisoner. Whatever may have been his own secret intention, he well knew that Napoleon did *not* so consider himself; and had such a fate been hinted at he would have suffered death rather than have gone on board the Bellerophon. During twenty-five years of war, and in circumstances infinitely more critical, Napoleon had never surrendered or been made a prisoner. That the man who had so long controlled the destinies of Europe, capturing, bestowing and resuming crowns, should have tamely surrendered as a prisoner of war to a petty English naval officer, and that without any immediate necessity, is an assumption which no impartial mind can for a moment credit. It is contradicted, not only by his express contemporaneous declarations, and his conduct, but by the whole tenor of his life, his pride of character, his temperament, his extreme sensitiveness to personal disgrace, and that unbending spirit which had never yet

bowed before the power of England, or any earthly power, no matter how imminent the peril.

Count Montholon, who was in the Emperor's suite at the Isle of Aix, and who accompanied him into exile, and finally closed his eyes, tells us, that in the first interview between Las Cases and Savary, and Captain Maitland, the first-named, asked him: "If he had received any instruction relative to the departure of the Emperor for America? and if not having such, he should think himself authorized to allow the frigates, or any other French or neutral ship, with the Emperor on board, and bound for the United States, to pass free? The English captain declared, that *nothing in his instructions* differed from the ordinary rules of a state of war; and that, consequently, he would attack the frigates, or any other vessel under the French flag which should attempt to leave the roadstead. As to a ship under a neutral flag he would cause her to be visited and searched, according to the naval law of blockade. But, nevertheless, considering the great and acceptionable nature of the communication made to him, he would instantly refer the subject to the admiral in command, who was cruising off La Rochelle." The same author, in giving the answer of Maitland to Las Cases, in the second interview, held on the 14th, says: "Captain Maitland's answers were distinct and positive. He had yet received no instructions, but he was in hourly expectation of their arrival; he was *authorized* to receive the Emperor on board in order to convey him to England, and according to his opinion the Emperor would receive in England all that attention and respect to which he could lay any claim." He added: "I am anxious that it should be well understood that I am only expressing my own personal opinion on this subject, and have in no respect spoken in the name of the government, having received *no instructions either from the admiralty or the admiral.*" It will be noticed that Las Cases makes him say, that he had instructions to carry him to England, *if he would embark immediately.*

Now, if Captain Maitland stated either that he had received no instructions, or that he had instructions to carry him to England, provided he would embark immediately, he told a wilful falsehood; for on the 8th of July, two days before the first interview, he had received "*secret orders from Admiral Hotham, informing him, that the Lords-Commissioners of the Admiralty had every reason* to believe that Napoleon meditated his *escape* from France to America, and enjoining him to the most active vigilance for his INTERCEPTION and removal to England."* Such were the real instructions which Maitland had in his pocket during both these interviews, and they had reached him from London through his superior officer, within only fifteen days after the passage of the decree sending Napoleon to the United States. The decree itself had doubtless been communicated to the British Government, containing the promise of safe conducts, which promise, though intended for and looking directly to their benefit, was regarded by them as a hostile act, and a means of escape." Such was the systematic baseness of the ministry.

It may here be noticed, that Scott says, that "no new or extended *authority* was received by Captain Maitland, nor was he capable of insinuating the existence of such. His *sole instructions* were contained in

* See Scott's Nap., vol. ii., 346, 347.

the order of Admiral Hotham," quoted above. Maitland, in his letter to the Secretary of the Admiralty, dated the 14th, after mentioning the fact, that Las Cases and Lallemand had been on board his ship that day, "with a proposal for him to receive on board Napoleon Bonaparte, for the purpose of *throwing himself on the generosity of the Prince Regent*," says: "Conceiving myself authorized by their Lordships' *secret order*, I have consented to the proposal, and he is to embark on board of the ship to-morrow morning." This was written *after* the receipt of the Emperor's letter.

This "conception" of Captain Maitland, that the secret order he received on the 8th, authorized him to consent to the proposal contained in that letter, was a most extraordinary one. The order conferred on him no authority whatever but to "*intercept his escape*;" that is to say, to stop his flight; to overtake and seize him as a flying enemy, endeavoring to avoid pursuit; but not to receive him as a suppliant for a seat "at the hearth of the British people;" which was the capacity in which he proposed to come, and in which, unconquered by arms, unintimidated by danger, uninfluenced by any other purpose than to be at rest, (for his word is surely better evidence on this score than the stubborn prejudices and death's-head suspicions of the English Cabinet,) he did voluntarily come.

On the 10th, then, Maitland invited the Emperor and his suite to embark and proceed to England, under a strong assurance that they had nothing to fear there, and would be well treated, and that his instructions did not differ from the ordinary rules of war and blockade. This is not denied. On the 14th, having received no new instructions, he tells them, that if the Emperor will embark immediately, he has instructions to convey him to England, mentally referring to those which authorized him to seize him as a fugitive enemy, and reiterates, in the presence of several other British officers, the assurance that he would be well received and well treated in England; and thus writes a lying despatch to the Admiralty that he conceived himself authorized by the secret order to receive him as a stranger and a friend going to England to secure a passage for America; although, he says, he cannot guarantee that England will grant that permission.

What is here manifest, is,

1st. That he had no authority from his instructions to receive Napoleon and carry him to England, except as a prisoner of war, fairly made such by the rules of war, which, as we have shown, Napoleon was not.

2d. That he falsely and fraudulently *represented* to him that he had authority to receive and carry him to England, in the capacity in which he proposed to go.

3d. That he was guilty of a fraudulent suppression of truth, when in representing that he had instructions in reference to him, he did not disclose the fact that they contemplated the Emperor's removal to England *only* as a prisoner of war.

4th. That he was guilty of a similar deceit when, on Napoleon's stepping on board the Bellerophon, and saying to him distinctly, "I come on board your ship to place myself under the protection of the laws of England," he did not answer at once: "Not so; you come as a prisoner of war, and as such I am instructed to receive you or not at all; be not deceived; I cannot receive you in order that you may sit by the hospita-

ble hearth of the British people. You are my prisoner, and must place yourself in my hands as such, or not at all."

A still more convincing proof of Napoleon's real intention is found in the fact of his absolute refusal to deliver up his sword to Lord Keith, who was sent on board the Bellerophon, on its arrival in England, to demand it of him as a prisoner of war. Had he understood the act of going on board the Bellerophon as a surrender, and had he worn the mask of a suppliant to hide the dishonor, surely this was an occasion to cease playing the farce. And yet he obstinately and successfully, and even at the hazard of a personal conflict, refused to furnish this last proof of a legal capture.*

Let Scott and Alison, and the whole corps of sycophants whose venal pens are paid for making black white, and white black, gloss over this shameful transaction; it is not the less a fraud, not the less a barbarity, not the less a base and cowardly violation of the laws of nations, not the less a well contrived, deliberate crime. Had such a fraud been committed in a private transaction between man and man, no English or American court would have hesitated in declaring it void, and refusing all benefit claimed under it.

But English writers, including Lord Eldon, then Chancellor, affect to rely implicitly upon the statement made by Capt. Maitland himself respecting the transaction,† though he was distinctly charged with duplicity and falsehood by Count Las Cases. They cannot expect the world to credit the interested testimony of an officer who, by his own confession, was guilty of the fraud and falsehood in regard to his instructions, which we have pointed out. If he was guilty of one falsehood, he would be of another, and his report therefore is not to be believed at all. And yet this same perjured witness, brought forward to prove that Napoleon voluntarily surrendered himself as a prisoner, admits, in a subsequent letter

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* The graphic description given of this scene by Count Montholon, an eye-witness, is worthy of being here transcribed:

"Towards the close of the day, the Northumberland and two frigates filled with British troops, cast anchor by our side. Immediately afterward Lord Keith came on board the Bellerophon, accompanied by Admiral Sir George Cockburn, whom he presented to the Emperor, and who was the bearer of a communication, by virtue of which he was about to convey him to St. Helena. The instructions of Lord Bathurst, Minister of the Colonies, gave directions to subject the baggage to the most minute examinations, and required the surrender to the Admiral of all money or articles of value in gold or diamonds. *Our arms were to be demanded as from prisoners of war.*

"This last point gave rise to one of those silent but sublime scenes, to which my pen is wholly inadequate to do justice; but the impressiveness of which every one will understand by reading the simple but faithful narrative of what took place.

"The Admirals had been received by the Emperor in the state-cabin. Bertrand and myself stood behind, with our backs to the stern windows. General Gourgaud remained by the starboard guns, prepared for any event. The Emperor, a few feet in front of us, appeared to be waiting only for them to take their leave, when Lord Keith, at length resigning himself to the execution of an order which was at war with the whole of his long and brilliant military career, approached the Emperor, and said, in a voice subdued by emotion, "England demands your sword." The Emperor, by a convulsive movement, placed his hand on that sword which an Englishman dared to demand. The terrible expression of his eye was the only reply. Never was it more powerful or more penetrating. The old Admiral was astounded; his tall figure shrunk; his head, white with years, fell upon his breast, like that of a criminal, shrinking before the sentence of his judge. The Emperor retained his sword."

† See Scott's Nap. vol. ii., p. 350; and Twiss's Life of Lord Eldon, vol. i.

wrenched from him by Lord Keith, dated August 8th, eight days after Lord Keith had communicated the sentence of the ministry, and in fact, after the Bellerophon had sailed, that in the interview on the 14th he told Las Cases that though he was not authorized to permit Napoleon to proceed to America, yet, "*if he chose to come on board the ship he commanded, he thought, under the orders he was acting, he might venture to receive him*, and carry him to England; but that if he did, he could be in no way answerable for the reception he might meet with; and that although he did not know what was the intention of the British government, *yet he had no reason to suppose he would not be well received.*" He states that he "entered into no condition with respect to the reception General Bonaparte was to meet with." As Napoleon came voluntarily, after notifying to Maitland the terms on which he proposed to come, and after having been told by Maitland that he was *authorized to receive and convey him to England*, justice and honesty required that he should be received, if at all, for the purpose he had thus announced. It was according to *his* intention, not that of the English government, or of Maitland, that the transaction was to be interpreted. The ministry had long since been informed by Maitland's letter of the 14th, as well as by Napoleon's letter to the Regent, which had been sent off by a British ship on the 14th of July, of the conditions on which he came. This is proved by the statement of Maitland to Lord Keith, of the 8th of August. The ministry knew that he claimed to have been authorized to receive and convey him for the purpose he contemplated; but under the instruction to intercept his flight, for which false construction Lord Keith called Maitland a *fool;* knave was the proper term. But such was the evidence on which Napoleon was doomed by England to perpetual exile and slavery, well knowing that he came as a suppliant, and not as a prisoner. And even the explanatory statement forced from the wretched man Maitland, by Admiral Keith, was not furnished until three days after the British ship that was to take him to St. Helena, was flying before the Sheriff of the county, and running away from a small piece of paper called a writ of *habeas corpus*, ordering his tyrants to bring the body of Napoleon Bonaparte into an English court of justice, there to test the legality of this scandalous proceeding. Had the *laws of England* been obeyed, the illustrious prisoner would have been released, and the honor of England, stained by her politicians and her "*hero*," would have been fully vindicated by her judges. But Capel Lofft's appeal from the throne to the ermin was the sport of the same violence and fraud which first issued the declaration of outlawry, then trepanned and finally took the life of the object of his disinterested efforts.

The ministry, then, well knew that he came voluntarily as a suppliant. They knew that his own government had, for the ease and comfort of Great Britain, as one of the allies, undertaken to expatriate him; that they had engaged that he should come to this country, where he would be secure; that they had promised him safe conducts for that purpose; that those safe conducts had been demanded of Wellington, who was authorized to grant them, and by him refused; that Napoleon resigned the government, *de facto*, of France, and voluntarily disarmed himself; that he could not, even if he would, any longer make war upon England without subjecting himself to be hung as a freebooter; and that his purpose in going on board the English ship was to be protected by the English laws

as a stranger, a wanderer, and a friend. And they knew that by every rule of morality, hospitality and law, they were bound to receive him, if at all, as he proposed to come. Had they inquired their duty of the Bedouins of the desert, of the wandering Tartars, or of the North American Indians, they would have been told—"Our common Creator, author of the ills common to humanity in all ages and climes, hath impressed even upon our untutored hearts the duty of hospitality; and you cannot violate that duty without committing the double crime of treachery and murder—crimes which, when permitted, are the infallible symptoms of national death,—the harbingers of God's vengeance."

Suppose, therefore, that Captain Maitland had really given no assurances, public or private, of his treatment by England, but had informed him, as he says he did, but which is plainly a falsehood, that "he must consider himself entirely at the *disposal* of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, (in which statement *he is entirely unsupported by a single witness, English or French*,) how could such a declaration *change the duty of the British Government*, to accept his voluntary visit, if they permitted it at all, exactly as it was offered? If your enemy comes into your house and announces to you at the threshhold that he comes to supplicate your protection, and you bow to him and receive him under your roof, we beg to know by what process the duty of protection which you thus assume becomes transmuted into a right to slay or enslave him? It is the right of fraud and force united, and it is nothing else.

Besides; Napoleon being, as we have seen, a French subject, was incompetent to consent to be held as a prisoner for a longer period than during the then existing war, after which the right of his country to his services, had she sought them, revived.*

We have said that Napoleon was a suppliant. That is a condition perfectly well recognized in the code of nations. It was the earliest to be respected, because it was the earliest felt to be unavoidable. It is the *right of misfortune*—a right sacredly observed among the ancient Hebrews—by which the innocent fugitive driven from his own country, and resorting to their cities of refuge, was held to be under the protection of the state. We are told that the ancient people of Chalcis refused to give up to the Greeks one of their chiefs in the Trojan war who, being erroneously suspected by them of having wilfully shipwrecked a part of the Grecian fleet on its return from that war, had fled to the Chalcedons for refuge. The Athenians erected an altar to mercy, inscribed "*sacred to the unfortunate, to those overcome in war, those driven from their own country, those destitute of legal protection;*" which Aristedes makes the peculiar glory of Athens, for the reason that it was "for a refuge and a consolation to all the unfortunate whencesoever they might come, and a security against oppression."† It is lauded not only by Demosthenes and the Greek poets, but by Cicero, and other enlightened Latin authors. One of the most terrible accusations brought against Marius by the historian Sallust was, that he refused protection to those who came to him as suppliants.‡

But we need not appeal to written rules on the subject; the heart of man constitutes the code. England was herself long the asylum of the

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* Vattel, B. iii., ch. 8, § 151.

† Grotius, de jure Belli et Pacis, L. ii., cap. 21. ‡ Bell, Jug., c. 96.

dispersed and expelled Bourbons and French royalists, whom she protected, clothed, fed, and many of whom she paid. The United States were the refuge of the fugitives of all parties except the Pretender and his immediate adherents, who, thank heaven, never asked the honor of breathing the air of our skies. Turkey received Charles XII. of Sweden, as a suppliant, and the "repose of Europe" was not urged by Peter the Great as a reason for violating his sanctuary. Louis XIV. received James Second of England and his Queen, as suppliants; Xerxes received as a suppliant Themistocles, his great enemy, by whom his mighty expedition against Greece had been totally defeated; the Kings of Persia as well as the northern barbarians, during their long wars with the Roman emperors, offered an asylum to many Roman statesmen who had incurred the displeasure of their sovereigns, and became suppliants. And there are perhaps fewer examples of the violation of this than of any other national usage. The reason is plain—the claim is one which addresses itself to the heart, and at once puts to shame the calculations of policy; it arises from want and exposure to danger, from which no human condition is exempt; it is the cry of helpless infancy for sustenance; it is the appeal of despair for life and protection,—the faint and agonized call of the man who with broken arm is sinking beneath the wave to the strong swimmer to lend him a hand; appeals which the soul of a *man* can neither resist nor stop to discuss.

That Napoleon had at all times a perfectly correct conception of his real position, and that he regarded it as that of a suppliant, is proved by his conduct. The example of Themistocles appealing to the King of Persia, was as sublime and striking as it was in point; it communicated in the fittest, the most modest, and at the same time the most flattering way, his own view of his relations to the English monarch. But the ministry—that half-human progeny of the lust of gold and lust of power—were as insensible as avarice to the calls of compassion, as obdurate as highwaymen dividing the spoils of the night, and jesting at the crimes which won them. What was it to them that he was without a home or a country, severed from his wife and child, ensnared into their power by the lies of their minion, free even by their own laws and the laws of nations, the greatest, the noblest of living men; was he not, nevertheless, *actually in their clutches*, and should they not wreak upon him the vengeance with which his great name and his thousand victories so justly inspired them? What was the use in being magnanimous? in forbearing to trample on a fallen foe? in admitting the ridiculous "rights of misfortune?" Had they not rent into a thousand atoms the cordon of his continental system, established the omnipotence of English commerce in Europe and Asia, and prepared the whole world to pass under the yoke of the manufacturers and stockholders of England? Had they not spent uncounted millions in the great enterprise of enabling that little island to give commercial and maritime laws to the world? and should they now run the risk of losing this precious investment by suffering "this fellow"* to enjoy "air and water" in England or America? "Are we not," we may imagine them to have exclaimed, "powerful enough to face down and put down the vulgar herd of whiners and croakers, here and elsewhere,

* Lord Eldon's expression.

who shall be so presumptous as to question the justice of our conduct, or to dispute our infallible word when, with potent tone, we say that we do this act for the 'REPOSE OF EUROPE'—for the 'PEACE OF THE WORLD'—for the 'SECURITY OF THE LEGITIMATE RULERS OF NATIONS?' Do not these ideas open broad fields for discussion and argument? Can we not assert, and pay myriads of needy authors and orators for asserting, that 'this fellow' was a prisoner of war, an exception to all examples in the law of nations? that he is an habitual treaty-breaker, a robber, a ferocious beast, attracted by the scent of blood—a sort of one-eyed, man-eating monster, thristing to devour men, women and children? and that *their* safety requires that we should, like Ulysses, bore out his eye? Can we not make the people of England and Scotland, Russia, Prussia, Austria, Spain, and—what is that small settlement of half-barbarous people on the other side of our Atlantic ocean? *America*—can we not make them all believe in these reasons, these pious truths? The Lord-Chancellor, rather than lose his place, will assuredly frame a profound and unanswerable argument in our defense, which we shall be enabled, by dint of power, ridicule and bluster, to have incorporated into the laws of nations; and thus we shall, in advance, conquer the good opinion of posterity;—for whom, by the way, we care as little as we do for this helpless slave whom we now send to be scorched to death under the tropics. We have broken the back of France, and caught the ringleader of the gibbering tribe that has been playing his pranks and stealing our sweetmeats for a quarter of a century. Away then with all this rigmarole about 'honor;' the great type of our nation has very justly taught us that it is worthless in a dead man, and that it will not fill a hungry belly."

And for reasons like these, the crime, the most flagrant in history, was committed; the highest, most ruthless exertion of arbitrary power in the annals of any nation; a mixture of fraud and force without necessity, in utter contempt of the claims of Eternal JUSTICE.

Providence has never failed to punish nations for such crimes; and unless all history be a pointless fiction, that blow shall be the heaviest which England shall be able to strike. It was murder, committed in cold blood for the sake of gain. The image of the slain one shall haunt her in her lonely walks, and sit down with her, a horrid vision, at her feasts; it shall appear to her guilty conscience, on the sea and on the shore; and when the cries of her oppressed people shall ascend to heaven, invoking vengeance upon her rulers, the voice of the great departed, uttered in his protest, shall ring in her ears and freeze her with the horrid consciousness that she too is FRIENDLESS!

"I here protest, solemnly, in the face of Heaven and of men, against the violence which is done me; against the violation of my most sacred rights, in disposing by force of my person and my liberty. I came freely on board the Bellerophon. I am not a prisoner; I am the guest of England. I came on board at the instigation even of the captain, who said he had orders from his government to receive and conduct me to England, with my suite, should that be agreeable to me. I presented myself in good faith, in order to place myself under the protection of the laws of England. As soon as I seated myself on board the Bellerophon, I was at the hearth of the British people. If the government, in giving orders to the captain of the Bellerophon to receive me and my suite,

sought only to spread a snare, it has forfeited its honor and tarnished its flag. If this act shall be consummated, it will be in vain that Englishmen speak to Europe of their loyalty, their laws, and their liberty. *British faith will find itself lost in the hospitality of the Bellerophon.* For this I appeal to history. It will say, that an enemy who for twenty years made war upon the English people, came freely, in his misfortunes, to seek an asylum under their laws. What more striking proof could he give them of his esteem and confidence? But how did the rulers of England respond to such magnanimity? They feigned to stretch forth the hand of hospitality to that enemy, and when he yielded himself up in good faith, they immolated him.

"NAPOLEON.

"*On board of the Bellerophon, 4th Aug.*, 1815."

And such will be, and ought to be the verdict of History. It is the language of a prophet, whose pervading spirit pierced the future, leaping from the purblind bigotry of the present, and surveying the long tract of time as from the highest pinnacle of its history.

The prophecy will be fulfilled, and justice vindicated. The retributive law will not be mocked. It will pursue pride in all her goings and comings,—in prosperity and in adversity, and wheresoever she may turn, she will be compelled to gaze upon the Gorgon-headed divinity until she is petrified.

We cannot close without citing one striking example of retributive justice between nations. The Goths, on the north of the Danube, had been pressed to such extremities by the victorious Huns, that, though they had often been at war with the Romans, they were compelled to apply to the emperor as suppliants for protection and hospitality. They were permitted to pass the Danube, and were received as guests and friends. Soon, however, the most grievous exactions were made upon them; they were defrauded and attempted to be disarmed; and, finally, as they became more menacing and formidable in their resistance to oppression, a plan was laid by the Roman Government to massacre all the Gothic youth in the East, upon a given day. Under pretext of attending the public games, the innocent unsuspecting Goths were assembled together in the various villages; the streets were occupied by the Roman troops, and the roofs of the houses covered with archers and slingers. At the same moment, throughout all the towns of the East, the Gothic youth were cruelly massacred by the command of the Roman sovereign; a breach of hospitality expiated by nothing less than the sacking of Rome and the final extinction of the Roman power. Terrible but just retribution! The great historian of the Decline and Fall, commenting on this "cruel prudence of the emperor," remarks, with characteristic force and beauty: "The urgent consideration of the public safety may, undoubtedly, authorize the violation of every positive law. How far that or any other consideration may operate to dissolve the natural obligations of humanity and justice, is a doctrine of which I still desire to remain ignorant."

JUDICIAL ENCROACHMENT.

The fact, that of the two nations on the earth which are farthest advanced on the road of human freedom, the one has a written, and the other an unwritten constitution, is less the cause than the necessary effect of great and organic differences between them. To say that Americans are essentially a migratory, restless, and rapidly advancing people, that they are peculiarly economical of time, and that one of their most striking characteristics is to endeavor to produce the greatest possible results from the smallest means, and the least expenditure of labor capable of effecting them, is merely to enunciate an undoubted truism, which all assent to and none doubt. To reconcile these various qualities, that is, to spend the least possible time and labor, to produce the greatest results, and at the same time to leave our *mobile* tendency wholly unchecked, we have long since found was only to be done by going to the very origin of things, by discovering and making known great truths and general principles, and leaving the practical and individual aplication of them to each occasion as it arose; and we also discovered that time and effort spent in these preliminary and fundamental researches is well spent, saving an incalculable amount of both afterwards; for when a general principle is once developed the practical adaptation of it is comparatively easy, but if the great truth is unknown, a laborious process of research and experiment must be gone through whenever it is to be applied.

Perhaps there never was a man in whom this American nature was so well developed as in Franklin. Let any one read his letters and see with what humble means he was continually operating, yet where shall we find greater or more brilliant results than he effected with a silk handkerchief and a door key, a glass tube, some sealing wax, and a sheet of paper. He brought the lightning of heaven to his feet; with these puny instruments he proved what the learned of the world, surrounded by all the appliances which science could suggest or wealth purchase, had failed to demonstrate, or to suspect. It is the same peculiarity which has produced our political as well as our social character, and which induced our ancestors to go through long and wearying toil, in order to discover the great truths which lie at the bottom of political and governmental science, and to leave to us, their posterity, a constitution essentially one of general principles. Human progress tends to simplicity, and our constitution is in advance of that of England by as much as it exceeds it in simpleness.

The English constitution is an undigested mass of results—a huge charnel-house of decided precedents. It contains the material on which to operate, but the great process of induction has never been applied to it. It is like the beast we read of in nursery books—a very kind beast and a very good beast; but till the beauty will kiss its hairy lip its whole shape is terrible and repulsive. The magic kiss has never humanized the beast of the English constitution; it still preserves, to all appearance, its lumpish brutality, and demands no small degree of nerve on the part of those who would approach it.

This is the immediate result of English statesmanship, the mediate one of the English character. No troops but Englishmen could have conquered in their place at Waterloo. None but men who have—not only a grand

talent for silence, as the French say,—but a grand talent for standing still, could have bided unshrinkingly the fearful storm which beat on the English ranks that day. Unfortunately they stand still in politics with almost the same obstinacy they exhibited before Napoleon. Change is the bugbear of an Englishman, and only when it is shown to be the least of two evils, one of which he must choose, will he assent to it? The result is, that English statesmanship, from the days of Elizabeth, that is, from its infancy, has been, with the single exception of the times of the commonwealth, a system of expediency, a series of stoppages; having for its end to check popular advancement as much as possible; and, whenever the pressure on government became too great, adopting the whaler's expedient, of throwing a tub to the monster to divert his attention. Expediency is the whole and sole question to be decided by an English statesman. If a thing is advisable it can be done, and doing it shows it to be constitutional.

It must be evident, that under a written constitution of defined powers, such as ours, the question of expediency is a secondary one; constitutionality being the great thing to be first decided. If a power can be shown to be granted, then we are at liberty to inquire whether its exercise is expedient; but if it be not granted, then it is illogical, and worse than useless to consider the expediency of using it; and the argument that, because it would be expedient to exercise such a power if it existed, and because its non-existence was productive of unpleasant results, therefore it does exist, is totally and wholly at variance with every principle of government under a written constitution. In a question as to the existence or non-existence of an abstract right, he who argues from the expediency of its existence not only wastes his breath, time, and argument, but insults the understandings of his hearers. When, therefore, we deny, as we are about to do, the existence of a certain power claimed under the constitution, we submit that all considerations of expediency are to be thrown out of view. If it is expedient that a power not granted should exist, that is an argument for the alteration of the constitution; but, so long as that instrument remains unaltered, no expediency, however great, can extend its grant.

One other preliminary word. When we last took occasion to speak of the cases wherein we thought the federal judiciary to have exceeded their power, we confined ourselves to those instances which arose wholly from their own act. We propose now to examine a case where the encroachment, if it is one, has been sanctioned, to a certain extent, by the unguarded generality of expression used in an act of Congress. It is true, that high and abstract ethics would require the federal judiciary to have so construed a general expression as only to include those individual cases which the constitution allowed to be included, and as not extending to those others which no constitutional grant could reach; and it is also true that such a decision might be said, by some, to be the duty of the national courts; but to expect such a construction or decision from any class of men would, we suppose, be desiring too much from human nature, and all that can be said is, that it was scarcely to be hoped the Supreme Court should put restrictions on itself not imposed by the very letter of the law under which it acts. As our object, however, is not to throw censure on the judges, but merely to expose what we humbly conceive to be an improper extension of the powers of their department, the fact that uncon-

stitutional assumption has been, possibly, sanctioned by an unguarded grant which has no validity, cannot make it improper to deny the existence of a power which we believe to be without foundation.

The power which the Supreme Court of the United States has affirmed and exercised, and which we deny to exist, is that of reviewing, by means of a writ of error, and, if they think proper, of reversing, the proceedings and decision of the highest court of a state where in a suit between that state and any of its own citizens, the state court has decided in favor of the constitutionality of or authority exercised under the state, or against the constitutionality of a treaty or statute of, or an authority exercised under the United States.

The Supreme Court claims to exercise this right by virtue of grants in the constitution itself, and in the judiciary act of September, 1789. We will, therefore, examine the whole ground with some care, and endeavor to show that no such grant exists in the constitution, and that if it is contained in the judiciary act it is void and of no effect. We will first search for the alleged constitutional grant.

In founding their claim on the constitution itself, the federal judges have advanced certain theories as to the parties to that instrument and its formation, which we totally dissent from, and which materially influence the course and result of the argument. They announce, as their belief, that the constitution was adopted and the union formed not by sovereign states but by the people of the nation at large, and that, in short, the union created the states, not the states the union. This is a question which has been heretofore so fully argued that we have no intention or desire to go into it in detail; on the contrary, we shall say only so much as may be sufficient to put the reader on the track of many arguments and considerations which tend to overthrow the theory of the Supreme Court, and content ourselves with deductions from the words of a few of the many clauses of the constitution itself, which might be used for this purpose.

We are convinced that a careful examination of the history of our country will show very conclusively, that from the planting of the germ of each colony down at least to the adoption of the present constitution, sovereignty was vested only in the King of England, or in the individual states; and we found our belief of this fact on the evidence afforded by the acts of the King in council, and the decisions of the English courts of law, by the limited authority conveyed to the early Congress prior to the Declaration of Independence, by the fact of several of the states having formally declared their individual independence before the fourth of July, 1776; by the fact that in the general declaration the states declared themselves not only free but *independent;* by the undoubted fact that the states preserved their sovereignty under the confederation, and by the wording of the general treaty of peace in 1783. Merely suggesting these sources of proof, therefore, we come to inquire whether the states, after preserving their sovereignty intact up to 1789, and after having been, as sovereigns, parties to all agreements made prior to that time, suddenly succumbed to a new power, and, like King John, consented to surrender, and receive by the grace of another, that sovereignty they had before held in their own right.

There is no doubt that the preamble of the constitution was intended to declare who are the parties to it; resting on this undeniable fact, those

adopting a different view from ourselves, point triumphantly to the expression, "we, the people," and refuse to look one word beyond this point; if they did so, they would read, "we, the people *of the United States*,"—an addition which, at least, qualifies their construction, and we think, destroys it altogether. The phrase in question is ambiguous, and we are driven to take a course sanctioned by every rule of construction applicable in such a case, and to look into other places in the body of the constitution before we can pronounce on its meaning. It may import, that the constitution was adopted by the people of the whole nation as a nation, or by the people of the individual states, or, in effect, by the sovereignties of those states, united. The first is the meaning contended for by the judiciary—the second, the one we believe to be true. The difference between these meanings may, at first, seem slight, but when we come to look at the results produced by the one view or the other, the importance of understanding which is the true one becomes more apparent. If the parties to the constitution were the individuals of the nation at large, a majority of the nation would have been fully competent to its adoption, and a numerical minority—no matter if they were the whole population of a particular state—would have been held to be bound by the acts of the citizens of the other states. If the theory of the judges is the true one, this result inevitably follows; while, if our view is correct, it cannot stand for an instant; yet the constitution was, and is, construed universally to mean nothing of the kind, and to produce no such result:—for it is a well-known fact, that North Carolina and Rhode Island were held to have a perfect right to refuse, as they long did, to enter the union under the present constitution, and no one supposed them to be bound by the action of the other states, although an immense numerical majority was opposed to them. Again, the term "United States" had been used for many years before 1789, in the definite and fixed sense which we had assigned to it, and there is, therefore, no reason to suppose, without positive evidence of the fact, that any new meaning was attached to it. But, leaving both these considerations for what they are worth, the constitution itself, first by necessary implication and afterwards by direct assertion, denies the people at large to be parties to it, and proves it to have originated from the states. Whatever be the character of the parties they must all be of the same nature, and cannot be partly state sovereignties and the rest individual citizens; equals only can consort with each other, and to attempt to blend together citizens and sovereignties, human beings and intangible imaginations, in this style, would be without parallel since the days of Ixion and the Cloud. But we find, in article fourth, section third, of the constitution, that "new states may be admitted by the Congress into this Union." Can states be admitted into any other than an union of states? If the people at large had been the parties to the constitution, should we not have found this provision to be, that "*the people* of new states" might be admitted? To us this seems manifest. In article seventh, however, the constitution goes even beyond this. We there read, that "the ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between —" whom—the people of the United States? By no means.—"between the STATES so ratifying the same." Here we have a positive announcement of the parties to the constitution, and on this single section we would be willing to rest the whole argument in favor of the construction

of the preamble which we contend for, and against that supported by the authority of the Supreme Court.

Assuming, then, as proved, that the states, as sovereignties, are parties to the constitution, it follows that, in construing that instrument, we are to remember it is a grant from individuals but not from sovereignties. that they retain all sovereign powers not granted away, and that the principle of such retention is not only based on the natural relation of things, but is expressly recognised by article tenth of the amendments. Keeping these principles in view, then, let us see whether the states have conceded to the federal government and courts the right to interfere between themselves and their citizens, and to compel them—sovereign states as they are—to acknowledge the jurisdiction of a superior tribunal, and their duty and allegiance to it. They have undoubtedly conceded much to the general government, but we think this power has never been granted.

That portion of the constitution relied on as founding the jurisdiction in question, is article third, section second, clause first: "The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states; between a state and citizens of another state; between citizens of different states,—between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects." This clause contains no grant whatever which authorizes the federal judiciary to interfere between a state and its citizens, for a question of state sovereignty cannot be held to be a case either of "law" or "equity" arising under the constitution; and immediately when any foreign tribunal attempts to interfere between a state and its citizens the question of sovereignty is involved. All cases wherein states or parties over which the federal judiciary shall have jurisdiction are carefully enumerated; but the enumeration includes no case of a citizen of a state, subject to its laws, being empowered to drag his sovereign to the feet of any other power, because he happens to differ from that sovereignty in opinion or interest. Is it reasonable to suppose, that a government which is confined to a limited sphere of action, granted to it by various distinct sovereignties, has any right to interfere in the internal concerns of one or more of those various sovereignties without a plain grant of the power contended for? Wherever that sphere of action does not reach, the states are supreme as distinct nations; and there is not a solitary precedent or reason why an independent state should suffer any external power to interfere in its internal affairs without its consent. Neither would any such independent state allow the power so seeking to interfere, or indeed any one but itself, to judge how far that consent had been given. The idea that a supreme and sovereign state will submit its rights as sovereign to the decision of any power but itself, involves in it a contradiction, if not an absurdity, and is a proposition which needs stronger arguments than mere assertion before it can obtain our assent. It is inherent in, and an absolute essential to the idea of a sovereignty, that it shall be the sole judge of its rights as such, and if either the implied reservation arising from the constitution

itself, or the express one contained in the tenth amendment, mean any thing, it is that this power is untouched.

In September, 1789, the judiciary act became a law. That act, among other things, gives to the Supreme Court appellate jurisdiction from the final judgment or decree of the highest court of law or equity of a state, having jurisdiction over the suit, "in all cases" where is drawn in question the validity of a treaty or statute of, or an authority exercised under, the United States, and the decision is against their validity, or where is drawn in question the validity of a statute or authority exercised under any state, on the ground of their being repugnant to the constitution, treaties, or laws of the United States, and the decision is in favor of their validity.

This grant, by means of the very general expression "in all cases," is wide enough to convey all powers which it was possible for Congress to convey, and we freely admit, that under this expression, if we do not look beyond the clause of the constitution we have last quoted, the Supreme Court could obtain appellate jurisdiction over the case in question if it is enumerated in that clause, though we shall endeavor to show presently, that when we look a little further in the constitution, a different result is arrived at. But we have seen that the case of a controversy between a state and its own citizens is not within the grants of this clause, and that, therefore, no conveyance by Congress could vest any jurisdiction over it in the Supreme Court, for there is no power in Congress to give to any other department of government what the constitution does not authorize that department to receive. Whether or no, it was the duty of the Supreme Court to decide this grant to be void, so far as it went beyond those of the constitution, we shall not say; it was a matter for the judgments, perhaps for the consciences, of the federal judiciary, and on it they have decided; but we do say that, if the unfortunate generality of expression used by the law in question is not to be limited, the law is, in our opinion, void and unconstitutional—even under the clause we have been considering.

But let us look at the next clause of the constitution, and see how that will affect the matter. If we grant, for the sake of argument, that the constitution has vested in the Supreme Court the right to interfere in the internal relations of a state and its citizens, we may be allowed to examine how it has been granted, under what restrictions, and on what conditions. Such a case, it is almost needless to say, is one in which a state is a party. In article third, section second, clause third, we find these words: "In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make." Here we see, that if the Supreme Court has any jurisdiction over such a case, it must, at least, be original; and that the appellate jurisdiction of that court only extends to "other cases" than "those in which a state shall be a party;" yet the judiciary act, if it extends to this case at all, gives to the Supreme Court, not original, but appellate jurisdiction over it. The court, instead of condemning this most flagrant error, go beyond it, and declare that it is competent in Congress to create a right of appeal in such a case, from the highest court of a state, not only to the highest court of the central government, but to the

lowest, and to require that an independent sovereignty shall creep, "with baited breath and whispering humbleness," from court to court, and from tribunal to tribunal, praying the grace and mercy of its masters, the judges. Truly—

> "Ο' ταν δε Δαιμων ανδρι προσυνη κακα
> Τον νους εβλαψε πρωτον."

Is it to be wondered at, that when such doctrines as these are advocated in high places, *secession* is sometimes more than whispered?

ANSWERS FOR A COMPANY AT CONVERSATION CARDS.

[FROM GOETHE.]

THE LADY.

SEEK'ST thou to woman's heart the clew,
In the great world and her own?
Sure ever pleasing is the *new*,
Her's the flower latest blown;
Yet far more valued is the TRUE,
That ever with fresh fruits and flowers,
Crowns as they pass her happy hours.

THE YOUNG GENTLEMAN.

Young Paris joyed in groves and bowers,
With all Ida's nymphs acquaint;
Till to disturb his blissful hours,
Three heavenly forms Jove to him sent;
Too sorely taxed were now his powers,
Which dare to choose and grant the palm
Of beauty's bright all-conqu'ring charm.

THE EXPERIENCED.

Who soft and loving woman woos,
Wins, at length, the gentle meed;
Who brisk and bold her favor sues,
Will, perhaps, still better speed;
But coolly who the matter views,
Now piques, now soothes in sportive play,
Heart, will and all bears he away.

THE CONTENTED MAN.

The human lot with ills is rife,
With deep disquiet, sorrows keen;
Yet 'mid its toil and care and strife,
The fair, the good, is often seen;
But still the *greatest good* in life,
And truest blessing we can find,
Is sure a calm, contented mind.

THE MERRY COUNSELOR.

Who others' faults and follies viewing,
Daily strives the rogues to school,
Whilst each his own way pursuing,
Leaves him but the more a fool;
A double load takes on his back,
Heavier than a miller's jack:
And as in my own heart I be,
In truth, so goes the world with me.

S. E. B.

NATURAL HISTORY OF MAN.*

The work at the head of this article, has been many years before the public, and has been, so far as we know, universally commended. It appears, however, from Dr. Prichard's own showing, that his labors have been more highly esteemed by the Germans, than by his own "*utilitarian countrymen*,"—a fact which should have made him suspect its value, and examine it with severe scrutiny. We fancy that no people judge more correctly of the substantial merit of literary or scientific labor, than the English; and most certainly none are more abundantly gifted with the desire, or the means, to patronize *home genius*, as none are more exclusively national. The whole work, too, was evidently constructed—moulded, to harmonize with popular opinion; and the second section, on the "Bearings of the Question," is an artful appeal to public sympathy for support. But, although he might complain of the patronage of the English public, he had reason to rejoice in the liberality of the press and learned bodies, which strove to confer upon him praise and honor.

It is no pleasant task to arraign at the public bar a work so extensively known, and received as a standard authority. Nor would we attempt it for anything less than a *capital* error, in which the public has a very deep interest. We do not regard the numerous judgments he has received from courts of concurrent jurisdictions, as a bar to our proceedings; for nothing is more common and notorious, than for judges in this court, contemporary with authors, to discharge their high functions under influences not very creditable to the ermine. Many of them are, no doubt, very honest, and most of them flippant on the subjects that come before them; but it is, unquestionably, a matter of first importance to suitors in these courts, to bring with them, in general, as many other recommendations as they can procure, especially if the work to be judged is the first appearance of the author before these august tribunals. Happy is he, who, by reason of merit or influence, should obtain a favorable judgment from a Jerrold or a Macaulay, as the whole pack will give consentaneous tongue, as though the scent of the game actually reached their own noses; and unfortunate is he, whatever may be his merit, whose time has passed in obscurity, and encounters the severity of the judges in defenceless nakedness. Poor soul! he shrinks back to his obscurity and his books, and appeals to another generation for justice, when he and his successful contemporaries will be weighed with a just balance. We have now in our eye several authors moving among us in "all the pride and circumstance" of factitious glory and wealth, whose fee-simple of reputation in the next generation would be dear at half an hour's purchase. We do not say that Dr. Prichard's reputation is of this character, because he has something more to depend on than his "Natural History of Man." Besides, it appears to be necessary in every science, that a season of speculation

* The Natural History of Man; comprising inquiries into the modifying influences of physical and moral agencies on the different tribes of the human family. By James Cowles Prichard, M.D., F.R.S., M.R.I.A., &c.

should precede the appearance of truth, just as the dawn precedes the coming of "the glorious orb of day;" and although the dawn is forgotten in the splendor of the day, and the season of speculation is lost in the blaze of truth, by people generally, yet there are a few who retain the knowledge of the necessary progress of events.

The very lively interest which has succeeded to a hitherto profound apathy in the public mind, in regard to the natural history of man, cannot all be attributed to the higher perfection of the science. Political agitations have produced much of it; and although it is unquestionably true that a scientific natural history of man cannot become a partisan for or against slavery, yet it must present most of the natural facts upon which the arguments of both parties must be based; and we think it must divest the subject of much of the passion with which it has been conducted. But if the public interest were principally founded on these political agitations, and not on real progress made in the science, we should have no hope of any permanent advantage to be gained by it. On the contrary, the science has progressed; has been taken from the custody and control of mere anatomists, who exhibited only its skeleton, and has been given to the public clothed with its flesh, and endowed with its vitality. We do not pretend to say that it is perfect in all its parts, and exhibits the beauty of maturity. Time is required for these developments, as it is for others. But one man and one woman came into the world as adults; all others have been infants, requiring constant attention to raise and improve them.

It is instructing to follow the progress of some of the most important sciences from their first rude beginnings to their present advanced conditions. It will teach us the important lesson, that the human mind accomplishes nothing when it abandons observation and induction, and attempts to rely on speculation for advance in knowledge.

It will teach us, that, after proceeding a certain length by observation and induction, there is a constant tendency of the human mind to rely on speculations—to assume premises, and to make them the foundations of systems. It will inform us, that the human mind has a greater tendency to error than to truth; and that in every science, but mathematics, such speculations have prevailed, and postponed progress, until the mind is again brought back to the point of departure,—*observation and induction.* It will tell us that there are two great principles of the human mind concerned in the formation of science—*genius and reason*—which are so seldom combined in one individual, that but few Aristotles and Bacons are found dotted among the generations of men; while men with genius without a proper proportion of reason, and the reverse, are not rare. It will teach us, that the departure from the only true process of scientific discovery is always first made by one whose genius predominates, and that it is continued and maintained by those in whom reason predominates, almost to the exclusion of intuitive perception. It will tell us, that the whole time is not lost during which genius has usurped the throne of observation and induction; for although systematic science is not advanced, and many errors are propagated, yet a number of useful facts are often collected, and the errors became pointers, to a well-balanced mind, for the discovery of truth.

These, and many other valuable lessons, will be taught to him who closely follows the progress of the sciences from their beginnings to their

present conditions. We might easily illustrate the above remarks by the example of chemistry, astronomy, medicine, &c.; but as our special subject, the natural history of man, will be sufficient for our purpose, we propose to follow it as closely as our limits will permit.

Unlike most other branches, the natural history of man has been emphatically a creature of pure speculation from the earliest period until very recently. Other branches have their origins in the necessities and wants of mankind, which begat the arts, and which supplied the numerous facts and induced the observations from which the principles of science can only be inferred. From the first rude conceptions of the Greeks, to the last labored and artificial system of the Blumenbachian school of philosophers, the natural history of man has only been a series of speculations, unaccompanied by any of those sound logical arguments which we most generally find in the supporters of speculations in other branches of science. Nor is it very surprising that such has been the case; for although the natural history of other animals had its origin from observation of, and induction from, the great store of facts gathered during ages, no such store had been collected in respect to man. Civil, political and religious histories, together with the arts, sciences and polite literature of the world, contain innumerable facts illustrating the nature of man, as perfectly as the facts relating to the honey-bee, or the economy and regulations of a community of any other social animals, illustrate the nature of the animal described. But, unfortunately, the condition of man has never been regarded as the product of his nature, but as an artificial state; as if he had the power, by art, something extrinsic and superior to nature, to rise superior to the condition to which the Creator destined him, by other aids than his natural endowments. Under such circumstances, what facts were left upon which to found observation, and to make the necessary inductions preparatory to the formation of a science? None. The beaver, the bee, the ant, the spider, and many other animals, exhibit powers as strange in comparison with many other animals, as the extraordinary powers of man are strange in comparison with the whole organic kingdom; but these animals are exterior and inferior to us, and we can observe their natures without prejudice or passion. Besides, our capacities, without being severely taxed, enable us to comprehend the whole monotonous routine of the powers of such animals, however intricate, and we readily and justly ascribe them to natural operations; just as a race of beings equally superior in capacity to man would comprehend and describe human powers; "and show a Newton as we show an ape."

But man, investigating himself, is another and a very different affair. He encounters not only his pride, his prejudices, his passions and the accumulated errors of ages, but, if he should entertain a correct view of his subject, it is equal to, if not beyond his highest intellectual capacity, whatever may be his estimate of it. It embraces all his relations, sexual, social, political and religious, just as, when describing the ant, we tell of the arrangements and economy of the hill; or the honey-bee, we speak of the regulations and economy of the hive. It embraces his poetry, his literature, his science, his eloquence, for the same reason that, in describing the mocking-bird, we must not omit his inimitable powers of song; nor in describing the preacher-monkey, must we forget his long and noisy harangues to his congregations, which are, no doubt, very ed ifying.

We proceed to show that the natural history of man, until very recently, has been only a series of speculations, unsupported by any of those sound arguments which we most generally find used by the supporters of speculations in other branches of science. To do this we must give a short history of the rise of general natural history, (or that of the lower animal kingdom,) to show that the value of the principles obtained in this science is subordinate to long and laborious observation of the animal world, grew out of, and would have no value without such observation; consequently, as the principles thus obtained are applied with equal authority to the natural history of man, without any previous observation of *his* nature, and are attempted to be supported and confirmed in their entire control of the science exclusively from analogy, with the lower orders of animals, that the whole fabric is an assumption, a speculation,—not a science founded on observation and induction.

It may be proper before we proceed, to define the terms "*observation*," "*induction*," and *speculation*," as they are philosophically understood, because some readers may be at a loss respecting them.

Observation, is a close and critical attention to, and examination of the phenomena of nature.

Induction, is the process by which, from the natural phenomena collected by observation, we arrive at the general principle or natural law, indicated by a kindred class of phenomena.

Induction, is the opposite to *reduction*; for as induction is the synthesis or combination of all kindred phenomena into one general principle or law, so reduction is the analysis, or resolution of a principle, or law, into its elements, or individual phenomena. But the powers required for the successful practical operation of the two are vastly different; as different as between the power of one individual to invent a chronometer, and the power of another only to take it to pieces, and lay each piece by itself. Induction requires genius, intuitive perception regulated and chastened by reason; but reduction is a simple act of reason, the mere act of the logician. The proper exercise of the first power belongs only to the prophets, the seers of the scientific world; while the proper exercise of the last, belongs, in a great or less degree, somewhat in proportion to cultivation to mankind in general. This is the reason why Aristotles, Bacons, Newtons and Cuviers, are so few and far between, in the generations of men; while professors, philosophers, critics and scholars, are so numerous.

We, lastly, proceed to the definition of speculation, which is an assumption of general principle or law, without observation and induction.

It is not pretended that a speculation would become a generally received proposition without having some plausibility; some appearance of truth by being in harmony with some known facts; for willing as most learned men are to take first principles,—premises—for granted, because of the difficulty, and often, the incapacity to expose their fallacy, yet logical powers are too common with educated men, to believe they would be long led astray by a speculation which leads directly to an absurd conclusion. Thousands possess good logical powers for one gifted with a genius for correct induction; consequently, thousands are more willing to take premises from some authority, some great name, that they may with becoming vanity, exhibit their logical skill, than to question premises, and grope in a region in which there is no Pisgah's top to which they can

climb to behold the promised land. But then they want a speculation, they want premises, which they honestly believe to be true, either from the force of education, or from great authority, and which will afford fair play for the exercise of their logical powers and skill, and a reasonable hope for victory, not a certainty of defeat.

Having disposed of the definitions, we now proceed with a short history of the rise and progress of zoology, with the view of showing that every important principle in the science has grown out of observation and induction.

It is not necessary to occupy time with an examination of what the ancients knew of the animal world, before the time of Aristotle. Every reader knows that the Bible, Homer, Herodotus, &c., show conclusively that the ancients were familiar with everything relating to the nature of animals which could be gleaned from observation and experience. From a necessity growing out of the circumstances of patriarchal life, this knowledge must have been the first acquired. Then, animals were more emphatically than at any subsequent period, either man's natural enemies, his natural friends, or the store from whence was supplied his food and raiment. Surrounded by predaceous beasts, his brave and trusty friend and ally, the dog, enabled him to conquer them. Notwithstanding the progress of later periods in sciences, arts, and civilization, the addition to the stock of domestic animals (and vegetables) has been comparatively nothing since those reclaimed, bred, and cultivated, at the period of which we are speaking. If they did not exhaust the animal kingdom of the kind of animals proper for domestication, their accurate knowledge of animal nature, and exceedingly judicious selection, have made it unnecessary for future generations to desire to make additions.

It was from the store of facts thus collected that the great Stagyrite clearly saw how a beautiful and valuable science could be framed; and although he did not attempt to construct it by a serial classification of subordinate characteristics, he generalized the facts of all previous observation, by an enumeration of characteristics, by which classes were grouped in genera, or families. All his distinctive characteristics were of equal value; that is, his design was to exhibit identity and separation, not affinity and proximity; and consequently, every division was called a *genos* or genus, and not separated subordinately into classes, orders, families, genera and species, which imply affinity and proximity, as well as identity and separation. The enumeration of his characteristics will show the amazing power of Aristotle to generalize the chaos of facts obtained from long observation, and to create a science immediately from its rude and scattered elements. His characteristics are derived from the food, the actions, manners, and natures of animals; the mode of producing their young; their feet, whether biped, or quadruped, &c.; and whether solid hoofed, cloven, or many cloven hoofed, or clawed; their blood, sanguineous or exsanguineous; their lungs, or absence of them; their habitations on land, in water, or in the air; their teeth, front and back, marking the difference between carnivora and others; their wings, &c.

From Aristotle to Ray, about two thousand years, systematic zoology received no improvement. Ray introduced a classification of subordination of characters and of groups, by which the natural affinities of families, or groups, became engrafted on Aristotle's separated or

isolated divisions. This was a most important improvement of Aristotle's system. It enabled the great Linnæus, about a century afterwards, to obtain a glimpse of the circular relations of affinities which prevails throughout nature, which is evident from his foundation of the orders of mammalia. Although Ray omitted in his classification the most important suggestions of Aristotle, yet the introduction of a system of subordinate characteristics was a valuable step in the science of zoology.

The great Linnæus not only improved and extended the classification introduced by Ray, but regained part of what he had lost by confining himself so closely to external characteristics. But, although he founded his system in part on anatomical characteristics, it is evident that external characters were the guiding principles which governed him. It was something —nay, it was much, to have three great divisions of the animal kingdom, characterised by their hearts, besides several anatomical details, which occur in his classification, because it was an advance in the right direction; but neither Ray nor Linnæus covered the ground indicated by their great predecessor.

These two great naturalists, especially Linnæus, carried the science of zoology to a very high degree of perfection on characteristics derived from external observation. Their details were not always correct; as, for example, in their systems, the elephant is classed as an unguiculate, instead of a multungulate, where Aristotle had placed him: but errors of this kind are easily corrected, as they do not affect any principle.

Up to this period no kindred or collateral science contributed to the formation or progress of zoology. Observation of animals, and induction from the facts thus gathered, were the instruments. Aristotle, in the true spirit of prophetic vision, rather than by means of scientific knowledge, saw the value of anatomy and physiology to this science, but framed no system to enforce it. Ray lost sight of it, and Linnæus, though he partly recognised it, adopted external character as the guiding principle of his system. But the time now arrived when a kindred science was to be pressed into the service of zoology; when the vision of Aristotle was to be realised; when the Linnæan principles of classification were to be superseded;—when the *Enaima* and *Anaima* of Aristotle were not only proved to be fallacious, but, if true, were actually subordinate to a higher principle—*the nervous systems.* But the illustrious Cuvier did not attempt to dethrone observation and induction, and place anatomy and physiology in their seats, but to elevate them to higher seats, and greater power, and thus enable observation to discover that she had stopped short of the invariable harmony of external animal nature, and internal animal organization, and that induction had, consequently, rested on a subordinate, instead of a primary principle.

Should we industriously search for an example to show clearly the immense extent of close observation required to frame a natural system of science, and to eliminate prevailing errors, we know of none to answer the purpose so effectually as zoology. Here we have a most minute observation of the animal kingdom, extended over a period of nearly 4,000 years, during which it was man's interest, as well for profit as security, to study the external characters of all the animals which then so numerously surrounded him, before an attempt was made to generalize the characteristics indicated by such observation: and, after Aristotle indicated the

characteristics, another 2,000 years elapsed before Ray arose to devise a system, which, in another century, was improved and extended by Linnæus—which, in another century, was discovered by Cuvier to be inadequate to the object, because it was not on a natural basis. Nor were investigations in this deeply interesting and important subject, confined to the four great names we have selected to designate epochs in the science; for Pliny, Buffon, Blumenbach, Lamark, and many other eminent men, filled up the intervals with their labors.

But no part of this extensive observation related to man. It was confined exclusively to the inferior animal kingdom. Linnæus, in his splendid effort to perfect the system began by Ray, found it necessary to class man somewhere; and finding him to be a mammal, with four incisive, and two laniary, teeth in each jaw, in which he agreed with Simiæ, Lemurs, and Bats, he placed man at the head of his Order of Primates, which included these animals; consequently, he was indebted to his mammæ and dentition for his position in classification, unless we believe that he was made leader, chairman of the noble order, in compliment to his higher powers. Here Cuvier and Blumenbach found him. Cuvier, not admiring his fellowship with monkeys, Lemurs and Bats, made an order expressly for man in his system, founded on his anterior limbs—bimana, or two handed—which contained a single species, consisting of three varieties, which he called Caucassian, Mongolian and Ethiopian, to which Blumenbach added the Malayan and American. Where these great naturalists left him, he stands yet, or, at least, he stood until very recently.

We have thus seen that the classificatory characteristics of inferior animals were obtained after long-continued and close observation and research of some of the highest intellects of every age; but that man, the spirit animal, was forced into the ranks with them, not from observation of his nature, of his relations to the external world, but because he had mammæ, and the dentition of monkeys, or only two hands instead of the four possessed by monkeys. But this is by no means all, nor the worst part of it. We might submit, with at least a show of grace, if he were only indebted for his position in classification to his agreement or disagreement with monkeys; but when they describe man, define his nature, his powers, and give their reasons why he is only of one species, though of several varieties, and depart from every process of observation and induction by means of which they arrived at the history of every other animal, we confess it to be a severe tax on our patience. Monkeys furnished the place for him in classification—introduced him into the animal kingdom; and then every animal and every vegetable became his analogue for some one trait of character by which to describe him. We contend that this process is unphilosophical, the reverse of what it should be, and a method by which no hope of progress in the natural history of man can be entertained. We contend that analogies are only hypotheses, from which no induction can be made for the foundation of a science. We contend that, so far from any animals being analogues for man, if a selection of a property, or properties from every animal and vegetable in the organic kingdom, were made by the most competent judges, and could be combined in one new creature, it would not be the analogue of man, because the moral and intellectual powers would be absent—his spiritual nature would not be represented. The celebrated Dr. William Hunter,

in a lecture on the digestive organs, referring to similar analogies, then abundantly used by physiologists to illustrate the nature of the stomach, said, "Physiologists will have it that the stomach is a mill; others, that it is a fermenting vat; others again, that it is a stew-pan; but in my view of the matter it is neither a mill, a fermenting vat, nor a stew-pan—but *a stomach*, gentlemen, *a stomach*." In the like spirit, we say to our readers, that some naturalists will have it that man is a horse; others, that he is an ass; others again, that he is a dog; and again, that he is a hog; some that he is any animal, and every vegetable; but in our view of the matter, he is neither a horse, an ass, (?) a dog, a hog, nor any other animal, or vegetable, but *a man*, gentlemen, *a man*; a being whose nature, whose relations to the external world, and whose capability of altering, amending, and extending them, must be observed in himself,—in what he has done and is capable of doing, by any naturalist who would correctly classify and describe him.

The frequent use of such analogies as are now in vogue by grave philosophers, and the use of which has conferred on some of them a degree of reputation which, ordinarily, can be gained only by men of real genius, prevailed in ancient times. The mandrake, for its fancied analogy to the human form, was esteemed a remedy for barrenness; and the eagle-stone, being pregnant with a little nodule stone, which rattles when agitated, was analogous to a pregnant woman, and therefore possessed the virtue, if tied to the arm of such a woman, to prevent abortion; but if tied to the thigh, to facilitate delivery. The lungs of a fox were a specific for the asthma, because he is proverbially long-winded; and hard was the heart of the youth who could resist the maiden's eyes who had borrowed the splendor of eye-bright. Absurd as the old doctrine of *signatures* appears now to be, we contend that it is not a whit more absurd than the same doctrine under the new name of *analogy*, as applied to the Natural History of Man; and we confidently predict, that ten years will not have elapsed before it will be regarded with equal contempt.

But let us illustrate the fallacies of analogies by a few examples, in which conclusions drawn from them, so far from being absurd, are highly probable, and often convincing. Very few of the numerous fungi are esculent; the others are active poisons. A stranger to their properties would infer, from analogy, that all of them are edible, or poisonous, according as he happened to be first informed respecting them. Besides, analogy would tell us, that all the fungi poisonous to man, are also poisonous to domestic animals; but a single cow will eat, with impunity, as many as would kill a hundred men. Because pepper is an agreeable and wholesome condiment for man, analogy would lead us to believe it to be equally so to the hog, to which animal it is a poison.

Analogy has never done more mischief than when the opinion prevailed with medical men, that the mysteries of gastero-chemistry could be explained by, or were identical with, laboro-chemistry. Two-thirds of the population of the city of Leyden, by a fever which prevailed in 1699, were consigned to the grave by the mistake of Professor Sylvids de la Boe, who attributed the disease to a prevailing *acid*, which could only be cured by the administration of alkalies. We might fill pages with examples to prove that laboro-chemistry and gastric-chemistry are not analogous, and that no careful, intelligent physician would so regard them. Anatomy would also furnish many examples of the fallacy of analogy;

for during the period that a knowledge of the human system was obtained from the dissection of inferior animals, instead of the human subject, errors abounded, and a knowledge of human structure was very imperfect. But we forbear, because we scarcely know with what science to stop. All of them have been more pestered than benefited by this universal instrument of medium minds to arrive circuitously at a result which they could never hope to reach by a direct route,—this floating cork upon the ocean of human knowledge, which enables a few choice spirits, who know how and when to trust to it, to reach a haven of safety; but deceitfully entices the many to certain destruction and oblivion.

We say, that a few choice spirits, who know how and when, to trust to analogy, arrive at truth by it, which would otherwise be inaccessible to them; but it never receives their confidence, without being predicated on known general principles which point to the truth with a certainty nearly amounting to absolute demonstration. They never attempt to ascertain general principles of analogy; but having obtained a general law, or principle, they may arrive at a knowledge of a particular property of a substance subject to that law, or principle, by analogy, with another substance subject to the same law. Thus Newton discovered the law that the refractive power of transparent bodies is equal to their density; and that when of equal density those which refracted the most were inflammable. Hence, from analogy, he predicted that water contained a combustible principle. This speculation was verified after the discovery that the elements of water were oxygen and hydrogen. Here no general principle is attempted to be established by the analogy of individuals; but the general principle being known, a property in an individual, subject to the general principle, but not known to possess the property, is inferred from analogy, and, as might be expected, subsequently proved to be true. How vastly different from the process invariably pursued by the historians of man who aim at establishing general principles by individual analogies, not individual analogies from general principles.

But it is now time to come directly to the point at which the preceding remarks are aimed. We have arraigned at the bar of the highest earthly tribunal some of the master-spirits of the age. It is necessary, therefore, after having opened the case by our preceding remarks, that we should proceed in this our summing up, with an examination of the evidence by which we expect to convict them. Linnæus, Blumenbach and Cuvier, (particularly the first and last,) whose solid and enduring reputations have grown out of the great revolutions they effected, and the valuable systems they established, rather than on any item in their systems, we pass with the reverence and deference due to transcendant genius. We do this, not because we approve of what they have said and done in relation to the natural history of man; not because we servilely submit to the authority of great names, but because we can find another great man, who, by becoming their representative in this particular branch of natural history, and by devoting a great part of a long life to maintaining, defending, and extending their dicta, has not only contrived to become clothed with the authority of their great names, but has earned for himself no mean reputation. A few persons may imagine that we have arraigned Dr. Prichard, instead of Mr. Lawrence, because he is the weaker antagonist; but let it be remembered that the principles of both are the same, the difference being in the mode of execution. Lawrence keeps his

eyes open, and evidently sees many of the difficulties which surround him in his journey; while Prichard, regarding only the object to be reached, at every leap shuts his eyes, to avoid injury from the thicket through which he breaks. But we prefer Prichard on account of the higher reputation he enjoys, for the same reason that the boy pursues the butterfly; and, perhaps, for a better reason, that he is generally regarded as the standard author on the subject.

To bring him fairly into court, we quote from his "Natural History of Man," page 4, his own statement of the principles upon which his natural history is constructed. "How different a being is the Esquimaux, who, in his burrow amid northern ices, gorges himself with the blubber of whales, from the lean and hungry Numidian, who pursues the lion under a vertical sun! And how different, whether compared with the skin-clad and oily fisher of the icebergs, or with the naked hunter of the Sahara, are the luxurious inmates of Eastern harems, or the energetic and intellectual inhabitants of the cities of Europe! That so great differences in external conditions, by the double influence of their physical and moral agency, should have effected during a long series of ages remarkable changes in the tribes of human beings subjected to their operation—changes which have rendered these several tribes fitted in a peculiar manner for their respective abodes,—*is by no means an improbable conjecture; and it becomes something more than a conjecture*, when we extend our view to the diversified breeds of those animals which men have domesticated, and have transferred with themselves from one climate to another. Considered in this point of view, it acquires, perhaps, the character of a *legitimate theory, supported by adequate evidence, and by an extensive series of analogous facts.*"

Let us not be mistaken in the foundation he has laid for his "Natural History of Man." First, a not "improbable conjecture" that the physical agency of the elements, and the moral agency of man, have produced all differences observable in the races of men; second, that this "becomes something more than a conjecture," by analogy with domestic animals; and, third, by some process, which we confess we do not understand, (by pausing a moment and considering the power of such analogies,) it immediately becomes "a legitimate theory, supported by adequate evidence." That is, that what is not an improbable guess in the first instance, becomes something more than a guess by another guess;—and by merely reconsidering this second guess, without any addition of circumstance, becomes "a legitimate theory, supported by adequate evidence," as orderly as the conclusion follows the two premises in a categorical syllogism. Shades of Aristotle and Bacon! what a foundation for a natural science! Two guesses, being reguessed, produce an axiom, make all the guesses certainties, substantial realities, capable of supporting the most massive and splendid structure in the regions of natural science! If he designed to write the natural history of the man in the moon, it is probable conjecture and analogy might furnish him with the materials; but the man of this earth he could see and feel; his nature was accessible to him through his condition, religious, social, and political, and through his works, in the arts, sciences, literature, &c., of all nations and people. This, the natural method of investigation, came recommended to him by the highest authority—the experience of at least 6,000 years, fortified in natural history by Aristotle, Ray, Linnæus, and the very men whose say-

ing was his law, Blumenbach and Cuvier, in everything they attempted, but the history of man;—and, in general philosophy, by the perpetual president of philosophers, the immortal Bacon.

But we deny the probability of the conjecture. Van Amringe, in his Natural History of Man, pp. 323-4, says: "We also make an assertion, and defy proof to the contrary; that there is not upon record a single instance of a physical change of any people, ancient or modern, which can be detected by the anatomist, and which we have good reason to believe has been produced by civilization. We prove it, first, by the admission of the authors in question; for they have unhesitatingly classed very ancient nations by their skulls, and told whether they were of the Caucassian, Mangolian, or Ethiopian variety; which would be absurd if they had no confidence in the permanence of peculiar characteristics. We prove it, secondly, by the uniform testimony of history, from Herodotus down to the present day, in which the different races of men are always described with the same characteristics. We prove it, thirdly, by the figures adorning the tombs of the ancient kings of Egypt, in which the physiognomy and color of the different races of men are preserved, and exhibit them to have been, nearly four thousand years ago, identically the same as they are now."

Supported by such an array of facts, we deny, not only the probability of the conjecture, but also that the analogy of domesticated animals is "adequate evidence" that the conjecture becomes "a legitimate theory;" for if domestic animals have changed, they are not the analogues of man, as he has not changed; and if they have not changed, they prove nothing to the purpose.

To show conclusively that this assertion by Dr. Prichard, that the analogy of domesticated animals "is adequate evidence" of "legitimate theory," for the natural history of man is an assumption founded only on a remote probability, and consequently very weak, if it is evidence, we quote again from Van Amringe's Natural History of Man, p. 219, et seq.: "Domestic animals are constantly relied on as the analogues of man in this as well as all other respects, by the advocates of the unity of the species. As analogues they should migrate to the respective regions voluntarily, and provide their own food and comforts. No instance of the kind has ever been known. Of the very few wild animals which have an indefinite range—the fox, for instance—we think it highly probable that, upon a close investigation, it will be found that the limits of particular species are more circumscribed than is generally believed. But these widely-spread animals are not those which are selected for analogues. From necessity, domestic animals must be resorted to. And yet we know not a single domestic animal, but the turkey, the wild type of which is known to zoologists. Who can tell the wild type of sheep? Who can tell what change domestication has made on them? "Abel was a keeper of sheep;" and if the whole race of our domestic breed was not appropriated to man, at his expulsion from Eden, most assuredly the remainder cannot be discovered, by the most elaborate researches. One circumstance makes it highly probable that the whole race was so appropriated; for it is remarkable that this animal will not live in any climate, without the protection of man. In America the horse, the ox, and the hog, have run wild, have multiplied, and have resumed uniform colors and habits; but who has, at any time, or anywhere, heard of sheep running wild and

propagating? This is a remarkable fact, and an important item, to prove the Divine origin of the Mosaic history. If he did not write from inspiration, it is a most unaccountable circumstance, that the only animal he mentions to have been the associate of Adam and family, is the only one which, to this day, clings to his posterity for support, protection, and existence."

"Profane history gives no intimation of the time when the horse, the ox, the ass, and the camel, were domesticated. It is fair, therefore, to presume that they were all in a state of domestication long before the commencement of such history; and as we have no mention in any history, that any of them have undergone any constitutional changes, it is also a fair presumption, that they had all arrived at their present permanent characters long before the era of history: consequently, that domestication has produced no change in them for at least 2,500 years. Sacred history informs us, not positively, but negatively, that sheep, oxen, camels and asses, were domesticated long before horses. All the other animals are mentioned by Moses, as common objects of property, during the lives of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Esau, and Joseph; but the horse is not mentioned until the 9th Exodus, v. 3, after which he is frequently introduced. It is thus proved, negatively, that the horse was domesticated at least 500 years after the ox, the camel, and the ass; and the sheep is mentioned long before any of the others, and is always enumerated with them. But although the horse does not appear to have been domesticated much longer than about 1500 years, A.C., his type in a wild state is entirely lost, and his native country is unknown."

"An important circumstance is mentioned by the sacred historian, in the history of Jacob. It is that cattle and sheep of Laban's herds and flocks, had the same constitutional facility to change color, or even a greater facility, than they now possess. This fact leans strongly against the supposition that their constitutional tendency to change was induced by domestication. It makes it more probable that it was originally inherent in the animals. However this may be, the facts contained in this early history prove positively that there is a marked difference in different kinds of animals, in regard to the tendency to change color; and, therefore, that no animal is an analogue for another in this respect. The sheep, which is the oldest domestic animal we possess, changes in color only from white to black, or rather dark brown. The ass and the camel, although domesticated simultaneously, or nearly so, with the ox, never assume the variety of colors of this animal; and the horse, the last domesticated, is more variable than any of them. On the theory contended for by writers, that "the state of domestication" produces these variations, the sheep should be the most variable of all our domestic animals, whereas it is the least."

"Among some other domestic animals, equally as long domesticated as the horse at least—the mouse, for instance—no disposition to change, in color, or form, is known to have taken place. The brown rat of Persia, although only a domestic in Europe short of 300 years, and from thence imported into America, has been, from the earliest period, a constant associate and pest of man in Central Asia, without undergoing any known change; and since his wide dispersion over Europe, America, and throughout the Islands of the Pacific, he has invariably preserved his original color and type. Thus it appears, when we take a comprehensive

view of all domestic animals, the associates of man, that there is a vast difference between them in respect to changes, even granting, what by no means follows as a matter of course, that domestication produces all the known changes. Hence, it is apparent that it should not to be taken for granted that domestic animals are the analogues of man, in regard to organic and functional changes."

"There is yet another difficulty equally insurmountable. We know absolutely nothing of the wild types of the sheep, the ox, the horse, the camel, and the dog; therefore, as we have said, we cannot say how much, or from what they have changed constitutionally—or if they have changed at all. Animals of the ox and horse kinds, which have run wild in our southern prairies and savannahs, generally assume a uniform color and shape; but this, although a general, is by no means a universal rule. Many of them have, and retain, a variety of colors. Therefore, they prove nothing absolutely, although they afford a reasonable presumption that a large majority of the wild stock was of one color; but the variety of color prevailing among them is equally conclusive that there was, originally, the same diversity in the wild, as the domestic state. It is well known to importers and dealers in hides brought from California and South America, both of the ox and the horse, that although there is a general tendency to one color, yet there are many of the ordinary colors of our domestic breeds."

"It is apparent, from what we have said, that the advocates for the unity of the human species, by reason of analogies with domestic animals, do so by two assumptions:—First, that these animals actually become constitutionally changed, anatomically and functionally, by domestication;—and, secondly, that man is constitutionally similar to any and every domestic animal, and subject to the same changes, although none of them agree with one another."

The design of this article is to exhibit the truth of our assertion—"that the natural history of man, until very recently, has been only a series of speculations, unsupported by any of those sound arguments which we most generally find used by the supporters of speculations in other branches of science." We now appeal to our readers for judgment. We know that our judges are prepossessed in favor of the party on trial. Dr. Prichard, supported by Cuvier, Blumenbach, Lawrence, and many philosophers of less weight of character, and backed by the great body of clergymen who regard him as the champion of orthodoxy, because he advocates the unity of the human species, is not to be convicted on slight grounds of accusation and proof. We ask, therefore, are the grounds of accusation slight? Is the proof slight or full? The accusation is—*that he has founded his Natural History of Man on a series of speculations*—and the proof is from his own mouth, that he has built upon a not "improbable conjecture," which "becomes something more than a conjecture when we extend our view to the diversified breeds of those animals which men have domesticated," which, when "considered in this point of view, acquires, perhaps, *the character of a legitimate theory, supported by adequate evidence, and by an extensive series of analagous facts.*" If these items do not constitute "a series of speculations," he must be acquitted; but if they do, he cannot escape conviction, notwithstanding his own lofty character, supported by some of the most eminent men of the age.

The second count in our indictment is, that this series of speculations

is "unsupported by any of those sound arguments which we most generally find used by the supporters of speculations in other branches of science." We have already said that good logical powers are very common with educated men, compared with genius, which is a rare possession. That the first is an acquisition, an art, which must, it is true, be founded on good common sense to become distinguished, but which may be respectable if engrafted on ordinary minds; while the last is a *gift*, which art can only prune, chasten, or direct, but never bestow. It is for this reason we find so many sound arguments predicated on false premises, in the superstructure of which not a gap can be discovered, while the whole fabric will fall in ruins by the slightest touch of its foundation. The middle age abounds with authors and disputants of this description, and "The Vestiges of Creation" is no bad modern example. We wish we could say the same of Dr. Prichard's Natural History of Man. Our present limits will not permit us to discuss this branch of the subject as fully as we intended. We therefore postpone it to a future paper, when, in conjunction with it, we expect to show, that the doctrine of the unity of the human species is, in the nature of the arguments necessarily used to sustain it, as well as in the conclusions to which it necessarily leads, *anti-scriptural.* We then expect to show that Lawrence has been severely censured, anathematized, for avowing openly, the same things for which Dr. Prichard receives unqualified praise for avowing covertly. In the meantime, however, we refer the reader to the extracts in this article from Van Amringe's history, which prove that the alleged changes produced by domestication in animals, are supposititious, mere speculations, incapable of proof; and that if true, these animals are not analogues for each other, much less for man, who has suffered no change in color or structure, since the period of sacred, civil, and monumental history.

THE LOVED ONE FAR AWAY.

FROM GOETHE.

And hast thou left me sad and lonely?
  Art thou, O Fairest, from me gone?
Yet in my ear still soundeth only
  Each word of thine, each tender tone.

The traveler thus, with longing feeling,
  At dawn along his journey springs;
Herself in heaven's blue depths concealing,
  Far, far above the shrill lark sings.

Mine eye in vain thus sadly falleth
  On wood and field, on shrub and tree;
Each song of mine to thee still calleth,
  O, come, my Love, come back to me.

Whoe'er the might of song would know,
Into the land of song must go;
And if the poet's self you'd know,
To his own country must you go.

S. E. B.

INTERNAL TRANSPORTATION.

The progress of means of transportation in the United States in the past twenty years has been very extraordinary. In 1830, the inhabitants numbered 12,000,000; in 1840, 17,000,000; and in 1850 they will probably reach 23,000,000—having nearly doubled by natural increase and immigration in that period. These 11,000,000 of increase have spread over an immense surface of land, made available by means of transport, to an extent perhaps never witnessed in any other country. The amount of money and labor expended upon these works seems almost incredible—having been three times the value of the works that were in existence in 1830, when railroads may be said to have taken date. As a guide to the progress in this direction, we have compiled a table of five modes of communication and transport,—viz., railroads, canals, post-roads, steamboats, and sailing-vessels, employed in coasting and inland trade. In 1830, there may be said to have been no railroads for passenger traffic. There are now in operation in all sections of the Union, 8,000 miles, which have cost in round numbers $250,000,000. In 1830, there were about 2,000 miles of canal in operation, at a cost of some $60,000,000; these have been extended to $7,000 miles, at an expense of $150,000,000 additional. The steam tonnage owned in the United States, was 54,036 tons in 1839, and is 441,524 tons in 1849. The coasting tonnage was 534,321 tons, and is now 1,329,851 tons. The river steamers built in New-York during the past season cost $150 per ton, and the sailing vessels $30. This is much less than the same class of vessels could have been built for in 1830; but if we estimate the tonnage built during the whole period at that rate, it will bring the expenditure much within the mark. The length of roads for ordinary travel that has been constructed in the several states, cannot be exactly estimated. We have taken, for comparison, the length of post routes at the two periods, and estimate the cost at one thousand dollars per mile. This is much under the mark. In Ohio, for instance, there have been constructed 695 miles of turnpike, at a cost of $4,040,096—which averages $5,813 per mile. An allowance of $1,000 per mile for the cost of ordinary roads in labor and money will be much within the mark. It is to be remarked, however, that this length of post-roads is by no means the whole length of roads that have been constructed at expense of labor and money in the Union; but there are no data by which to arrive at even an approximate knowledge of the whole quantity. In Great Britain, an account is kept, and recent returns show for England and Wales, 2,868 miles of paved streets, 16,696 miles of turnpike, and 96,991 miles of ordinary roads—making 119,527 miles of roads, or more than the whole length of post-roads in the United States in 1830. The English roads cost £1,267,848, or $6,000,000 per annum to keep them in repair, and this is raised mostly by local taxation in money—the whole having a general direction from the central government; whereas in the United States almost every locality has its peculiar mode, always falling upon the labor and time, which is money of the inhabitants.

From the data here presented, results the following table of means of transportation in the United States:

	1830.		1849.	
	Extent.	Cost.	Extent.	Cost.
Railroads	—	—	8,000	250,000,000
Canals	2,000	60,000,000	7,000	210,000,000
Length post-roads	105,336	105,336,000	167,703	167,703,000
Steamers, tons	54,036	18,912,600	441,524	154,583,400
Vessels, "	534,321	16,029,630	1,329,851	39,895,530
Total		$200,278,230		$822,131,300

A sum equal to more than six hundred millions of dollars has therefore been expended in the last twenty years upon means of transportation; and each and all of these steamers, vessels, canals, turnpikes, and railroads, are in the aggregate profitable investments, yielding dividends upon the capital so employed. Not less than $50,000,000 of profit is derived annually, and directly from this outlay.: thus making an active and profitable capital of the money so expended. That profit is however derived from the business and wealth called into being by the action of these means of communication. The power of transportation cheaply and promptly confers upon the joint produce of land and labor a value, which, without that power, it would not possess. A farmer, who in the interior of the country raises a surplus beyond what can be consumed on the spot, suffers a loss unless it may be conveyed to market by some means sufficiently cheap to place it within the means of consumers.

In a commercial city the profits of its commerce and the attending local mechanical arts, must supply its citizens with rent, food and fuel. These aggregate profits are held in check by the competition of rival cities, and the distributive net profits must depend in some measure upon the terms on which these necessaries mentioned can be procured. In relation to dwellings, it is of importance that they should be within a convenient distance of the places of business, and the convenience of the distance depends upon the time and money consumed in passing from one to the other. The business portion of the city is necessarily crowded within a small space, because mercantile economy of time requires that all the places to which merchants and dealers are called many times each day, in the course of their business, should be readily accessible. The exchange, the custom-house, the banks, brokers, shipping, warehouses, and other dealers, all require to be within reach, and the country merchants seeking to make up a stock of assorted goods, cannot spend much time in traveling from one source of supply to another. Each and all desire to get through as much business as possible in a day. Therefore, time and distance must be economized, and most merchants find it cheaper to pay high rents within the busiest circle, than a lower one at a locality more remote. Where the means of travel between these localities and dwellings are few and costly, the utmost economy of room is practised. In European cities, lofty buildings without yards, in narrow streets, contain the family above, and the office below, and until about twenty years since, New-York was cramped in a similar manner. At that time the omnibus system commenced running. By that plan coaches pass every five minutes through the principal avenues, carrying business men to their homes at night, and to their offices in the morning. This immediately permitted an expansion of the surface occupied by dwellings, and houses multiplied rapidly in the upper part of the city, which spreads

from the business section in a fan-like form over the island. The competition of this omnibus business soon reduced the fare, say from 12½ to 6¼ cents per trip. That is to say, if a person rides down and up each day the fares fell from $100 to $50 per annum; and 500 such coaches employing 5,000 horses and 3,000 persons, now transport daily 70,000 persons, or 20,000,000 per annum. The Harlem Railroad, also constructed in 1832, running the length of the island, affords cheap and prompt conveyance to great numbers of citizens.

The effect of this improved means of conveyance, has been to enhance the supply of land suitable for city use, dwellings are removed from the lower part of the city, devoting it almost entirely to stores, without imposing loss of time and labor in traveling to and fro, and while the individual rents as well for business as for dwellings have thus been diminished, the number of persons who pay the rents has increased, so that the aggregate real estate of the island pays a higher income than ever; at the same time the beauty of the city, the style, convenience and salubrity of the dwellings, and consequently, the general health of the citizens, have been immensely improved.

While the omnibus system has thus expanded the city surface, steam has greatly reduced the cost of fuel and food. The former is almost exclusively derived from the Pennsylvania mines, and its cost counts ninety per cent. in transportation. Anthracite coal was introduced as fuel in 1826, from Pennsylvania, and until 1841 was delivered in Philadelphia by canals constructed for the purpose; at the mines the coal cost fifty cents per ton, and was transported one hundred miles by canal to Philadelphia at $3 25 per ton exclusive of cartage, making the cost $3 75 in the city. Messrs. Stockton and Stephens then adopted a plan of sending it direct to New-York by the Rarriton Canal. This route occupied sixteen days, at a cost of $3 75 per ton, and it was then sold to consumers at $8 50 and $9 per ton. In 1841, the Reading Railroad which cost some $12,000,000 commenced running from the mines one hundred miles to Philadelphia, carried coal at a rate which enabled it to be sold in New York at $5 50 and $6 per ton, and the quantity delivered from the mines has increased from one to three millions tons per annum. That is to say, the consumers by the improved conveyance, save, on the present consumption of coal, $7,000,000 per annum, while the miners obtain more per ton. It is obvious, that, if miners and consumers were to contribute and rebuild the entire road every three years, they would save money by it.

The operation of railroads upon supplies of food, particularly, the more perishable articles, are also of vast importance. They enable the perishable fruits and vegetables of summer to reach the market from considerable distances, and by so doing not only place within the reach of citizens, fresh and cheap garden stuffs, but they confer on a larger number of farmers the profits of garden culture. The article of milk, as an instance, requires to be placed within the reach of the consumers in a very brief period from the time of its yield, necessarily, the circle of country which supports cows for the supply of city milk, must be very contracted; all cities have seriously felt the inconvenience of this fact. New-York dairies were established, in which swill-fed cows, diseased through constant confinement and unnatural food, yielded an abundant but deleterious fluid, having none of the properties of milk,

although sold as such to the deluded citizens. The railroads now bring fresh milk every morning from a distance of sixty miles in time for use, and consequently the proportion of healthy milk used, has much increased, while the price at which it is afforded to citizens has been proportionally reduced. It is estimated, that the average quantity used daily is two quarts per family, which gives a consumption of 60,000,000 quarts per annum, and the reduction in price gives a saving of $1,200,000 per annum on this single item. It is estimated, that the cows of butter dairies in England under high feeding and breeding give one hundred and seventy pounds each per year; and that each cow gives 3,200 quarts of milk per annum. At that rate of yield in the neighborhood of New York, the butter sold fresh at twenty cents, would be worth $34 per cow per annum, while the milk sold at four cents per quart would yield $132: thus while the citizens save largely in the purchase of milk, the neighboring counties gain immensely by selling the product of the cows in the liquid state, and the supplies of butter and cheese are derived from other and more distant counties. The number of milch cows in Westchester, Putnam and Dutchess Counties per the State census of 1845, was 46,221. There were made 4,066,792 pounds of butter, and 218,084 of cheese. The cheese at a rate of two and a half cwt. per cow would require 800 cows, and with the butter 24,700 cows, leaving 21,500 to supply milk which at the rate of eight quarts per day would give 64,000,000 quarts per annum, of which the 115,960 inhabitants of these counties would require 20,000,000 yearly. But the census returns are not to be depended upon; as thus in Seneca County, the cheese and butter returns are equal to 116 pounds of butter per cow per annum; deducting the milk consumed in the county; in Broome county, 100 pounds; in Chenango, 140 pounds; in Oneida, the largest dairy counts 134 pounds per cow,. In Orange county, however, in the year of the census 1845, 5,685,232 quarts of milk were sent down by the Erie Railroad. This at 3,000 quarts each was the product of 1,900 cows, the inhabitants of the county numbering 52,227, consumed probably as much more, making 3,800 cows, and as the census gave 42,000 in that county for the year, there remained 38,200 cows to produce the 4,108,840 pounds of butter returned as made in that county. This would give 108 pounds of butter per head. It may be supposed that the cows of the three counties first-named, and which are now traversed by the Harlem and Hudson Railroads averaged as much butter per head as Orange county. This would have required 39,000 cows to produce the reported number of pounds of butter, leaving, 7,221 cows to furnish milk for the counties and for the city by railroad. These would give 21,663,000 quarts, leaving but 1,663,000 under the estimates for use of the city. Since then, however, the Harlem Railroad and the Hudson have extended beyond Westchester, and changed the nature of the dairy business. It follows, that if one half the milk formerly turned into butter in Orange, Westchester, Putnam and Duchess counties, is sold as milk at four cents per quart, it realizes $3,000,000 against $839,000 obtained for it as butter at twenty cents per pound, thus the citizens save $1,200,000, and the farmers obtain $2,000,000 more making a mutual benefit of $3,200,000 in this single article through the operation of three railroads. But the higher farm profits growing out of this availability of fresh articles of food, produces a greater demand from the country for supplies of goods as well manufactured as imported.

It is also the case, that the manure of the city is made more available in the surrounding country for farm use; the continual supplies of labor which reach the city from abroad are readily transported to the spot where they are most in demand. The operations of manufacture which formerly were indispensably carried on within the city, are now transferred many miles away; clothing, shoes, hats, &c., are delivered for manufacture to persons residing at a distance, being transported at little or no expense. The intercourse with the city is thus kept up rapidly and promptly over a large surface, and the effect seems to be to injure those small neighboring towns which were formerly depots for produce, and magazines for supplying goods to surrounding inhabitants, because the facilities for getting through to the emporium, obviate the necessity which formerly existed of having a trading point at the center of a circle, the radius of which was a convenient wagon distance. Thus, while farms for supplies and land for dwellings rise in value within the influence of railroads, the local trading interests are depressed by the overshading influence of the city.

Without these means of communication, one of two things must have happened—viz., the city must have ceased to grow, or its general business must have yielded such profits as would have enabled citizens to pay extravagant prices for food and fuel. The means of obtaining food and fuel now presented are equal to any demand, at moderate prices, and we have cited some few instances of the manner in which capital is increased by communication. The breadth of land that supplies the city with milk, vegetables, and other food, is extended almost indefinitely as compared with former times; that is to say, the capital employed in feeding cities has increased to almost a limitless extent by means of railroads. Inasmuch as time is the chief object in transporting food, a railroad traveling at the rate of 15 miles per hour, which is the usual rate for freight trains; will in three hours bring produce 45 miles, while a wagon will in the same time have come but 15 miles. Thus the radius of the circle of country which supplies the city is increased three times, but the quantity of land is increased as the square of the radius: that is to say, nine times; an increased speed would easily raise this to 16 times or more. By this means the value of land for agricutural purposes becomes equalized over a much larger surface, while that in the immediate vicinity of the city modifies the rents, which would otherwise become enormous at the business center, and the city population spreads over a larger surface. Boston, in Massachusetts, enjoys a greater degree of railroad accommodation than most cities, and its statistics of population indicate their influence in the manner we have pointed out. The State census for the present year gives the population of Boston and of the seven towns which surround it within a circle of five miles. The following table shows the comparative increase of the city and those surrounding towns:—

	1810	Increase per cent.	1820	Per cent.	1830	Per cent.	1840	Per cent.	1850	Per cent.
Boston	33,250	35	43,298	28	61,392	42	93,383	52	138,788	65
7 Towns	15,259	35	18,647	—.25	25,990	35	37,612	45	68,008	81

In the decade ending with 1840, Boston showed a great increase, and it is remarkable that the relative increase of Boston and the surrounding towns was the same in that period; but in the decade ending with the present year the pressure upon Boston, and the enhanced facilities for

moving dwellings out of it by means of railroads, have produced the vast increase of 81 per cent. in the adjoining towns, which have for the first time exceeded the proportionate increase of Boston, great as that increase has been. It is to be observed that the radius of the circle round Boston, within which half the population of the State is situated, is constantly contracting. It was 35 miles from Boston in 1790, and 29 miles in 1840; the completion of the present census will show a still further contraction. The effect of railroads is eminently to facilitate this contraction within certain distances, and they probably are embraced within the average distances which goods and passengers travel upon railroads. It is to be regretted that more particular returns are not made of the railroad traffic in all sections of the country, with the view to ascertain the immense changes which are being wrought upon values and property through their operation. The returns of the Massachusetts roads are the most perfect, and the results drawn from the movement of passengers and goods, show not only that the distances which they average are very much smaller than is generally supposed, but are constantly decreasing. Thus, if we take the Massachusetts railroads in the aggregate, we find with a great and rapid increase in the numbers of passengers and tons exported, a continually decreasing average distance, as follows:—

	Miles in operation	Passengers booked.	No. carried one mile.	Average miles	Freight tons.	Miles	Average miles per ton.
1846	545	3,990,318	81,250,809	20	1,329,944	40,634,070	30,5
1847	691	5,556,576	103,037,484	18	1,769,332	66,187,617	37,5
1848	846	7,293,777	126,371,239	17	1,958,331	67,021,613	34,2
1849	992	8,742,579	144,307,269	16	2,167,757	70,858,225	32,7

While the number of passengers entered upon the books has considerably more than doubled, the average distance to which they are transported has diminished one-fifth—viz., from 20 to 16 miles each. In relation to freight, the same general feature is apparent, but in a less marked degree. The result is varied by the extraordinary circumstances of the year 1847, in which an unusual quantity of farm produce sought the sea-board, by every possible channel, regardless of expense, on its way to Europe, where exorbitant prices remunerated every means of transport. The large proportion of this produce which came from the west over the Western Railroad, raised the average distance to which freight was transported in that year 7 per cent. Since then the average is, like that of passengers, diminishing. It would seem to be the case that the proportion of way passengers on the Western road is greater than that of way freights; although both increase in a manner to show the proportion to which business aggregates along the line of a road in comparison with its through business. The business of the Western road, which connects Boston with the New-York line of roads, as compared with all the other railroads of New-England, is as follows:—

AVERAGE DISTANCE TRAVELED BY GOODS AND PASSENGERS ON THE MASSACHUSETTS, WESTERN, AND OTHER RAILROADS OF THAT STATE.

	1846	1847	1848	1849
Western, length	155	155	155	155
All others "	390	526	691	837
Passengers on Western road	5.39	46.0	49.0	48.0
" on all other	17.6	16.4	15.0	14.9
Goods on Western	94.0	102	92.0	92.0
" on other	21.0	25.0	25.0	24.0
Western and other, pass'grs,	20.0	18.05	17.2	16.05
" " goods	30.5	37.04	34.2	32.7

Thus while the length of all the other railroads of Massachusetts more than doubled, the distance traveled by each passenger diminished from 17.6 to 14.9 miles, or nearly 3 miles each, and the distance of goods nearly maintained itself. On the Western road the average distance of all passengers is nearly one-third its length. On the others it is less than two per cent. of the aggregate length. This arises from the fact that a larger portion of the western business is through travel, but it seems on that road, as on all, that the local business built up on the line of the road, is rapidly reducing the proportion. The goods carried on the Western have diminished 10 miles in average distance since 1847; *although the whole quantity carried is the same* in 1849 as in 1847. These are very remarkable results, and indicate very clearly the rapidity with which cheap and prompt intercourse develops local business—the whole showing a tendency to concentrate at the commercial emporium. Thus a long road on its first construction carries passengers through between its most distant points, but gradually lateral connections are formed—tributary channels find their way from sections on either side—depots spring up, and, more especially in a new country, a constantly increasing amount of freight pours down upon the road, diminishing the proportion which the through freight bears to the whole sum, even although that portion of the business also increases in magnitude. The expenses of the week in the same manner diminish in proportion to its revenue; because through the accessions of way travel, the vehicles become more completely loaded—the engines are taxed to an extent nearer their capacities without much increase in expense. The road-bed becoming more settled and firm, requires annually less outlay to rectify those derangements which at first occur by reason of the unequal manner in which the embankments solidify. The cost of the repairs of the permanent way gradually diminishes for the first few years, until through the dilapidation of rails by wear, they require to be renewed. The rolling stock probably undergoes each year as much repair as keeps it as good as new, and this one year with another will not much vary. The expenses of a long road are also in proportion much less than a short one, because the same stock and agents which are on duty to run 150 miles, may run double the distance with very little increase of expense, and the increased distance brings in by way travel a larger addition to the revenue. Where the number of trains and engines or their speed is increased, a direct addition is made to the expense, and it becomes matter of nice calculation in a management to decide how many trains shall run on a given track, and at what rates to produce the greatest net profit. Too few trains will not accommodate the public, and too many will damage profits. The gross profits of a company are made up from an aggregate of small profits, and therefore by judiciously diminishing the profit derived from each single passenger, the total profits from the aggregate traffic may be enhanced. Thus to recur again to the Western road for an example:—

	Income.	Expenses. Bed and Motive		Miss.	Total.	Miles run.	Receipts per mile.	Expen. per mile.	Net income per mile.
1842	512,688	48,789	24,177	193,452	266,619	397,295	1.28	67.1	.61
1846	878,417	83,276	89,453	239,159	412,679	573,956	1.53	.72	.81
1847	1,323,336	199,312	124,111	353,366	676,789	819,412	1.61	.82	.79
1848	1,332,068	157,515	113,884	380,958	652,357	804,492	1.66	.81	.85
1849	1,343,811	128,301	105,553	364,469	588,323	730,491	1.84	.81	1.03

Thus the receipts of 1849 exceeded that of 1846 by 465,394, or rather more than 50 per cent., while the expenses increased but $175,000, or but about 42 per cent., or in other words, the revenue increased 31 cents per mile, and the expense 9 cents per mile. The rate of fair and freights may be so fixed as to afford a maximum profit, being at such a point as the greatest number of tons and passengers may be procured at the greatest individual profit, and the stock so promptly and judiciously worked as to serve this business at the minimum expense. This latter point requires that the exact cost of transporting every kind of freight and passage service should be accurately known—what description of vehicles each requires—at what rate of speed each must move, and the number of stoppages requisite. The number of stoppages and rate of speed enter largely into the cost of the motive power and maintenance of stock, and the aggregate speed depends more upon the number of stoppages, than upon the general traveling speed. It would seem also to be the case from the diminishing average distance traveled by both goods and persons, that the general tendency upon a road is to increase the number of stoppages. In a country so progressive as this, the traffic of roads is constantly changing in its nature, and requires constant vigilance and the exercise of prompt skill to meet continually recurring exigencies.

The general results shown in relation to the aggregate prosperity of the whole country, that even although the immense sums expended upon these means of communication should be entirely lost, or, in other words, profitless in respect of dividends, the national wealth and its just distribution would be promoted by the operation. But this loss cannot take place, because the very prosperity developed by the works is shared by them as a necessary consequence of their operation. The multiplied value and activity of industry which they stimulate reflect upon them the general prosperity in an ever increasing ratio. Railway economy is yet in its infancy, and as it progresses, the works as instruments of travel become under the able management of experienced men, not only better adapted to the wants of the public, but financially more within the control of economic calculations. Rates of freight and fares become more nicely adjusted to the proportionate expense of each description of traffic and distances of travel, and the great object of equalizing expense of transport between distant points approximate. The collateral benefits of railroads were to a considerable extent borne in mind in the undertaking of those great works, the Erie and the Hudson River, under the direction respectively of those public-spirited men, Benjamin Loder and James Boorman. The amount of money already expended upon these two works is over 20 millions, and, as we have partly seen, the citizens of New-York have more than realized the whole sum by the advantages they have developed, and they are yet far from that state of completeness which will display the whole scope of their usefulness. In the case of the Hudson River road, it was supposed that the winter months would be the season of its great travel. Experience has already found that the season of navigation—when river competition is most active, will exhibit the greatest activity upon the road.

THE FIRST BATTLE OF JEAN BART.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY JUVENIS.

THAT part of the eastern coast of England, which forms the boundary of the county of Essex, runs north and south from the mouth of the Thames, to the confluence of the rivers Stour and Orvel, where they empty into the ocean near the high lands of Harwich, which afford a good anchorage for vessels in westerly and south-westerly gales.

On the 30th day of July, 1666, a period of war between the English and Dutch, the fleet of the United Provinces, consisting of sixty ships of war and eleven fire-ships, was at anchor there, under the command of Michael Adrianz de Ruyter, Lieutenant-Admiral-General. The English fleet, commanded by Admiral Monk and Prince Robert, composed of seventy-six vessels, without counting the fire-ships and light-boats, was anchored near Queensborough, leaving a distance of about twenty leagues between the hostile fleets, both of which were waiting for a favorable time to commence the combat.

A light breeze from the south-west was blowing, and the fleet of the United Provinces lay in good order, divided into three squadrons. De Ruyter commanded the center, and had under his orders the other two—that of Rear-Admiral Siveers with the ships of the College of Amsterdam, and that of Captain Govert Hoen, formed of vessels from the north. The sea was perfectly calm and spread itself out like an immense lake to the English coast, which, shaded by tufted oaks, and covered with rich crops, gilded by the rays of a summer's sun, together with the numerous little white cottages, with their red roofs, all clearly visible to the naked eye, presented a beautiful appearance.

De Ruyter intending at first to make a descent on the port of Harwich, had selected his anchorage near it, but having learned that the passes of that harbor had been newly fortified, he had renounced that project, and was waiting until the English fleet should leave the Thames, that he might then draw out from his position and give battle in the open sea. The spectacle which this immense number of vessels at anchor afforded, was as singular as it was magnificent; it appeared like a great city of floating houses, and the liquid streets were swarming with small barges and boats. In the center, above all the others, towered up the eighty-gun ship, the *Sept-Provinces*, on which De Ruyter had placed his admiral's flag. This was considered the most splendid ship of the Hollander's navy, and merited its reputation by its superior sailing qualities, and its immense castle-like cabin, which was most profusely sculptured, and after being carried to an extraordinary height, was surmounted by three enormous lanterns of gilded bronze, so that the crown work was raised to a height equal to two-thirds that of the mainmast. Indeed, she presented a most majestic appearance, and no one could look at this mass of wood and iron which reared itself above the water like a gigantic tower, without profound

admiration. On the mizen-mast floated the flag of the States-General; its design was a golden lion, holding in his right paw a silver sabre, and in his left a bundle of seven golden arrows, pointed and plumed with blue; and at the head of the main-mast was seen the flag of Holland with its triple stripes of orange, white, and blue. At about eight o'clock in the morning, the soldier on guard hailed a *caravelle* which, with all sail spread, was making directly towards the admiral.

"FRANCE, *and a message from the Governor of Calais*," replied they, in tolerable Dutch, the little vessel still approaching.

"*Pass to the starboard*," cried out the soldier. Hardly had he given the order when the caravelle, lowering her sails, came up to the ladder of the immense vessel whose bulwarks shot over the top-mast of the little boat.

A Hollandais officer approaching, threw them some ropes to aid them in ascending the ladder, and shortly three French gentlemen of distinction, *M. M. de Harcourt*, *De Cavoye* and *De Coislin*, found themselves on the deck of the "Sept-Provinces," preceded by the hero of our story, *Jean Bart*, who, more nimble and accustomed to marine gymnastics, had mounted in three leaps.

The figures and apparel of these gentlemen had undergone a wonderful alteration during their passage through the rough salt waves of the Channel, in an open boat. Their faces were pale and haggard; their wigs, feathers and ribbons drenched with water, and although the sun was quite high, they were shaking with cold. The officer received the three friends, and conducted them to the admiral. Jean Bart, who, with his hands thrust into the capacious pockets of his breeches, was examining, with admiration, the ornaments of the vessel, overheard the officer ask the gentlemen to follow him, when, without further ceremony than taking off his hat, he passed directly before them up to the officer, saying—"It is me, sir, whom you should conduct to the admiral."

"What does that man want?" asked the Hollander, greatly astonished at the young sailor's presumption.

"I wish to see the admiral, and take to him my three passengers, for I am the captain of the *caravelle*," replied Jean, with the cool, resolute air to which he appeared so accustomed.

The officer looked at him with surprise without saying a word.

"Ah!" said Cavoye, "you can believe him, sir, he is really our captain, and moreover a good sailor. I am pleased to have met with him. But, *ma foi!* we wish no more navigation of that sort—we have been in a perpetual sea-bath since starting; what he says is true, though, he brought us here—and upon my word he is a skillful pilot, notwithstanding his youth—so do as he demands, sir, it is right."

The Hollander again measured Jean, with a look of astonishment and said in a tone of raillery "Follow me then, *my lord captain*." Jean thrusting his hands again into his pockets, followed the officer, at the same time eagerly examining the beautiful ship. When they arrived at the poop, Coislin approached the officer, and said in a low voice,—"Monsieur, would it not be better to notify the admiral of our arrival, and ask if he can receive us, that in the meanwhile we may have a chance to dress ourselves in a decent manner to appear before his excellency?"

"Oh! gentlemen," said the officer, laughing, "the admiral does not

trouble himself about such things. He is not so great a lord, but that the lowest sailor on board can freely approach him if he as anything to say; and as to your costumes, he will not scrutinize them, I assure you."

Saying these words, the Hollander opened the cabin door, and our gentlemen entered the apartment, which was large, and furnished with the greatest simplicity. The wainscoating was painted red, and in the middle of the room was a large table covered with plain sheepskin, and surrounded by some broad walnut chairs. Respectfully saluting the admiral, the officer presented the three gentlemen. De Ruyter was then about sixty years of age, of medium height and rather slim in figure; his hair and moustache were perfectly white; his face large, forehead high, and eyes of a piercing grey. His dress consisted of a kind of *robe de chambre* of coarse black cloth, fastened at the waist with a leathern belt. After politely addressing the Frenchman, he cast his glance on Jean Bart, who was looking at him with innocent admiration.

"*Monsieur l'Admiral,*" said the officer, "these gentlemen are bearers of despatches from the governor of Calais, and this young sailor brought them here."

Cavoye, bowing low to the admiral, presented him the documents of M. de Charost, which De Ruyter commenced reading.

Within the few minutes that had passed, an entire change had taken place in Jean Bart; he, who not long before was so calm, so self-assured, appeared much troubled; he blushed, the perspiration stood in great drops on his brow, and when he chanced to meet the piercing look of De Ruyter, he dropped his eyes with timidity and extreme embarrassment; he was completely spell-bound.

When the admiral had taken note of the contents of the letters of M. de Charost, he said to the Frenchman, in a courteous though rather cold and constrained manner, that since they desired it, he would receive them on board his ship, and give them an opportunity of engaging with him in the approaching combat. Cavoye, De Harcourt and Corslin, expressed their gratitude; Cavoye adding,

"Permit me, Monsieur l'Admiral, to bespeak your kind interest for this young boy, who has conducted us here; but a moment since, he was as proud and haughty as a page, now he is covered with confusion,"

"In truth, he is all out of breath," added De Harcourt.

"Completely amazed," said Coislin.

At each word, poor Bart evidenced his impatience, and finally turning round with a flashing eye, said to them; "*Par bleu!* I was not amazed or out of breath in your presence, at least."

"Is it of me, then, you are afraid?" said De Ruyter, kindly.

"Yes—no—admiral, your—but—" and poor Bart, his eyes drooping and face covered with blushes, babbled a moment or two without being able to complete a sentence; he finished by throwing himself at the feet of the admiral, and embracing his knees.

"Come, come, my boy, be calm," said De Ruyter, a little proud of the impression he had made. "Gentlemen," continued he, "they will conduct you to the apartments I have assigned you, and I shall expect you to dine with me at noon—if you wish anything before, my valet will serve you."

The Frenchmen bowed and went out, leaving Bart with De Ruyter.

The first emotions over, he recovered his *sang froid* and cheerful countenance, and the admiral spoke again to him.

"Well, my boy. Are you re-assured now?"

"I begin to be, *Monsieur l'Admiral*, I begin to be, but, *ma foi!* it was hard for me at first, for me, who have never seen either God or the king."

This ingenous and blunt admiration flattered De Ruyter, who smilingly said—"It is God, my dear child, who has made me what I am, and to Him belongs the praise, and had I the vanity to suppose myself anything without His help, He would abandon me;—but tell me, do you come from Calais?"

"Yes, sir."

"And you are the captain of that little *caravelle?*"

"Oh! yes, *Monsieur l'Admiral*, but that is very easy, I have often been in this sea."

"Well, well, you are a brave lad—but what do you wish of me?"

"Oh! *Monsieur l'Admiral*, if I dared, I would ask you."

"Speak out."

"Well! I would ask you to send back to my master the caravelle, and take me with your squadron."

"I will do it, my boy, if you wish it, I will do it—you may remain on board my ship, and I will return the caravelle by the captain of a vessel that I took from the English."

"Thanks, thanks, Monsieur l'Admiral, but I have an old sailor with me, who will never leave me. Will you take him also?"

"Yes, the old sailor, too, my boy.

"Come, let us go. You are a good young man; put your trust in God; be brave, alert, and vigilant, and who knows what you may be. There, my child, listen! They call me admiral, do they not? I command a hundred ships of war. Well, I commenced life by turning a wheel in a rope-walk; so you see what one may accomplish by the assistance of God. Go now, I will not forget you."

After having their names registered on the ships' books, Bart, and old Saurin, his friend, were conducted to the cabin of the sailing-master, to receive instructions.

Abraham Lely, sailing-master of the *Sept-Provinces*, was a man highly esteemed by De Ruyter, as an excellent seaman full of zeal, coolness and experience; one of those men of resource, who, according to the Flemish proverb, would not hesitate "*to pull out a tooth in order to make a nail;*" but apart from the brilliant maritime qualities of which he was certainly possessed, Master Lely was the most unsociable and even brutal creature on board the fleet. He was about fifty years old, and had lost his left arm by a cannon ball; the naturally ugly expression of his large, though pale and wan visage, was rendered still more repulsive by a black cap which he wore on his head; his small brown eyes were overhung by heavy straggling grey brows; and a pair of immense jaws and thick lips, gave additional hideousness to his appearance.

It was to this terrible master, whom they found sitting on a trunk, crunching with his beautiful teeth a biscuit and a bit of dried codfish, that Jean Bart and Saurin were introduced.

After having examined them for a long time without at all interrupting the exercise of his formidable jaws that ground the biscuit in them with the noise of a mill-stone, Master Lely perceiving that Jean had kept his

hat on his head, took a long bamboo cane that stood by the side of his trunk, and knocked off the hat of the young sailor without saying a single word.

"It is right!" earnestly whispered Saurin, who saw the indignation of Jean. "You are his inferior, and must not remain covered."

Jean clenched his fists, muttering imprecations, while Master Lely, with the most perfect coolness said to them—

"Where do you come from?"

"From St. Paul, near Calais," replied Jean, at the same time taking a chew of tobacco from a little iron box in his hand; but hardly was the box opened when a new blow from the bamboo sent it flying to the cabin floor. The blood mounted to the temples of Jean like lightning, and he would have thrown himself on Lely, if old Saurin had not restrained him, saying to the master,

"Excuse him, sir, if you please;" he is not accustomed to the rules of a man-of-war, never having been on board of anything but little vessels used in smuggling.

Poor Jean, in perfect torture inwardly, once more attempted to restrain his anger, this time by drumming violently on the floor with his left foot; a fresh blow from the bamboo, well put just on the toes of the said foot, interdicted even this little manifestation of his impatience.

"*Sacre bleu!*" exclaimed he, striking again so violently with his foot, that Master Lely's seat trembled under him. "*Sacre bleu!* if thou dost that again, thou *sack of cheese!*" Happily, this imprecation was uttered in French, and still more luckily Saurin again interposed, saying to Lely that the fury of his young friend was occasioned by a *wound on his foot*, which the cane had struck. All through this scene Lely had preserved the utmost gravity and coolness, quietly replacing by his side the cane after each warning given through its medium. Jean cursing his fatal curiosity to witness a naval combat, *gnawed his bit* in silence, leaving old Saurin to reply to the concise questions which Lely now commenced asking—

"Are you sailors?"

"Splice those together, then," said Lely, "handing Saurin two little pieces of thick cordage." Old Saurin acquitted himself with more than common dexterity, and fastened them together so nicely that it could hardly be perceived where they were joined. Lely took it and examined it attentively, without the slightest alteration of countenance, and then gave the same order to Jean, who succeeded equally well. The hard visage of the Hollander remained unmoved, and turning to them again said,

"Are you cannoneers?"

"That we are. Indeed I must tell you that this young man received the prize for firing at a mark at Dunkirk, and —"

The narrative of Saurin was again cut short by Lely, who addressed himself to Jean.

"Are you a good coast pilot?"

"Yes," said the good-natured Saurin. "This young man conducted a boat in one of the most terrible tempests." Here a sharp look from Lely stopped the old man's mouth."

"Are you a good coast pilot?" enquired he, again of Jean. These questions, and more especially the manner in which they had been put,

so irritated the young sailor, that he determined at all hazards to put an end to them, so that to the last one he replied in a rude voice, "No!" This terminated for the time the examination, and Master Lely pointing to the door with his cane, the two friends bowed and left him.

"*Vertebleu! Sacre! Mille tonneres!* May I be excommunicated as a Turk or a Jew, and burned alive, if I remain another moment on board the same vessel with this *cavern-jawed* animal," cried out Jean as he found himself outside of Lely's den; and in his anger he kicked most violently an inoffensive partition, notwithstanding the supplications of old Saurin, who said, but in vain, "Be calm, my young master, see there is the serjeant-at-arms coming;" and in truth it was he, followed by two soldiers, who, hearing the infernal noise that Bart was making, seized him without saying a single word, till the serjeant, with an air almost as grave as that of Lely, said, "Put this shameless fellow to the gratings."

To the gratings! me in irons! Ah! *sacre!* we will see."

"Put the gag on this babbler," said the phlegmatic serjeant—and that also was done in spite of the entreaties of Saurin. A few moments after the admiral, himself, happened to pass that way, while inspecting the men, and seeing the situation of Jean, looked much surprised and displeased.

"What! already my protege at fault? How is this, serjeant?"

"*Monsieur l'Admiral*, I found this young man uttering furious cries, and making a terrific noise on the deck near the cabin of Master Lely.

"Take out the gag that he may reply," said the admiral.

"Well," said he to Jean, "what have you to say for such conduct already?"

"Ah! *Mons. l'Admiral*, here is the whole story without any falsehoods: When I set my foot on your ship of war I had never before served on board anything but merchant vessels or smugglers, and there the captain, master and sailors are all one; they make the proper manœuvres, and after that, they all smoke and drink together, but here it is not the same; they sent me, after leaving you, to a great one-armed man, who has a way of speaking and striking a little too savage."

"Ah! that is Lely," said De Ruyter, hardly able to restrain a smile.

"Yes, sir, the sailing master; with the first blow of his cane he told me to salute him—with the second, not to chew—with the third, to be calm—and with the fourth, to go I confess I was choking with anger, and it was while giving vent to it, that that man there with the halberd, and his two friends, seized and muzzled me like a bear in the woods."

De Ruyter, who had hard work to retain his gravity during this ingenuous justification, said at length to Bart, "On board of a man-of-war, my boy, the discipline must be severe, and all must submit to it; how, ever, if you find it too hard a condition, go; or if you wish to remain, you must obey in all things—choose."

"It shall not be said that the son of Corneille Bart quitted the ship of Admiral de Ruyter for so small a matter," replied Jean, with resolution, "I will stay, *Mons. l'Admiral*, and, if you will pardon all that has passed, I will swear to endeavor to moderate my passions, and never to be found so much at fault again." Saying this, he fell at the feet of De Ruyter, who kindly raised him, and ordered him to be set at liberty."

Three hours after this occurrence, the admiral gave orders to sail, and

the immense fleet of near eighty ships of war formed in order of battle, and "stood out" with a fresh south-easterly breeze.

Since the 15th of August of this same year (1666) during which the events took place that we have chronicled, the small but pretty village of Duinburg (situated on the eastern side of the isle of Walcheren) had been filled with incessant clamors of joy and gladness, occasioned by the permission which the Admiral de Ruyter had given to his captains, which was to allow their crews by turns to enjoy themselves at this little port for three days, which time he remained there to refit after the furious combats of the 4th, 5th, and 6th August, between the English fleet and the admiral's, which we left just putting out to sea.

Among the numerous taverns of the place, many of which had sprung into their present *locale* since the arrival of the fleet, the "*Armes d'Enkhuysen*" was the greatest favorite. The host, Mynheer Hoen, prided himself greatly on the superior quality of his gin, spiced wine, and dried fish, which were indeed the admiration of all visitors. To this house old Saurin immediately repaired on landing, as he had known well in former years when engaged in the smuggling trade, the landlord, Mynheer Hoen, for whom he had often taken on shore, gin, tobacco, and other articles prohibited by the laws; this, of course, placed them on a footing of the most perfect intimacy, and the old friends sat down together to talk over their fortunes since they had last met.

"Well, my worthy Saurin! at last I can sit down to hear a narrative of the grand battles of 4th and 5th August. I will fill my pipe, and then listen to you like a priest; but remember, my friend, the condition is, that if your fertile imagination leads you to 'fibbing,' a blow on the table with the handle of my knife is to call you back to yourself."

"Be it so; but it is important, my worthy host," said Saurin, "that you should put faith in all I say. I have traveled and seen a great deal, but to hold myself to a simple relation of naked truths, would be a principle a little too hard. *Ma foi!* one might as well drink this wine without the sugar and spices, that give it so fine a flavor; that which you call 'fibbing' is nothing but the sugar and cloves of wit, which give a spiciness to the narrative, so to speak."

"Well! well! worthy Saurin, go on, but, *ma foi!* your recitals sometimes are so confoundedly sugared and spiced, that one can smell those, and nothing else. But silence, I will listen to you."

"After having told you of the sailing of my young master, Bart, and myself with *M. l'Admiral*, I believe I mentioned, my dear host, that a furious storm took place on the night of the 3d of August. Never, no, never, in the memory of a sailor, had such awful thunder and lightning been known—and to be particular—"

At these words, "to be particular," Mynheer Hoen felt for his knife, holding it in readiness to strike.

"And to be particular," continued Saurin—not seeing the knife—"the lightning was so brilliant and constant, that it woke me, and I asked a sailor by me, if the sun was up already. But that is nothing—the mainmast of the ship Ostesgo, one of our fleet, was shivered into such small fragments, that they were afterwards used to light the ships' lanterns with, instead of the little packages of furze, provided for that purpose."

Here, Mynheer Hoen drew his knife, and made the table ring with his repeated blows.

Saurin turned red at the sound for a moment, and then continued without further noticing the interruption: "When the squall had passed over, we came in sight of the English fleet, but as it was near night we anchored to make preparation for battle the next day. At sunrise we saw the English fleet bearing down upon us under full sail, and after a hasty breakfast we took our places to wait the signal of attack. About noon, the lieutenant gave the word, 'cannoneers, fire!' and from that moment I did not quit my port-hole, for I was the second man on the right of the piece that my young master, Jean, commanded, by special favor of the admiral."

"'Ah! Saurin, that was the first time young Bart led off such a dance. How did he conduct himself?"

"Wait, dear host, and I will tell you all: When the firing commenced our young master said to me, in a most solemn manner, 'My old Saurin, I have never before seen such a sight. I do not think I shall be afraid, but I do not wish to dishonor the name of Bart. Look at me—if I turn pale—if I am a coward.'"

"Well, Saurin?"

"Well, my worthy Hoen. He finished the sentence by handing me a pistol, with a furious gesture, which said plainly enough—Blow my brains out, Saurin, if I show fear!

"Brave young man!"

"Yes! brave among the brave; but at the first discharge of the enemy's artillery he looked pale, and—"

"*Diable*, Saurin!"

"Yes, but he had reason for it, though: for the shot killed three of the men at one piece, covering him with their blood; and I confess my heart beat hard, and I was paler than he."

"And did you do with the pistol as he told you, Saurin?"

"I believe I should, Hoen; I believe I should; but before I recovered myself enough, I was saved the trouble, for at the second fire, which came in an instant, and was as terrible as the first, my young master, instead of again turning pale, cried out with sparkling eyes, 'Come on! *ma foi*, Saurin! I have no more fear, and I am determined to revenge my father's death on the English.' From that moment I felt perfectly easy about him, and we remained together, I loading and he firing, until nine o'clock in the evening, when we were almost dead with hunger and thirst. When we had ceased firing, the admiral came down into the battery to compliment the men on their bravery, and in passing our piece he tapped Jean on the shoulder and said to him, 'Well, my boy, how do you find this?' 'I find it so brave and so fine that I would say more about it if my throat was not so dry, *Mons. l'Admiral*', replied he, resolutely. The admiral pleasantly took the hint, and sent us down some beer and biscuit, which did us much good, though we were obliged to keep one eye on the cannon while the other was on the biscuit, for we were told that the admiral's ship had got separated from the fleet, and the English had discerned this, nothwithstanding the smoke, and were trying to surround us. *Vertebleu!* worthy Hoen. I have never seen a man more prompt and intrepid than was my young master; he aimed and fired incessantly, uttering loud cries of joy all the while; and when he found himself too much choked with the smoke, he would plunge his head into the tub of water used to cool the cannon, jokingly saying, 'what is good for the cannon is good for the cannoneer.'"

"Brave and clever fellow!"

"Yes, brave indeed; but it was after all this, that he was especially courageous. You shall now see the true Cæsar, for we did not remain at the port-hole to the end of the battle; and there is yet to be told the wonderful history of a certain monstrous fire-ship."

At these prefatory words, "*wonderful and monstrous*," Mynheer Hoen plunged his hand again into his pocket to take his knife, but Saurin seeing his intention this time, said to him in a firm and serious tone—"By the memory of my old master Corneille Bart, Hoen, what I am about to tell you, is the simple truth."

The expression of the old man's face was so candid, that his host could not but believe him, and he listened to the following recital with the greatest attention.

"After the cannonade by our artillery had been continued for a long time, I saw through the cloud of smoke which hung around our port-hole, a large black mass rapidly approaching our vessel, and a moment after the cry arose '*a fire ship! a fire ship!*' At the same instant, Master Lely, who had treated us somewhat less disdainfully since his interrogatories, made his appearance in the battery, armed as usual with his infernal cane, and cried out 'Let those whom I touch follow me to the deck.' Our young master and myself being of the number, we were soon on deck, where we found everything in a tumult. At the side of the admiral stood the three young lords, whom we had brought from Saint Paul's—black with smoke and powder, and looking as fierce as though they had just come from the lower regions. A boat was soon made ready, manned by twenty sailors, including Monsieur Bart and myself, and with us also were the three Frenchmen by the permission of the admiral, all under the command of Master Lely, who was ordered to proceed immediately and attack the fire ship. Our boat was sufficiently large to accommodate our force, and furnished with one cannon, besides which, we were all armed to the teeth; in our belts, we carried a pistol, a cutlass, and a boarding knife, and muskets lay at our feet ready for use, after we had boarded.

"Monsieur Jean and myself were on the same seat pulling at the oars, when, at a signal from the admiral, Master Lely cried out in a voice of thunder, '*board!*' In a moment I commended my soul to God, urging Monsieur Jean to do the same, for I thought our time had come. The Frenchmen who were in the bow of the boat, commenced the attack, supported by four sailors who stood with them, and so fierce was their fire and so rapid did they throw hand-grenades, that notwithstanding a heavy volley of case shot which we received, they soon swept the fire ship's deck. We continued to pour in a deadly fire, though so completely enveloped in smoke that we could scarcely distinguish anything, when, suddenly Monsieur Jean cried out 'Master Lely, the fire ship has launched her long boat.'

"'*Row! row!*' answered Lely, in tones of thunder, 'she is about to blow up, and if we are caught in her eddy we shall all be engulfed!' You may be sure, Hoen, that gave us new strength, and our boat, heavily loaded as it was, flew over the waters like a bird. In three minutes after, the sea trembled with a tremendous explosion, the fire ship heaved up her shivered frame, and then with a dull heavy sound, sank beneath the waves.

"You know the rest; poor Master Lely died of wounds received in the attack, and the same evening, our fleet drew off, the English not daring to follow."

POLITICAL PORTRAITS WITH PEN AND PENCIL.

ROBERT MILLIGAN McLANE,

Who was born on the 23d of June, 1815, is the son of Louis McLane, of Delaware, and Catharine Milligan. His paternal grandfather was Colonel Allan McLane, than whom no other patriot of his grade did better service for the American cause in our Revolutionary War, as an officer of Lee's Legion, and the Delaware and Maryland Line. The mother of our subject was the daughter of Robert Milligan, of Cecil County, Md. Robert Milligan was the son of George Milligan, a Scotch merchant of the city of Baltimore, and grandson of John Baldwin, one of the earliest English settlers in Cecil County, Md., who, in 1750, became a tobacco planter on the Bohemia river, where he died on his plantation, which is now the property and family residence of Louis McLane, the father of our subject. His mother, Mrs. Louis McLane, who died during the summer of 1849, was one of the best of mothers, and the best of wives. She was a lady of great grace of character, widely known and beloved in the large circle in which she moved. To her tender care are her husband and son indebted for much of the success crowning their labors in the service of their country.

The Hon. Louis McLane represented Delaware in the House of Representatives of the United States, from December, 1817, until December, 1827, and during the two succeeding years he was in the U. S. Senate. At the end of that period he was honored by General Jackson with a mission to England. He returned in 1831, the President having tendered to him the post of Secretary of the Treasury, until subsequently transferred to the Department of State, on the resignation of Mr. Livingston. He filled that position with great credit to himself and advantage to his country, until the summer of 1833, when he retired, bearing with him the ardent friendship of General Jackson. This retirement of the elder Mr. McLane was the result of the condition into which his private affairs had fallen, owing to the exclusive devotion of his talents and energies, for so many years, in the legislative, diplomatic and executive branches of the government. During the pendency of the now celebrated Oregon negotiation of the last administration, at its darkest hour and most critical period, President Polk did him the honor to insist that he should again represent his government at the Court of St. James's; and, accepting the appointment only after urgent solicitation from the Executive and his constitutional advisers, (who represented that the critical condition of our relations with Britain made it imperatively necessary that he should again repair to London,) he went to England, and conducted to the entire satisfaction of his country so much of those negotiations as had been transferred to the other side of the Atlantic. The difficulty, pregnant with war, as all conceived for some time, having been happily settled, Mr. Louis McLane immediately returned to the United States, under an understanding with the President that he might resume the duties of the

private citizen at any moment after the termination of the then pending controversy. Mr. Louis McLane, on reaching the United States, re-assumed the functions of the Presidency of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, which he had resigned to thus re-enter the diplomatic service of his country, and which had been kept open by its board of direction to this end.

The son, (our subject,) received the primary rudiments of an English education in the school of John Bulloch, a worthy member of the Society of Friends, in the town of his birth, Wilmington, Del. From thence he was transferred to Washington College, in the District of Columbia, an academical institution under the patronage and care of the time-honored Roman Catholic Georgetown College. While in that institution, as the writer, who was his class-mate and friend, well remembers, his remarkable quickness of apprehension was displayed to an extraordinary degree, enabling him, intuitively, as it were, to master points in his studies at a glance, or with the aid of a single brief explanation from a preceptor, which required hours, if not days, of close application on the part of most of his fellow-students.

Mr. McLane was next transferred to St. Mary's College in Baltimore, Maryland, a Catholic institution similar to the college he had last attended. He remained there until 1829, when he accompanied his father to Europe. Shortly after reaching his mission in London, the elder Mr. McLane sent Robert to Paris, that he might enjoy the superior educational advantages which that city has afforded at all times, during the last half century. While there, he studied under the immediate supervision of M. M. Lemoine, a professor of the *College Bourbon*, devoting himself to acquiring a thorough knowledge of the Latin and French languages, and attending the lectures delivered at the University of Paris. Fortunately for the future of Mr. R. M. McLane, General La Fayette, who during his service in this country had been the intimate friend of Mr. McLane's paternal grandfather, exercised towards him that frank, generous and cordial hospitality which he bestowed with open hand and benevolent heart upon the descendants of his old companions in arms, one and all. Thus he was the adviser and patron of young McLane, who soon became almost domesticated in his family. With the family and connections of General La Fayette, and with his able, accomplished and kind instructor, M. Lemoine, himself a dramatic writer of ability and fame, our subject enjoyed advantages of familiar, daily intercourse, not only with the ripest scholars of France, but the leaders of the French liberal party of 1830, from whom he imbibed enlarged views of radical democracy, which have aided greatly in advancing him so young to a political position rarely obtained indeed except after a long lifetime of public service. There he frequently met Odillon Barrot, then a brilliant and rising republican leader; also M. M. Laysterie, and Ledru Rollin, who at that time was without any particular fame, being a very young *avocat*, noted for little save the extreme zeal of his democracy. James Fennimore Cooper also made one of the talented and patriotic circle of distinguished gentlemen, whose society it was the good fortune of young McLane, during his residence in Paris, to enjoy so frequently at the house of General La Fayette and in the family of the American minister, Mr. Rives. At that time Mr. C. was the caressed intimate of the leaders of the Anti-Bourbon party, to the triumph of whose cause his pen is believed to have greatly contributed, through the columns of the liberal journals of the French metropolis.

The writer has often heard Mr. McLane gratefully acknowledge his deep obligation to the statesmen and patriots to whom reference is made above, for the training—the systematic and philosophical habit of reflection upon public affairs,—for the abiding confidence in the integrity and rarely failing good sense of the people; for the axiom, that, to seek the advancement and happiness of the whole community, without distinction of persons or classes, is the first duty of the state and statesman; all of which familiar intercourse with them served to instil into his mind.

Our subject witnessed the occurrences of the three eventful days of July, 1830, when the dreams, or I should write, the views of La Fayette's circle of friends were so happily realized. In common with almost all the ardent young Americans then in Paris, he spent most of these three days *in the streets*, being of course, by turns, in all parts of the city. He also had the honor of making one of the gallant band of youthful Americans whom La Fayette, full of gratitude, as of affection, for his adopted country, took with him to the Palais Royal, on repairing thither to tender to Louis Phillipe the post of Lieutenant-General of the French nation, at the bidding of the people of France.

On the conclusion of the course of studies in Paris marked out for him, Mr. McLane proceeded to the residence of his father, in London, in the spring of 1831, in the fall of which year he returned to the United States, when the elder McLane was summoned home to take his seat at the council-board of Andrew Jackson. Soon after his return, and the completion of his preparation for graduating at college, he was confided by his father to Mr. Dillingham, of Pittsfield, Mass., at whose excellent school his younger brothers were pursuing their studies. While at Pittsfield, he was persuaded by some military friends, then visiting that town on a wedding party, in the festivities of which he joined, to abandon his intentions of undertaking a collegiate career, and to accept an appointment to West Point, which he did in 1832. Subsequently, becoming dissatisfied, on account of this absolute abandonment of an intention long entertained by himself and his family, of pursuing the legal profession, without consultation with his friends, he forwarded his resignation to Washington, and returned home, determined to resume the duties of his original academical life. At this interesting epoch, counselled, encouraged, and immediately advised by General Jackson, whose benevolence of heart and uniform kindness to youth are so well known, he reconsidered his action, and consented to submit himself to the long and tedious discipline of the academical course of the West Point Military Academy; and he accordingly returned to that institution in June, 1833, and recommenced its routine of studies, which he prosecuted successfully for four years, graduating in June, 1837, when he was appointed by the President, at his own request, a Second Lieutenant of the First Dragoons, his appointment dating from the first of July, 1837. But finding that his graduating grade in the class at the academy entitled him to an appointment in the artillery, which corps was then engaged in Florida, (while the dragoons were stationed on the western frontier of Missouri,) he conceived it to be his duty to take service in the corps participating in the Indian war then pending. An order was accordingly issued, canceling his appointment as a Second Lieutenant of Dragoons, and appointing him a Second Lieutenant of the First Artillery, to date from the day above-mentioned, July 1st, 1837.

In conformity with this last appointment, Mr. McLane, in due time,

was commissioned by the President and Senate. He proceeded immediately to Old Point Comfort, in Virginia, from whence, in October of the same year, he sailed for Tampa Bay. On arriving at Tampa, he obtained the command of Company E, of the First Artillery, owing to the absence of many of his superiors in rank, occasioned by sickness, or by being detached for special duty elsewhere.

Our subject served gallantly and successfully in command of his company throughout General Jessup's distinguished campaign of 1837 and 1838; and with Major-General Scott in the Cherokee troubles of the autumn of the latter year. He was then detached from "the line," and was appointed a Lieutenant of Topographical Engineers, in which capacity he returned to Florida, and by direction of General Taylor, then commanding in that quarter, he was induced to serve on the staff of General Floyd, who commanded the Georgia Volunteers in the Okefinokee District.

In 1837 and 1838, his regiment, the First Artillery, acted as the pioneer corps of the army of General Jessup, in the arduous and brilliant campaign which that officer made from St. Augustine and Black Creek, south to Key Biscayne and the Everglades. These latter regions had been unexplored since the commencement of the war, until they were penetrated by a mixed military and naval expedition, detached from Jessup's force, which was under the immediate command of the gallant and accomplished Lieut. L. M. Powell, of the navy. Lieut. McLane's Company E, and Company I, of the same regiment, commanded by Lieutenant (now Lieut. Col.) Magruder, formed the military portion of that expedition. During this active and trying period of Mr. McLane's military career, it was his fortune to take part in several engagements, in which he shared equally with his gallant fellow-officers the praise and glory of the achievements. Thus he was engaged under Col. Bankhead, in the battle of the Pine Islands, driving the Indians from the islands and Everglades, to the main land, where the larger portion of the band were subsequently made prisoners by Col. Harney's command.

It is due in justice to our subject to remark, that in the course of this so generally regarded disagreeable active service in the Florida war, no other officer won more thanks from his superiors for his activity, skill, and courage. While to claim more credit for him than fell to the share of his brethren in arms would be invidious, the writer well knows that to accord to him less would be doing injustice to a gallant and meritorious gentleman.

Topographical duties were next assigned to Lieut. McLane, at St. Augustine, where he was engaged in superintending the public works in the immediate vicinity of that point. While there, his leisure hours were devoted to legal reading, having obtained the use of the law library of a professional gentleman residing at that point. At the end of six months Lieut. McLane was ordered to the northern lakes, where he was employed at various points from *Old* Fort Covington on the St. Lawrence westward, to the Sault St. Marie and Lake Superior.

In January, 1841, he again visited Europe, in company with Captain Canfield, who had been the chief of the surveying parties, to which he had been attached during the past year. There, under directions from the Secretary of War, they were engaged in reconnoissances and examinations connected with their duties as officers of the corps of Topographical Engineers. On his return to the United States, he was employed during the

winter of 1842 in a military survey and reconnoissance of the approaches to the city of New-Orleans; and during the year 1843, he was transferred to the parties engaged in harbor surveys at the Delaware Break-water, and Sandy Hook. During this continuous and active service as a topographical engineer, Lieut. McLane devoted his leisure hours to the study of the law, more particularly for six months, (as before remarked) in St. Augustine, and for thirteen (winter) months in Washington City, where he studied under the instruction of Gen. Walter Jones. Thus being prepared for admission to the bar, just before setting out for Europe in company with Captain Canfield, he was admitted as an attorney and counselor at law, by the United States Court for the county of Alexandria, D. C.; having previously undergone, with credit, the casual examination.

In August, 1841, Mr. McLane married Georgine Urquhart, the daughter of David Urquhart, Esq., of Louisiana, a gentleman of honorable fame as a merchant, distinguished for his successful enterprise in business, and for his severe probity in all his public and domestic relations. This union, while it secured for our subject the affectionate companionship of a lovely woman, of high refinement, endowed with singular simplicity and piety in mind and heart, has been blessed with those treasures that form the sacred and holy and most interesting ties of married life. With a view to devote himself to these domestic relations so happily formed, he took the earliest occasion, which his public duty and his private affairs permitted, to resign his military commission. This he did, in October, 1843, when he settled in the city of Baltimore, Maryland, and was at once admitted to practice law in the courts of that state and of the United States.

From the moment of his admittance to the bar of Maryland, Mr. McLane lost no opportunity to earn position among his professional brethren by bending his every nerve with fair and manly industry to his business. Success almost immediately crowned his exertions, for in less than one year he found himself in full and profitable practice. At the approach of the Presidential canvass of 1844, the ardor of his political preferences caused him to become active in the councils of the democracy of the city, so that his political talents soon became known to those around him. The result was, that in October, 1845, after taking a leading part in the national contest, ending in the election of James K. Polk, Mr. McLane was nominated and elected to represent the city of Baltimore in the Legislature of the State. On the meeting of that body, he was selected as a member of the Committee of Ways and Means, the position being then of great importance, owing to the character of the grave financial question pressing so heavily upon the councils of the state. The writer alludes here to what is known in Maryland as the subject matter of the "state faith policy," indispensable to the maintenance of the honor of the state, to which, in the face of the embarrassments surrounding the question, he gave support so earnest and able, as at once to mark him for one of the leaders in the good cause of state integrity. At that session, too, he had the honor of being one of the small band of those who devoted much of their time and talents to the task of agitating in favor of constitutional reform, which agitation was then revived in the state. A large share of his legislative labors was devoted to that object, which he pressed upon the House, so as to earn for himself reputation, as, perhaps, its most prominent and efficient supporter then in public life.

Thus, on the 3d of January, 1845, he reported a bill to modify the income law passed in December, 1841, which he accompanied with a preamble and resolutions, setting forth the principles on which the proposed law had been drawn up. In these, he insisted that it was the duty of the legislature to appropriate to the last dollar, all excess of revenue after the most economical expenditure, to the full extinguishment of the principal and interest on the debts of the state of all descriptions. And further, that so long as the surplus wealth of a state is sufficient to furnish a greater revenue than is required to pay the interest on her public debts, she is solvent, and, consequently, any compromise of her obligations would dishonor her. This bill and resolutions immediately became the basis of an able and interesting debate, in which our subject took the lead on the side of probity and reform.

The party of extravagant expenditures having multiplied every species of indirect taxation, at the same time refused to perfect the income law, which would have commanded an unusual amount of floating moneyed wealth, not reached by the existing laws which pressed so heavily upon the trade and commerce of the people. His speech on this occasion was marked with great boldness, radicalism, research and practical sense, falling, as it did, with powerful effect on the popular mind of the state. Therein he struck at the indirect mode of taxation, to which his political opponents had resorted, after their almost invariable custom, in order to throw the burden of providing the state revenue on those least able to bear it. He proposed a modification and perfection of the existing income tax, then in full and oppressive operation throughout Maryland. Though his movement on that occasion resulted in increased taxation, more especially upon many persons of wealth among his immediate constituency, he lost no ground by the zeal and energy with which he advocated right and the principles of eternal justice. On the contrary, his first congressional election (of which we shall hereafter have occasion to speak,) soon coming on, his brilliant victory on that occasion proved that he had not overestimated the public spirit and probity of his legislative constituency, as high a mark as he had taken occasion to place upon these qualities of theirs.

On the 18th day of February, 1846, Mr. McLane opened the debate in the House of Delegates of Maryland, on the great subject of constitutional reform, which from that day to this has been a leading issue with the Maryland democracy. For this result, thanks are certainly due to the foresight and judgment displayed by him, at so early a period, and so successfully, in pressing upon his political friends the necessity for taking ground on that platform; many of his political friends being indisposed to risk the increased opposition, which an effort to interfere with the privileges and exemptions of the favored and influential few could not fail to bring upon the then comparatively weak democratic party of the state. In this speech, Mr. McLane urged with great force and perspicacity, the constitutional right of the people to make their own fundamental law, in opposition to the restrictive tendency, under which the whig party covered its resistance to the true spirit of our republican institutions. In fact, it was a fitting exposition of his report, asserting the rights of the people of Maryland to alter and amend their constitution, as a legal and constitutional right, so recognised by the existing constitution of the state. For the first time in the history of reform in Maryland, too,

there was found in his report and speech on this occasion, the position that the right of the people to conventional reform was a legal and constitutional right, without, however, questioning their abstract and inherent right, which, whether regarded as inalienable or revolutionary, he freely admitted, urging that the power to change fundamental laws at their own will, was a right which a people whose system is based on a republican foundation such as ours, can never surrender beyond their control, without radically changing the character of their government.

The writer, on setting out to prepare this paper, designed quoting somewhat largely from these two proud monuments of the political fame of Mr. McLane. But the mass of more worthy incidents connected with the career of his subject, opening upon him as he progressed, warns him that, to do so, will increase this article to a length too great for the Review.

He may therefore barely add, that, from the day on which Robert M. McLane appeared on the stage in the performance of his public duties, at Annapolis—the youthful, but none the less able and ardent advocate for such a change in the constitution of the state as would assure the administration of real justice to all at an economical rate, and equalize taxation, as would aid in the development of the resources of the state, and facilitate the general progress, prosperity and happiness of the people of Maryland, while striking down the hydra-headed monster of special privilege, which for so many years has been preying on the vitals of her yeomanry—the good cause in whose behalf he erected those victory-insuring breastworks, has steadily gained ground; until a few days since, its triumph was finally illustrated by an unprecedented majority of the popular vote of the state in favor of reform.

At the opening of the Maryland congressional canvass of 1847, Mr. McLane was honored with the democratic nomination for the 4th District, composed of the greater portion of the city of Baltimore. This district had been organised as a whig district beyond peradventure, with exceeding care after the census 1840, by the legislature. To this end—to give the whigs full five hundred majoity there, certain wards lying on the exterior of the city in which the democratic majority usually ranged from seven to nine hundred, were united to the adjacent counties (rural), and embraced in the 3rd Congressional District, leaving the remainder of the wards into which the city was divided, for the 4th Congressional District. This was accomplished without any reserve or concealment on the part of the whig majority then swaying the legislature of Maryland—and the city of Baltimore was re-organized and re-divided into wards to make the arrangement effectual. At the first election which followed this scheme of political gerrymandering, which has become unfortunately too common in the partizan strifes of the day, bitter dissensions within the whig party caused them to present two candidates, the one regularly nominated by the whigs, and the other by a faction of that party—then calling themselves *Native Americans*—this dissension elected the democratic candidate—but still leaving the majority with the united vote of the two whig candidates. In October, 1847, both parties presented a single candidate, the Hon. John P. Kennedy being the candidate nominated by the whigs, and Mr. McLane by the democrats.

There has rarely been a canvass conducted in the city of Baltimore, in which greater zeal, activity and ability was manifested, than in that of

1847. The country was in the midst of war—the administration was being denounced as the immediate cause of that war—which was stigmatized as unjust, aggressive, and dishonorable. Mr. Kennedy was an experienced and favorite statesman of his party. He had for many years represented a portion of the city, which was by action of the legislature held at the command of his political friends. At the preceding October election, he had been chosen to the legislature,—the usual democratic majority in the city of Baltimore having sunk to a tie-vote, and he had then fully participated with political friends in the issues of the day.

The canvass was conducted by Mr. Kennedy in oral appeals to the people, and in a series of addresses to them in the public newspapers—three of the four political papers then published in Baltimore being at his command. A joint canvass had been proposed, but declined, owing to Mr. Kennedy's health. Mr. McLane conducted his canvass in full discussions before the people of the issues presented by his opponent in his addresses through the press. He opened the canvass on the 12th of September, in an address, which at the time, won high encomiums from many of the leading democratic presses in all sections of the confederacy, and from none more liberal praise than that which was bestowed upon it by the veteran and far-seeing conductor of the "Washington Union." In this speech, he (Mr. McLane) treated the various political topics of the day, and more especially those relating to the policy of the then existing administration, in a manner evincing that he had not presented himself to the people of his district for a seat in Congress, without having first properly prepared for a bold avowal and able advocacy of the principles and measures of the democracy. Indeed, no previous emanation from his voice or pen had given superior evidence of his practical discernment, soundness of principles and power of illustration. In this, he most effectually exposed the fallacy of a National Bank, in view of the prosperity of the country and the dangers of such an institution. He also therein ably defended and sustained the administration in the prosecution of the Mexican war, placing in bold and triumphant relief, the causes from which it arose. Mr. McLane also took occasion to review with scathing severity and touching eloquence the resolutions of the legislature of Maryland, denunciatory of the war, (in favor of which his opponent voted,) in his clear and forcible exposition of the righteousness of our cause. This canvass closed on the first Monday in October, in Mr. McLane's triumphant election—his majority being about 541—a majority equal to that generally given by the entire city—and which added to the majority of the democratic wards attached to the 3rd Congressional District, gave the democratic party 1,500 majority in the city of Baltimore. An unprecedented victory in this strong hold of his party.

In December, 1847, when the first session of the 30th Congress opende, the Mexican war still existed, and the opposition were more vehement in their assault upon the administration than at any former period since its commencement. The military movements upon Vera Cruz and the city of Mexico, under the direction of General Scott, had withdrawn from General Taylor the principal part of the army then in the valley of the Rio Grande, and upon the plains of Saltillo. The battle of Buena Vista had left the defensive lines in this quarter, comparatively secure; but General Scott was at a stand, half way on his march to the city of Mexico, calling for re-inforcements; while Santa Anna, abandoning all hope of disturbing our positions in the northern states of Mexico, had fallen back

rapidly to the assistance of those then in front of our "*army of the south.*" The President laid before Congress in December 1847, a full history of the war, and of the existing necessity for an additional military force of ten regular regiments, not less, for the successful prosecution of the war, than for the immediate safety of our people then in the heart of Mexico. This call of the executive, was responded to by a *howl* of opposition—the war itself was again, and more fiercely than ever, denounced as unjust, aggressive, unnecessary and dishonorable; the mode and manner of conducting it, was denounced as weak and unsuccessful, and the objects for which it was prosecuted, were held up to the scorn and indignation of the country. It was boldly announced by the highest statesmen in opposition, that no re-inforcement should go to Mexico for the further prosecution of the war—a war caused, they alleged, by the unconstitutional or unwise and incapable conduct of the existing administration. Added to these direct assaults upon the President, efforts of the press and of gentlemen in opposition, participating in the congressional debates, were strenuously and earnestly made to foment differences and difficulties between the government and the military commanders at the head of our armies. In a word, the opposition was fierce and ruthless, and their points of attack extended over the whole field of action, commencing with the policy of the democratic party in the acquisition of Texas, to the commencement of the war, and through every step of its prosecution, to the very moment when Congress was called on in December, 1847, to vote men and money then indispensable to the prompt and successful termination of hostilities

On the 19th day of January, 1848, Mr. McLane first participated in these debates. In his speech upon that occasion, he covered the whole policy of the administration and the democratic party; he admitted that the war had resulted from the annexation of Texas, and he approved the policy of annexation; but hostilities, he said, were commenced by the aggressive act of Mexico. Congress, and not the President, he contended, was responsible for the annexation of Texas; and the allegation that the act of hostility which commenced the war, was the act of the President, he successfully and triumphantly repelled; not only in view of the allegation that the army was ordered beyond the Neuces in violation of the law of annexation, but also, (in view of the modified form of attack,) that it was ordered there *unwisely*, howsoever *constitutional* might have been the power of the President thus to direct it. He observed, not only that this portion of Texas was the country actually *revolutionized and embraced within the republic of Texas*, but further, that a position within the country between the Neuces and the Rio Grande was absolutely necessary to enable our troops to subsist themselves and maintain a position of which they could repel an actually impending invasion of the whole state of Texas, destined and proclaimed by Mexico, as directed to the conquest of the entire state, east to the Louisiana boundary.

The position so taken, he proved to be the result of military necessity, and recommended as such by the military commander, General Taylor, then at the head of our force. Having thus indicated the necessity and the honorable character of the war, he urged its prosecution with all our vigor and skill, to the prompt subjugation of the power that governed Mexico, with a view to dictate a peace, which, he said, should "*illustrate our humanity, our wisdom, and our justice*"

He supported the policy of the administration, recommending the acqui-

sition of territory as an indemnity for the misconduct of Mexico—but urged the mountains of the Sierra Madre, as the proper limit of boundary, with a view to future security against the factions and the violent character of the Mexican government. But while he thus acquiesced in this policy, he avowed his own preferences for one which would reject all *territorial acquisition*, demanding *commercial indemnity*, reducing the central government of Mexico to complete subjection, leaving the several states of Mexico to their own independence in all domestic and municipal matters, subordinate only to such commercial regulations as we might impose upon the central government, and to enforce which, the Castle at Vera Cruz alone need have remained in our possession. He concluded by a review of the vexed question of congressional interference with domestic slavery, in which he fully and at that early day, committed his best judgment and earnest convictions to the policy of *congressional non-interference*, leaving to the people inhabiting the territories, the right to regulate their own municipal relations and laws, restrained only by the limitations enforced by the federal constitution, to which all—whether states, territories or people, were alike bound to render deference. This speech gave great satisfaction to his friends, who at once perceived in it the result of his long and severe military training, rendering him more competent to the satisfactory elucidations of a subject like that involved in the discussion, than any other member of the House. It elicited the attention of the opposition and was replied to by Mr. R. W. Thompson, of Indiana, who was at that time the most competent orator on the whig side of the chamber, as well as a gentleman of high general character, occupying a distinguished position in his party. Mr. Thompson enforced the views of the moderate whigs, as against the war, and took issue with Mr. McLane upon his historical argument. Mr. McLane rejoined as soon as he could at the hour on the first of March, 1848, and successfully maintained his points, notwithstanding another reply from his opponent. No effort of that memorable session, was of more direct political importance than the short speech of our subject, to which we here refer. Mr. Thompson always adroit and plausible, had interposed the sanction of the deservedly influencial declaration to break the force of Mr. McLane's positions, which, if correct, convicted the opposition of factiousness, sympathy with a foreign enemy, and predetermination to falsify the truth of history to accomplish a mere partisan end. That his short rejoinder was indeed triumphant, may be gathered from the fact that, in the soon succeeding presidential contest, the points made out by Mr. McLane on this occasion, became among the most important arguments, relied on by the democracy from Texas to Maine, to justify the war on our part, as one brought on by the act of Mexico herself.

On the 21st of March 1848, Mr. McLane again addressed the committee in reply to Messrs. Stephens, of Georgia, Schenck, of Ohio, and Hubble, of Texas, in their policy of conducting the war; the President had been charged with blunder upon blunder, and finally it was alleged in the debate that he had actually conspired against his own generals and his own army, to effect their disgrace and overthrow. Mr. McLane intimately familiar with the military features of the campaign, illustrated forcibly the sagacity and address of the administration, and the consumate ability with which the political and military combinations of their policy was effected, showing how entirely both Generals, Taylor and Scott, concurred, each on their own responsibility, and without conference, in all the mili-

tary combinations in question; while the political features of this policy had even then commanded the approbation of statesmen, in opposition, of the highest attainment. These three speeches on topics involved in the war policy of the government, gave Mr. McLane his high position in the council of the country, demonstrating as they did most forcibly, that the future labors of their author were destined to be of prime service to the cause of democratic supremacy.

Mr. McLane participated in the general legislation of that Congress with zeal and effect, having been early placed on the Committee on Commerce, one of the most important branches of the organization of the House. As the representative of a commercial constituency, he felt bound to devote much of his time and talents to that branch of the public business. Thus, enjoying an opportunity to serve more especially the great class of our fellow citizens engaged in commerce, he has omitted no effort in his part to do so effectually. In the discharge of the duties of his position on the Committee on Commerce, Mr. McLane has become justly distinguished as a political economist of far-seeing sagacity, rare indeed in one of his age and comparatively short congressional experience. His recommendations in this connection are always bold and liberal, rejecting more or less of the restrictive views which are at times urged by many of our political friends. Mr. McLane still holds to the constitutionality and propriety of many interval improvement objects, which, though received with disfavor now, by a majority of his fellow southern democratic representatives, were held by the democracy, in the times of Monroe and Jackson, to be legitimate objects for the expenditure of public money and the exercise of the fostering care of the general government.

On the 10th of July, 1842, he participated in a very stirring debate, on resolution (introduced by Mr. Stephens, of Georgia,) which raised an issue in regard to the rightful boundary of Texas and the legality and propriety of civil government in New-Mexico. This debate was one of violent denunciation on the part of the opposition, and extended itself to the financial condition of the country. Mr. Stephens, and Mr. Schenck, of Ohio, conducting the assault, while Mr. McClelland, of Illinois, and Mr. McLane, stood on the defensive. Our present purpose is only to refer to the latter. However, his argument admitted and defended the claim of Texas to the Rio Grande—recognized by every branch of our government, and particularly by the President and the Senate; admitting which, he defended the temporary civil government recognized by the President within the limits of Texas at Santa Fe, and showed most conclusively that the government actually recognized and approved by the President, was one of very limited and confined functions, not extending beyond the necessity of war, and the actual possession of such territory by the enemy, dispersed thereof by our troops; conclusive illustrations from the official records of the political and judicial department of the government sustained his position. He then replied to the allegations of the opposition; that the President had deceived the country, by representing the public debt created by the war, at about half its actual amount. Mr. McLane entered into a minute examination of the estimates, and showed the public debt of the war would be seventy-five or eighty millions of dollars—instead of one hundred and twenty millions, as represented by the opposition in this debate. A year later, when peace was restored, and the fiscal affairs adjusted—*eighty* millions, was the ascertained debt. Reference is made to this debate, not alone to call attention to the exact

exhibit of our affairs given by Mr. McLane, but because the debate itself was one of great interest and point, and embraced the most interesting topics of the day.

In August of that year, he spoke upon the Illinois Railroad Bill, in which speech he re-capitulated briefly the views upon the question of internal improvement, which he had laid before his constituents before his election. In this speech he said:

"*If he rightly understood the issue on the question of internal improvement, it lay in the different opinions entertained as to the power of government under the money clause, and as to its right to do whatever was necessary to carry out the grants of power in the Constitution.*"

He then denied the power of the Government under the money power, or in virtue of any power, to appropriate money for what was termed a national or general system of internal improvement. But he admitted the power of Congress to provide for the construction of public works, necessary for the defense of the country, or directly connected with foreign or domestic commerce, *as regulated by Congress.* Reference is made to the speech, for a full illustration of the argument and its application. That his opinions on this topic is so full of interest, may be understood, we have, in the foregoing remarks, had no other purpose than to state the conclusions, &c., &c. In the second session of the thirtieth Congress the slavery agitation was the engrossing topic. At this session Mr. McLane spoke on *Gitt's* resolution, to provide for abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia. He contended that Congress had *exclusive* but not *omnipotent* legislative power over the district—which was ceded to the federal government *for a purpose!* All legislation necessary and proper to accomplish *that purpose* he held to be constitutional. But to abolish slavery was in no sense necessary for that purpose. And, again, he contended that the powers *expressly* given to Congress in regard to slavery, implied a prohibition against the exercise of all power, not embraced in the expressly granted powers. And again, the Constitution provided that private property cannot be taken for public use, without compensation. This grant was tantamount to an express prohibition against taking it for any use *but a public use*, and *abolition* or *emancipation* he said was not a public use. His conclusion was, that Congress could not touch slavery in the District of Columbia without an enlargement of constitutional power. Though he explained fully to the House that the slave trade complained of in the District, was forbidden by the laws of Maryland at the time of cession, and that such a trade only existed by the laws of Congress—a repeal of such laws would leave the Maryland law in force, and abolish the slave trade, and he advocated such a course of legislation. After this congressional service, he had entertained the intention of an exclusive devotion to his profession—but a deference to the wishes of his friends, and what they considered most conducive to the public no less than to his own interest, made him a candidate for re-election in October, 1849. The 4th Congressional District, which he represented, had fallen back again to the whigs, at the presidential election, in the preceding year, and great anxiety was felt, that he should redeem it once more, not less in vindication of his own character at home, than in view of the nearly balanced state of parties in the new House of Representatives. The canvass was earnestly and zealously conducted. His opponent, Major John P. Kennedy, was a gallant officer who had distinguished himself in the Mexican war, and an ardent supporter of the present

administration. A majority of some 950 for Mr. McLane was the triumphant result.

On repairing to Washington at the commencement of the present session of Congress, the name of Mr. McLane was promptly brought forward in connection with the democratic nomination for the speakership; it being urged that while acceptable to the "old line" democrats of the House, no other gentleman of the party could so surely concentrate upon himself, the votes of all the southern democrats, and it might be of half a dozen whigs. But believing the position due to the previous services of his able and patriotic senior in congressional life, Howell Cobb, of Georgia, Mr. McLane promptly and publicly declined permitting his friends to urge his name in caucus. The writer cannot pass over the long and trying struggle for this speakership, without remarking that, the conduct of Mr. McLane, on the floor and elsewhere contributed perhaps, more than that of any other gentleman of the House, to secure the eventual triumph of the democratic nominee.

In organizing the committee, Speaker Cobb paid Mr. McLane, though so young, the compliment of placing him at the head of the Committee on Commerce; after the Committee of Ways and Means, perhaps, the most important committee of the House. But Mr. McLane had previously discharged the duties of a member of that committee, wherein his professional knowledge as an engineer as well as his fine attainments as a commercial lawyer, rendered him most efficient in the protection of the interests of that most valuable class of the community engaged in commercial pursuits.

Mr. McLane has taken, as usual, a very active part in the business of the House during the present session, no other democrat being more relied on to conduct one side of the war of motions and counter motions of points of order, and explanatory speeches upon which the fate of each closely contested measure rarely fails to turn. Upon the great question of the day, the settlement of the difficulty now threatening to destroy the union of these States, Mr. McLane took ground among the moderates, being emphatically a compromised man. Having had occasion more than once since December 3, 1849, to address the House upon this subject, Mr. McLane has urged with vehement eloquence and convincing power, the justice of the demand of his section of the confederacy for a participation in the enjoyment of territory won by the expenditure of the common blood and treasure of the people of all our sections and states. Yet, he has not failed to evince a readiness to give up a portion of the clear rights of the South, for the restoration of the peace and harmony, the brotherly love and community of interests, which, until recently, bound together the hearts of the people of the different sovereign states, as one great nation.

But this sketch is already too long. The writer has sufficient material by him to make volumes of interest rather than pages. His purpose, however, is but to make the democracy of the country more intimately acquainted with another whose career of public usefulness has been well nigh unprecedented in the annals of the statesmen of America. Of the untiring activity of mind and energy of character, of a quickness of perception most remarkable, of sound and practical judgment of men and things, of unswerving devotion to the principles of the democracy, and of great personal popularity, Mr. McLane bids fair, at some future day, to contend successfully for the highest honors of the republic.

FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL REVIEW.

During the past month money has continued to be very abundant in the Atlantic cities, extraordinarily so for the season, and it presents the feature of being more generally diffused; that is to say, the number of lenders is much greater than before known, showing a more general participation in that prosperity which, in the aggregate, is so apparent in the country. The amount of individual indebtedness on credit operations, is probably very small, although the amount of bank operations is increasing. Thus some valuable tables, compiled by a gentleman of great ability at Washington, shows the leading features of the banks of the Union to have been as follows, at the commencement of the present year, as compared with former ones:

BANKS OF THE UNITED STATES.

	No. of Banks.	Capital.	Loans.	Specie.	Circulation.	Deposits.
1830	330	145,192,268	200,451,214	22,114,917	61,323,898	55,559,928
1836	713	251,875,292	457,506,080	40,019,594	140,301,038	115,104,440
1840	901	358,442,692	462,896,523	33,105,155	106,968,572	75,696,857
1842	692	228,271,797	323,957,569	28,440,423	83,734,011	62,408,870
1843	691	228,861,948	254,544,937	33,515,806	58,563,608	56,168,623
1848	751	204,833,175	344,476,582	40,369,765	128,506,091	103,226,177
1850	829	217,317,211	364,204,078	45,379,345	131,306,526	100,536,595

From 1830 to 1836, the speculation mania raged. In May, 1837, all the banks failed; an attempted resumption in 1839, on a credit basis, resulted in renewed failures; and a general resumption took place only in 1842. The process of liquidation effected the reduction apparent, between the returns of 1840 and that of 1843. Since that time, securities have been increasing; not, however, upon credit. The production of exchangeable goods has increased, and the interchange swells the legitimate bank credits; but these represent always goods, the sale and consumption of which extinguish the credits created by their production and interchange. In this respect the decade closing with the present year, presents a marked contrast, in many respects, to that which ended with the year 1840. That period was one of extraordinary credit operations. The spirit of borrowing seemed to possess the mercantile world, and the apparent prosperity which everywhere attended these operations, seduced thousands from productive industry into the path of speculation. From London, as a common center, money flowed out to every section of the commercial world, and every description of paper was employed, as a means of obtaining it. All classes contracted obligations without hesitation, perfectly reckless of consequences. The result was general ruin, indicated in vast sums of indebtedness, embraced to the extent of over 200 millions in the bank table, and for which there was no possible means of liquidation. The demand for a bankrupt law became one of the issues on which the election of General Harrison turned, and the success of that election, if it produced no other good, afforded the means of estimating the extent of the mischief resulting from former federal measures. The number of applicants for relief under the law, was 33,739; their creditors

numbered 1,049,603, and the amount of their debts reached the incredible sum of $440,934,615; the assets, mostly nominal, $43,697,307. There were, therefore, more than $400,000,000 of debts for which there were no means of payment, and doubtless as much more was compromised and settled without the agency of the Courts. Such was the result of ten years' credit operations.

In the last ten years, nothing of that system of credits has existed; speculation, as such, has scarcely shown itself; capital, instead of being applied to lending as formerly, under the notion that by such means "resources were developed," has been more directly applied to the operations of industry. Public works, factories and industrial employments, have occupied capital more than banks. As a consequence, exchangeable products have multiplied in quantities, instead of being consumed on credit. As an example: Capital was applied in Massachusetts, as follows:

	1830.	1840.	1850.
Bank capital	$19,295,000	38,280,000	32,985,000
Railroad capital	....	22,180,000	50,404,825

An application of $20,000,000 to lending institutions resulted, in the ten years ending with 1840, in bankruptcy, and $30,000,000 of debts in that State, were settled by the general bankrupt law. An application of $28,000,000 to the construction of railroads at the end of the present ten years, finds the outlay productive, yielding, on an average, 7 per cent., and the general prosperity greater than ever.

But at the South and West the change is still more marked. Capital in the former period was borrowed in Europe and at the North, for the purpose of lending it to planters to buy land and negroes for the raising of cotton. As a matter of course, the money was lost. Since then, industry has been more directly occupied in productive employments. The State of Alabama affords an instance. In 1825 the State Bank was established, owned exclusively by the State. Its capital was borrowed on the bonds of the State. This concern was, with its Mobile branch, pretty well managed up to 1832, when hazardous credits began to form part of its operations. The Montgomery branch was then established. The loans, from 1,000,000 in 1830, swelled to $26,000,000 in 1837, when the banks all suspended. The State, owning the bank, and being of course the general creditor, passed a law authorizing the suspension and extending all debts due the concern at the same time, and borrowing $7,500,000 additional on its bonds to relieve them. This sum made $15,700,000, which the State invested in banks in seven years ending in 1837. Under the Bankrupt Act of 1841, $31,000,000 of debts were settled with $126,000 of assets. The banks went into liquidation, and have since been slowly collecting what they could; and the same class of creditors pay better in the South than at the North.

In the last ten years individual capital has accumulated in that State, and coal and marble have been discovered and mined to a considerable extent. The coasting tonnage owned in Mobile, has increased from 8,546 to 17,982 tons; but the industry has run mostly into factories, and there is now a capital of $7,000,000 invested in manufactories in that State. Many of these factories yield dividends of 8 to 30 per cent. We are, in connection with Northern interests, to contrast the effect of this employment of capital with that of bank credits. Thus, when Alabama borrowed money for banks at the North and in London, she never actually got it. Her banks discounted the notes of mer-

chants who bought goods at the North, and with the bank bills bought the exchange, which the bank drew against the proceeds of stock, mostly at the Phenix Bank, New-York. Thus the pay for the stock was actually received in goods, which were sold and consumed on credit. Seven millions of Alabama capital is now actively employed producing those goods which were before purchased at the North. For instance, at Prattville, Antauga county, the factory of Mr. Daniel Pratt not only supplies the whole market in that neighborhood, but exports largely to New-Orleans, where it competes on very favorable terms with the best description of Northern goods, and the profits of the establishment are known to be greater than of the same amount of capital employed in cotton growing. At Tuscaloosa, Huntsville, Montgomery, Mobile, &c., factories are constantly increasing. In point of freight, commissions, insurance, &c., those factories have a great advantage, and more particularly in choice of clean cotton. The extent to which capital is running in this direction in the South is hardly appreciated, but it should be borne constantly in mind by the Northern dealers, because the influence of steam machinery, operating upon the natural advantages of the South in respect of raw material and the successful application of slave labor, is destined very speedily to produce a more severe competition with the Northern factories than can by any possibility ever be again experienced from any European or English competition.

In the neighborhood of all cities throughout the country, the operation of cheap and rapid transportation, makes available great quantities of produce that before would not pay to send to market; and as production is the source of demand, this increased consumption of produce requires greater quantities of goods in payment. To this influence of railroads may be ascribed the evidently large consumption of goods now going on. The imports and exports of the port of New-York, during the fiscal year ending June 30th, have been as follows:

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS PORT OF NEW-YORK, 12 MONTHS ENDING WITH JUNE.

Imports.	Specie.	Dry goods.	Other dutiable.	Total.
1849	$2,813,380	$41,916,546	$36,666,777	$89,425,282
1850	10,502,115	50,960,328	44,399,297	113,752,618
Increase	$7,688,735	$9,048,782	$7,732,520	$24,327,336

Exports.	Specie.	Foreign.	Domestic.	Total.
1849	$4,739,903	$3,553,885	$33,166,339	$41,460,127
1850	5,885,103	5,433,841	$33,227,676	44 546,620
Increase	$1,145,200	$1,879,956	$6,137	$3,086,493

It is here observable that the importations of dry goods are larger than of other descriptions. The proportion of dry goods imported into New-York is generally three-fourths of that of the whole country. Thus the official returns for 1849, gave an importation of $13,804,606 of woolen goods for the whole country. The quantity which paid duty in New-York, was $9,488,600, or about three-fourths. This year the amount imported into New-York, is $14,877,122, being an increase of nearly 60 per cent. This is a pretty large supply of foreign goods, against which our manufacturers have to contend. Now, it is evident that, unless a very considerably enhanced demand for consumption has existed, these foreign goods must have displaced much cloth of domestic manufacture, and given ground for some of the complaints we hear

from protectionists. In this case, of course, the raw material would be depressed in price, and the growers suffer; but we may look a little into this also. The following are quantities of wool imported into the United States in four years, together with the deliveries per New-York and Pennsylvania canals:

	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.
Import value	$1,134,226	$556,022	$857,037	$1,177,347
" average, lb.,	7 cts.	7 cts.	7¼ cts.	6¾ cts.
Import, lbs	16,558,247	8,460,005	11,381,429	17,869,022
N. Y. canals	8,866,376	12,044,000	8,729,407	12,731.402
Penn., "	3,403,161	4,281,987	2,936,133	5,113,076
Total canals	12,269,537	16,325,987	21,665,540	17,844,478
Total canals and imports, lbs.,	28,827,784	4,785,992	23,046,969	35,713,500

Now, in the face of an import of goods increased 60 per cent. on one hand, and a supply of raw material enhanced 50 per cent. on the other, the manufacturers have eagerly bought their increased supply at 6 a 7 cents higher prices. The quotations in New-York in July, and for the corresponding day last year, are as follows:

	Saxony fleece.	Merino.	No. 1 pulled.	Lambs, No. 1 pulled.
1849	37 a 38	33 a 34	24 a 26	26 a 33
1850	43 a 45	39 a 41	32 a 33	33 a 34

What is true of woolens is true also of most of the other articles of import, with the exception of cottons, of which the quantity imported has not been larger than last year. The table of imports shows an excess of nearly five millions in the specie imported from abroad.

The returns of the banks of New-York city down to the close of June, show a considerable farther accumulation of specie as well as extension of loans and discounts. In fact, the accumulation of credits now is greatly in advance of any previous period. The leading features are as follows:

BANKS OF NEW-YORK CITY.

	June 30, 1849.	Dec. 29.	March 30.	June 29, 1850.
No. of Banks	25	26	28	28
Capital	24,657,890	25,439,990	26,740,245	27,294,530
Loans	50,260,488	53,360,050	56,420,647	59,888,176
Specie	9,586,308	7,169,016	6,861,501	10.650,290
Circulation	5,539,572	6,013,349	6,725,688	5,924,786
Deposits	27,227,134	28,868,488	32,067,937	35,861,139

Throughout the year there has been a steady increase in the movement. The loans have increased over nine millions, or 20 per cent., while the deposits have increased in a greater ratio. That is to say, the means of the banks—capital, circulation and deposits—were in June, 1849, $57,424,596, and are now $69,074,455, being an increase of 12 millions, independent of bank balances. Of this amount, a little over one million has been invested in specie, and 9,600,000 in loans. This immense increase of means has manifested itself gradually throughout the year, and the amount of specie in the city has progressed as follows:

	June, 1849.	Dec.	March.	June.
In bank	9,586,308	7,169,016	6,861,501	10,650,291
In governments	1,086,581	2,445,295	4,541,899	2,689,147
Total, New-York	$10,672,889	9,614,311	11,403,400	13,339,438

The amount of specie in the city is thus, it appears, greater than ever, and has accumulated largely in regular balance from abroad, in importations from California, and in course of exchange from the South and West.

The receipts of gold at the United States Mints have progressed as follows:

	California Gold.		
	At N. Orleans.	At Phil.	Total.
In 1848	....	44,177	44,177
Jan. 1, to August 31, 1849	175,918	1,740,620	1,916,538
August 31 to Jan. 1	489,162	3,740,810	4,229,972
Jan. 1 to Feb. 28	938,050	2,974,393	3,912,443
To March 31	365,869	1,296,321	1,662,190
March 31 to May 1	293,130	1,813,002	2,111,132
May 1 to July 19	no report.	6,140,677	6,140,677
Total	$2,267,129	17,750,000	20,017,129

Of this very considerable amount, over 17,000,000 has been received in ten months, being at the rate of more than twenty millions per annum. Since January the receipts have been at the rate of 26 millions per annum, and for the last quarter at the rate of 32 millions per annum, showing a constantly augmenting ratio. The excess of import for the year, as per Custom House books, was, to the close of June, nearly six millions at this port, and the influx from all sources could not have been less than $35,000,000. Should the exchanges for the coming year indicate a net export of $20,000,000 of specie, that amount would scarcely cause a stringency in the markets.

DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT.

Most unexpectedly during the past month the nation has been called upon to mourn for its chief magistrate, and perhaps there has never been a more general exhibition of sorrow for a public man, than that which marked the obsequies of General Taylor. Known to the masses of the people only through the brilliancy of the campaign performed by the army under his orders, his name was identified with the military glory of the country, and he had endeared himself to his countrymen as the demonstrator of its prowess, the assertor of its dignity, and the creator of its military renown. Although the performances of General Scott may have been more of a nature to establish a lasting reputation in the chief, they in the public mind followed only as a necessary consequence of what through the operations of General Taylor, the nation was shown to be capable. Hence the pre-eminence of the position of the Hero of Palo Alto. His election to the office of President afforded a marked proof that whatever Republics may have been in ancient days, they are not now "ungrateful." But it speedily became too painfully evident that the curule chair would not raise the reputation of the favorite chief. Each day afforded new evidence that the reputation hardly won on the fields of Mexico was withering in the atmosphere of Washington. The abilities that had so eminently served the country against foreign foes were powerless to preserve the Union from internal traitors. His strict personal integrity did not protect the nation from Galphinism; his own unwaivering patriotism served but as a cloak to the union of Cabinet Galphinism with treasonable Sewardism. The unscrupulous intrigues of sectional leaders found in the corruptions of the Cabinet the ready instrument of that treason which was hourly jeopardizing the fortunes of the Republic. Suddenly, before the mischief was consummated, on the eve of the crisis when expectant infamy was already grasping at its reward, and foreign despots were about to rejoice over a severed Union, a shattered Republic, and a final overthrow of the great principle of self-government,—the unwitting instrument of his country's danger was called away, and the circumstances of his obsequies develop in bolder relief the attachment which exists in the hearts of the people to the Union.

Gen. Taylor was a southern man, and a slave-holder; he had never been known to the people in any public capacity. The first sixty years of his life were spent in continued obscurity. He had, as he told us in his letters, avoided all acquaintance with civil life. The distinctions of party were unknown to him. The great principles of parties which alternately possessed the government from which he held office, had never occupied his mind or attracted his attention. As a subordinate officer, he performed his duties, obeyed orders, and was content. In the course of his duties, he was called upon to fight the battles of the *Republic*. He led the troops of the whole *Union* to victory. The flag of the *United States* floated over the fields he won, and waved from the walls that had been stormed shoulder to shoulder by the bravery of the north and the valor of the south, acting together under his orders. The glories of Lexington and of Yorktown, of Lundy's Lane and of New-Orleans, received new lustre from Monterey and Buena Vista, and his elevation to the Presidency was the deep response from the popular heart, of that chord of nationality which he had so powerfully touched. The national reputation he acquired had no sectional shades in public estimation. It was the successful soldier of the Union that possessed the admiration of every American, from the remote north to the extreme south, and that admiration faded only in proportion as he suffered disunionism to grow under his government. The universal respect paid to the memory of that slave-holding soldier of the Union by the citizens of the north, should be a warning to the Seward disunionists how they press their treasonable designs, or tamper with the integrity of that sacred instrument which, being in accordance with the divine law, is second to no other authority, except perhaps in the estimation of a faith-breaker, a hypocrite, and an infidel.

LITERARY MISCELLANY.

DUDLEY PERKINS AT HIS WRITING DESK.

With a gossip about a night with Shakspeare, Milton, "Goldy," Coleridge, Shelley, Hood, &c.—Perkins' Speech—Interruption—Sparring among Authors, etc.—Doctor Perkins awake—New Books—Literary Portrait Painting—Byron, Cobbett, Moore, &c.—Heavenly Dispensation—Suicide of an Author—"Hurra, for the wormy grave!"—the Morning Watch—with table-talk about many men and things, ending in puffs. By DUDLEY PERKINS, LL.D.

HERE we are at our desk, after putting down the last of several books we have devoted the week of evenings' past to saunter through. We made up our mind to go through them—go over them, dispatch them one and all, and we have succeeded. It was a rash determination, and ill-considered on our part. New books are like new countries, and the traveler through either should make up his mind to clamber over numberless scraggy hills—come in contact with unpleasing precipices—ford muddy and swollen streams—implant his form middle-ways in morasses—and be led out of his way innumerable times by aeriels and will-o'-the-wisps—getting entangled the while in briars and marsh flags, and giant bull-rushes, and webbed weeds, like another Trinculo in company with the Caliban for the time—the author or aboriginal of the book or country.

It is unusual with us to set out on a journey without means and precautions to save and guard us from footpads and surprises; but for reasons, which it would serve no reason to divulge, we issued out into the land of letters—the world of words, we have just traveled through, without any of our well-known caution and self-preservation. Well—after undergoing many of those adventures to which the pioneers of new countries are necessarily subjected, here we are, thank heaven!—in our own chair, and amid our old friends, among

> "———The few, the immortal names
> That were not born to die,"

taking our pipe—the contents of whose bowl has been duly reduced to ashes—from our mouth, and applying thereto a goblet of sparkling Amontillado with our dexter digitals, while our sinister dittos are compassing our bald head and whitened hair, we look

> "Twenty golden years ago"

into the past, when our brown curls gamboled on our not unseemly forehead, and our heart was as joyous, and our soul as sparkling as this cup of sherry which shimmers like liquid gold, as we quiver it to illustrate our simile. Giving a retrospective yawn, we cast our eyes about to disappoint memory, who wants us to look inside or backward; and find that our dear friends, Will Shakspeare—How art thou, Master Will?—and old Milton, like a very saint, with his "darkened eyes," and curling hair, and placid face—and Coleridge in a delirium—and Goldsmith—dear darling Goldy bursting, for he has something really good to say, but can't get it out—and Shelly, "like his own soul soaring"—and Tom Moore concocting a witty song "on Dudley Perkins's Goblet," and a crowd of historians and biographers looking eagerly at us as though they asked Dudley Perkins for an account of himself. And you, John Keats, that "sensitive plant," peep through the paling made by Byron and Tom Hood; and Sam Boyse, who used to write for his bread with his arm out through a hole in his blanket, seems as if he left his "Pantheon" of naked gods and goddesses to sing "The Song of the Shirt," by the way of a joke.

With a very bad face indeed they try to make themselves angry with us, for our not calling to see them for a week. They feign an anger they do not in reality feel, for they know we love them, and that nothing could, would, or should estrange us from them; and it is after many attempts we have succeeded in making ourself look serious at them to give an account of our travels through a realm of letter-press. We joked awhile about their at once subscribing for the Democratic Review, and they should have all "our experiences" in the next number, at which Tom Hood gave a remarkably expressive grin—Milton with a smile said he'd give a check on Simson his publisher, and Boyse, notwithstanding the respectable company he was in, walked on his head in ridicule; for he never had, at once, a year's subscription to the said Review; while Shakspeare avowed that, notwithstanding all Macready's efforts to put money in his purse, and clothe him becomingly, he had'nt had a fraction in his belt-pouch since that execrable Bunn forcibly ejected him from Drury-lane, four years ago—and, said good Will, it is not likely that I shall be out of the difficulty soon, for, here, the old Park is burnt, and the opera is blazing away. Well—said we, Dudley Perkins, Doctor of Laws and Literature—rising, fully impressed with the dignity of the occasion, and of the immortals we were permitted to address—Beloved masters and friends! Elevated as we are by the position into which you have lifted us, we shall strive to make ourselves worthy of your favors—(hear, hear, said Moore)—by doing our best—our very best endeavors, to obtain such benign confidence. Yes, dear friends, it is pleasing in the extreme to be thus in our old days honored with the society which our boyhood looked to (and we were not deceived) as Jove-like—to see before and around us—*him* who lost and regained a Paradise—but who, unfortunately, lost and never regained at once his domestic bliss and the use of his visual organs—*him*, who wrought a Lear and a Hamlet—a Shylock and an Iago—who traced the lovely features of Imogen, and portrayed the sorrows of Hermione. To behold him, who revealed an Antient Mariner, and him, who unbound a Prometheus. Being here interrupted, we helped ourself pretty freely, we confess, to a goblet that stood by, when peals of inextinguishable laughter arose from every side.

"Perkins," said Sheridan, "your linen is slightly soiled!"

"No wonder," said Hood, "for he drank as much ink as would cleanse your character."

"And more than *I* drowned Southey in," sneered Byron.

"And more than Shakspeare blackened Othello with," said some one.

"Fudge," said Goldsmith, knocking the nether end of his gold-headed cane emphatically against the floor.

"Well," said Tom Moore, "what of the Fudges," thinking Goldy made allusion to *his* distinguished "family."

Goldsmith, with all the vanity of a man who had penned the Vicar of Wakefield, pompously asked Moore if he had never heard of a gentleman named Burchill. At which Tom Moore pretended no to have heard, but sang—

"The days are gone. &c.

Many more clever things were said, so quickly though, that we did not catch them; but on directing our attention to our shirt frills, we were thrown aghast by the spectacle there beheld. They were clotted with ink, and our mouth and chin on being presented to a mirror, could not recognize themselves, they were so smeared with the same fluid. We had, by mistake, caught the ink-bottle instead of the goblet, drank the better portion of its contents, and spilt the rest on our face and dress. In this dilemma we instantly prepared for an ablution, and had no sooner dipped our venerated chin into the basin which ornaments the corner of our room farthest from our desk, than we in imagination made a cold-water-cure of ourselves, and awoke—for we had been asleep—we awoke—the ink bottle full, our goblet empty, and our pipe broken—our right

hand grasping the "Ojibway Conquest," by Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowl,* while our head rested on our left, and to our sorrow we found that we must have been talking to the backs of the books before us, instead of being in the supreme presence of our literary gods. Thinking over our dream, it reminded us of what we had set down to perform, and as we have not the least doubt that our old books feel jealous when we devote a week to new ones, we pen our opinions for their sakes as well as for those of our readers; and taking up *Gilfillan's Gallery of Literary Men*,† immediately begin.

Mr. Gilfillan is a word-painter of some notoriety. Not a word-painter in the poet sense—not a word-painter of subjects, imaginative, fanciful or historical, save indeed as men make history. But he is the portrait-limner in words. He etches out a face and figure in syllables, as an engraver with his burin point. He scrapes and scratches and hatches and cross-hatches the copper-plate of his memory, as a mezzotint engraver. He then picks out the light tones, gives the half tints, and makes prominent, in the neighborhood of the principal figure, happy things and pleasing recollections. He carries out his idea of "the head" with much nicety, but it does not strike from either the depth of shadow, Rembrandt-like, or the breadth of light, Paul Veronese-like—the massy tone, Rubens-like, or the beautiful minutiæ or exquisite coloring of Gerard Douw or Daniel Maclise. But a man may be still a good painter, and have not the qualities which elevate those great artists. Mr. Gilfillan can, in our opinion, be better classed as a word-painting Sir Joshua Reynolds, whose portraits have a peculiar brilliancy at first, but on being viewed in a few years from the date of their finish, we find the color faded, the outline occasionally lost, but still conveying the idea of something that once was interesting, like a beauty of eighteen thrown into the disagreeable womanhood of thirty by continued illness and despair. This unfortunate characteristic of Reynolds' picture is only too well known, and accounted for by the experiments in oils and colors he was so constantly in the habit of making. Such, we think, is Mr. Gilfillan's style in portrait painting. He has a peculiar expression, some nice word-coloring—much literary back-ground—clear skies occasionally, though not remarkable for their intensity, and he shades with a clear brush. His pallett is as un-French as possible—it is clean. The remains of used up colors are not allowed to coagulate, and form little hills, and vales, and marshes on it, to the danger of contaminating the fresh material. Altogether, he is remarkably pleasing—very interesting, sometimes catching, and always gentlemanly: arranging his sentences as he would his shirt frills, and knotting his antitheses as he would his neckerchief. This he does occasionally very strikingly, and with effect; but more remarkable for the way it is done, than for its material, bringing to our mind the "girls—come—follow—me tic." that used to be in vogue in our youthful days, the captivating charms of which entirely lay in the knot and streamers, half sailor-like, half Byronic, and not in its silken or cotton stuff.

The author of the "Literary Gallery" is exempt from that prejudice which stains the pen of English writers generally, when speaking on paper of our American land and labors. This is more than once remarkable in his book, but especially in his paper portraiture of Longfellow. This article is very interesting, full of appreciation and justice. The critical discriminations is *neat*, but wants depth.

"Dana has united many of the qualities of Crabbe to a portion of the weird and haggard power of Coleridge's muse. Percival has recalled Wordsworth to our mind, by the pensive and tremulous depth of his strains. Bryant, without a trace of imitation, has become the American Campbell, equally select, simple, chary, and memorable."

Such are some of the outlines of our portrait painter. We think he might

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* The Ojibway Conquest. A tale of the North-west, by Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowl (G. Copway.) 12mo., published for the author by G. P. Putnam.

† Modern Literature and Literary Men; being a second gallery of Literary Portraits. By George Gilfillan. New-York: D. Appleton & Co.

make Bryant more sedate, Campbell more brilliant. The article on Milton is more an allegiance than an analysis—more a homage than a critical inquiry. So much has been written on the subject, and so well written too, it is superfluous to dwell on it, save that we hold with Mr. Gilfillan, "that every one who has been delighted, benefited, or elevated by a great author, may claim the privilege of gratitude to tell the world that, and how, he has." Every reader takes some new view of a book, especially (a professional reader) such a one as sits down with the book to be read before him, (a little to his left,) and a ream of paper for the book to be written, at his right. Such a one is bound to see things different from other people, or, why should he waste time, paper, and bore the public, when so much is to be found on the same subject? We might as well ask the tourists who spend a couple of months on the European Continent, how did they manage to see all they record in their "Books of Travel." We, Dudley Perkins, have often thought of writing a couple of volumes of "Travels in the Holy Land," or "Reminiscences of Greece," or "A Year on the African Coast of the Mediterranean," or "Life among the Japanese," or something of that sort, although we have never spent more than six months "on the Continent" in our lives, and have not been more south-eastward than Florence, nor southward than Algiers. But it is not at all necessary now-a-days that one should travel to write a book of travels. We are fully persuaded we could write a diary of a voyage round the world, which would annihilate Cook's and Anson's, and a life in Africa, that would put Mungo Park to the blush.

To write a Literary Gallery and leave out Milton, would be sacrilege, (though to take him in and murder him, would be worse,) so Mr. Gilfillan sets about sketching his "reminiscences," if we may call them so, of the poet of "Paradise Lost." We glean nothing new from them, and do not think he appreciates "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso" as they ought to be appreciated. He says—"They breathe the sweetest spirit of English landscape. They are composed of every-day life, but of every-day life shown under a certain soft ideal strangeness, like a picture or a prospect, through which you look by inverting your head." Now, if the head is inverted in viewing an object, the object appears to the visual organs turned upside down, therefore cannot be natural; and if Mr. Gilfillan wants to prove that Milton's beauty in those exquisite poems is in being unnatural, we disagree with him in toto; or if he means to insinuate that our poet stood on his head when he wanted to describe English scenery, we demand his authority for such an assertion, never having met (and we are no mean student of Milton or his works) anything to warrant the penning of such a libel. But if he means to account for the "ideal strangeness" experienced by himself, (Mr. G.) by saying that he read them standing on his own head, then we do not doubt him at all, as the rush of blood to his cranium would produce such an effect; nor do we feel inclined to quarrel with such a proceeding on his part, as every man has a right to do with himself exactly as he pleases, but decidedly cannot approve his giving such expressions as critical opinion on works which we look to as ice-creams in the sultry atmosphere of English literature: and writing on such a day as this is, we cannot liken them to anything more refreshing. The papers on Byron and Hood are well done—the latter better than the former, inasmuch as the former was a more incomprehensible being than the latter. That deep insight capable of reading a Byron with all his variableness, our author has not yet; it is an agreeable and well-written sketch. His portrait of Thomas Moore, with the exception of a very few touches, is "weak" and "washy," full of repetitions—scanty in its general appearance—failing to convey the brilliancy, wit or power of the bard of Erin. And who will deny his power who reads his satirical poetry? "He tickles his opponent to death," says Mr. Gilfillan. Read his "Lines on the Death of Sheridan," and tell us is that tickling?—is there no "malignity" in that? You have read Byron's "Monody" on the same subject, no doubt, which, though a fine piece of writing, is not equal to Moore's scathing verses—we should like to have the Prince Regent's opinion of them.

We had almost wished that you were so tickled to death for your want of appreciation—only it would not be quite fair to immortalize a man for his stupidity, when so many men die in obscurity, though gifted with genius. The article on William Cobbett is rather sensible, healthy, and good-tempered. We are vexed, and not occasionally either, at our author's spoiling a good thing by amplification, as in this instance, "Coleridge defined Swift as the soul of Rabelais in a dry place. Cobbett may perhaps be defined as the soul of Swift in a softer, sunnier, *happier* place." Amplification is an instrument of power sometimes, especially when used with heightening expression; but in this instance it falls very weak after the laconic *dry* place" of Coleridge. The "*sunnier, softer, happier*" over-does the thing, and is not expressive after all its straining. There is no strength in it—it is mere wind-bagism. It is the old fable of the frog and the ox. The other portraits in the book partake more or less of the faults of those which we have particularized; with many points worthy of recommendation. They are not truthfully called *portraits*, but outlines and sketches, with color tastefully thrown on here and there, for the sake of effect—like those sketches in which artists record their passing ideas, to be afterwards worked up, grouped, raimented, and formed into solid looking figures and pictures. The literary taste is generally correct, with the exception of those points which we have held up to our readers as erroneous and shallow. We have passed a pleasant hour—albeit it vexed us too—in reading it, more for the recollections it revives, than any solidity of its own. Well, 'tis not every day we get a book that treats us so agreeably; and in good friends with our sketcher, we transplant his portfolio from our desk to a little shelf designed for the reception of such, and take up the next to hand. What have we here?

Desultoria: the Recovered MSS. of an Eccentric.* We learn by the introduction that this work is the offspring of a youth who used to put on airs in imitation of Byron and Shelley—we are sure nature never put them on—who used to affect something of that mystic and unaccountable manner, which was perfectly natural in Edgar Poe, and who used to attempt to pen his morality and mock philosophy in the style of Jean Paul Richter, and who in the end committed suicide. Notwithstanding an exceeding love for the human family, we cannot but admire the young gentleman's good intentions towards the reading community by drowning himself, and we should have been doubly indebted to him if this interesting event had occurred shortly after the commencement of the present volume, which is in shape a sort of diary. For it necessarily would have spared their recovery, besides showing how foolish the recoverer must be in publishing them, and saved readers of general literature from the boring sensation produced by so many pages of affectation and whining nonsense. If a good sentence appears, which there occasionally does, it is so hunted down by a host of evil ones, like the witches hunting Tam O'Shanter, that you lose sight of it immediately in its eagerness to escape from such unprofitable company. Repetition follows repetition, day after day—the same lackadaisical sentiment steals along. The same disjoined, puffed up, word-stretching, and word-diluting vocation holds on to the eccentric through all his make-believe thinking and sage-usurped vanity. Mankind seems to be a great bother to this eccentric, and yet he never tries to do anything to ameliorate their condition, but dashes off to his diary, and scratches away his horrors and self-made sorrows—the world seems to have played him tricks as well as his lady-love, and death appears to have been his favorite study, yet he whines over it unlike our poetic friend who sings—

> "Hurrah, for the wormy grave, boys!
> Hurrah, for the wormy grave!
> When the world is false, or our girl's love halts,
> There's pleasure alone in the grave.

* Desultoria: the Recovered MSS. of an Eccentric. New-York: Baker & Scribner. 1850.

"Hurrah, for the airless grave, boys!
The lonely and deep-delv'd grave!
Where nations are lost, like ships tempest-toss'd,
There's quiet and rest in the grave."

And we'll wager our new pipe and a case of Amontillado that he of the "wormy grave" will never be found doing anything half so rash or ungentlemanly as committing suicide. No. He takes his misfortunes like an Irishman and a true philosopher. The defunct author of Desultoria was always finding fault with the world, with men—in fact with everything, and would dash off into dolorous outcries and humanitarian querulousness:—so "If men would only do this"—or, "How humiliating to man"—and, "Men do this"—and "Men do that." "Men say this," and "Men say that," &c. &c. "The world—oh, the world," and groans and moans through half-a-dozen pages. He does not give a hearty groan or a wholesome curse, but writhes and twists his unfortunate and muddy noddle like a snake making its way through brush-wood. We will quote a page, taken at random, to strengthen our opinion. Here, child, open that book any place you wish, and hand it to us. Here we have it open at page 180, under date June 29th. He went to take a walk in the country.

"After strolling for some miles, I saw and hailed a country melon cart returning home. I asked the *meloner* if he had sold out. No—he had one left, to amuse his salivaries on his way home; he told me, however, that he would sell it to me, as he might meet company on his road, which would occupy his attention, or perhaps furnish him with another. I cruelly deprived him of his only comfort, as he seemed to think it; although I thought his mule might be society enough for him—but mules are very quiet, stubborn, melancholy animals, and may afford no society for man. However these men are always men of thrift, and he preferred money to comfort."

What is he whining about? because he "cruelly deprived" the *meloner* of his melon, which some phantasm in his brain tells him "is his only comfort?" The man himself never said such a thing that we are aware of, but kindly offered it—though more in business than kindness too. That paragraph puts us in mind of those fireworks which dart headlong upwards, and after, as it were, thinking for a moment in the air, twist and twirl and riggle downwards like a fiery corkscrew. Let us look at it again. He meets a meloner who has one melon, and offers to sell it—he buys the melon—"cruelly deprives" the man of fruit offered for sale—gets tortured at the idea—but then thinks his mule good company enough for him, a meloner—but then those mules are mulish—"quiet, stubborn, melancholy"—no company for man. However, this man is unlike other men. He is a *thrifty* man, a mule is society enough after all for him. What does he want of comfort—he prefers money? Readers, 'tis ridiculous to quote any more of the page we promised—that paragraph is quite enough for our purpose and for your digestion.

What have we next? Hand me that thin book, Dudley Perkins, junior. Ah, ha, this is the poetry—anonymous, too—The Morning Watch.* If this narrative poem is a first production, there is much promise in it. The opening is modeled after Coleridge:

"In silence and sadness, cometh the night,
In joy and gladness, cometh the night,
In glory, majesty, and might
Cometh the night!

"But tell me again; what of the night?
Has it a look of calm delight?
Are the watchers out? Are the winds asleep?
How looks the sky? What saith the deep?

"Silently the night comes on;

* The Morning Watch. A Narrative. New-York: Published for the Author by G. P. Putnam.

The first of the moon and last of the sun
Are blended, that they seem but one;
The stars are few that out of the blue,
The high, and scattering haze look through;
But a small white cloud, its plumes scarce stirr'd,
Lies afloat below like a white wing'd bird,
Where up and down from the quiet sea
The lightning playeth noiselessly.
The little white clould would be at rest
It hath couched its head and smooth'd its breast,
But sleepeth not; for aye and ever
And whithersoever
As willeth the wind, it fain must do,
Falling away like a ship hove-to;
And momently as it falls away,
The voiceless thought of the busy day
Around its weary head doth play.

To say the least of that, it is pretty and musical. The narrative is tedious at times, and weak, but has a few good points in it. The verse is occasionally blank and rhyme, and with the meter is at the caprice of the narrative, changing to suit the thought or description for the time. Here is a sweet little picture, though not of high finish:

"Oh, very beautiful is that quiet sea!
Calm as a child on bended knee,
That whether waking or half-sleeping,
Trusts so surely in God's keeping;
Murmuring its great thanks so *lowly*,
Yet urging its warm love so *boldly*,
Pausing with the low "Amen"
To whisper to its God, "good night!"
As to some friend 'twill see again,
And welcome with the morning light."

We object to the rhyming of "lowly" and "boldly." We have to find fault with some other false rhymes through the book, which must strike every reader. Here are some verses which remind us of Longfellow:—

"While the world goes round so slowly,
And the stars come down so near;
Witnesses so pure and holy
Of my agony and fear.

"And I turn me from their brightness,
To my lone and darken'd room,
Where my sins crowd in before me,
Adding terror to its gloom.

"Then when slumber God denies me,
And the Christ who for us died,
When my olden mates stand round me,
By my desolate bed-side.

"Then with mocks, and smiles, and dances,
Comes the carnival of sin;
Then my rooms are filled with music;
And the services begin!"

It is time for us to rise up from our desk—ah! our old joints are getting stiff, boy; a couple of strides up and down our sanctum in parade before the great men who are looking on, and we are all right—that pipe—that other pipe—not the broken one—toss out the ashes—refill—now—puff, puff. Now, dear reader, if you could see us, and the thick smoke careering through our room, you would aver our bald head was the morning star just peeping from the clouds of night, or as the air gets more play, and the smoke thinner, sliding off in flakes by our frosty looking pate, you could imagine Mont Blanc rising to the day, as morning brushes the feathery dawn clouds from his hoary head.

Obituary.

It becomes our duty to record the death of Sarah Margaret Fuller, by marriage Marchioness D'Ossoli. She perished with her husband and child, in the wreck of the Elizabeth, on the southern shore of Long Island, near Fire Island, on Friday afternoon of the 19th instant; being on her passage from Leghorn to this port. Thus, in the sight of her native land, and amid horrors appalling to the bravest, this noble woman, with the dearest objects of her affections, met her sad and mournful end. In vigor of mind, depth of insight, the extent of her attainments, and varied culture, she has certainly left behind her, in this country, no superior.

Our readers will be interested to learn that the article in our last number entitled Recollections of the Vatican, was probably the last production of her pen.

A collection of her works will undoubtedly soon be published; which will be to herself a worthy monument, a dear and lasting memorial to her friends, and a noble contribution to American literature.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

The Phantom World: The History and Philosophy of Spirits, Apparitions, &c., From the French of Augustine Calmet; with a Preface and Notes, by the Rev. Henry Christmas, M.A. A. Hart, (late Carey & Hart,) Philadelphia.

For the lovers of the supernatural, this work contains extraordinary interest, combining, as it does, the marvellous superstitions current in the seventeenth century; collected by the learned Calmet, who was a Benedictine of St. Vannes. It is curious that at this moment when "spiritual knocking" have attracted the attention of the credulous, to read accounts of similar modes of conversation with the departed more than two centuries since. Calmet informs us of spirits who, early in the 17th century, conveyed their meaning by knockings, and also by articulate sounds. The whole work is of surpassing interest, as well as a valuable record of the legends of the Church.

The Gallery of Illustrious Americans. New-York: Published from Brady's Gallery.

The seventh number of this great national work is illustrated with an admirable portrait of Audubon, the great American naturalist. It affords another unmistakeable proof of D'Avignon's unrivalled genius and masterly power as an artist. The brief letter-press sketch of the life and character of Henry Clay, by C. Edwards Lester, scarcely covering two pages, affords one of the finest specimens of comprehensive biography that we have ever seen. It condenses many things in a few words; and that without sacrificing that graceful elegance of diction which characterizes the best efforts of the gifted editor.

Turkey and its Destiny: The result of Journeys made in 1847 and 1848, to examine into the state of that country. By Charles McFarlane, Esq., author of "Constantiple in 1828." Lea & Blanchard: Philadelphia.

This work possesses much interest in its graphic accounts of the manners of a people fast passing out from among the nations of the earth. Although it is strongly marked with that ludicrous conceit which induces the English to imagine that their Govern-

ment is of right a protectorate of all others from rum Sambo of Mosquito to the Sultan of Turkey—that they conceive not in accordance with the English ideas. It yet contains very much valuable information in regard to that eastern race, and is exceedingly interesting.

History of the Polk Administration. By Lucien B. Chase, member of the 29th and 30th Congresses. George P. Putnam, 155 Broadway.

The administration of Mr. Polk must, of necessity, stand out in the national history, as one of the most remarkable of the first century of the Republic. Its own brilliant measures will ensure such a result, more particularly that, like a mountain between two valleys, it has on either side an imbecile whig attempt at government. The miserable combination that produced the election and death of Gen. Harrison, revelled only in the corruptions of Tylerism. The very success of the democratic administration of Mr. Polk furnished, in the splendor reflected from the helmet of one of the generals of the war, materials to foist the corruptions of Tylerism again upon the country in the shape of Galphinism, resulting again in the death of the instrument of federal rapacity. The powerful administration relieved by these failures is a worthy theme for the historian, and Mr. Chase has ably discharged the trust. That gentleman, a native of Vermont, represented the 9th Tennessee District in the two last Congresses, and he displays the capacities of an historian as well as the abilities of a statesman. The work has been got up in the well-known style of Mr. Putnam.

Dr. Johnson, his Religious Life and his Death.

The life of Johnson has been written as never was man's life before, by the model of biographers, Boswell; who, although regarded as one of the silliest and vainest of men, contrived to take rank as the first of biographers. He covered the ground completely, giving us the most complete acquaintance with the renowned lexicographer; but the present work is, as its title indicates, confined to the religious character of the Doctor, and is most interesting and instructive.

Chronicles and Characters of the Stock Exchange. By John Frances, author of "History of Bank of England;" first American edition; to which are added, Stock Tables from 1732 to 1846. Wm. Crosby & H. P. Nichols, Boston.

This is an exceedingly interesting work, lifting, as it does, the curtain and showing the secret working of the great paper system, by which the few have in the last 150 years so shamefully plundered the many. We have laid out the volume for a more extended notice.

Hints Towards Reforms, in Lectures, Addresses, and other Writings. By Horace Greely. Harper Brothers.

When the great public mind at times is agitated like a seething cauldron, a sort of frothy scum rises to the surface, and this compilation before us, is emphatically of that character. From its masses of words no useful, tangible idea is evolved, or can be extracted. That such matter should appear in the columns of a daily paper as a bait to a gull-trap, or that a person desirous of hearing himself talk should occupy with it the time of those who will listen, is not surprising; but that it should be deliberately published in the form of a book designed to be permanent, evinces a degree of self-sufficient assurance really wonderful.

Mothers of the Good and Wise. By Jabez Burns, D.D., author of "Pulpit Cyclopedia," &c. Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. Boston.

One of the specific traits of the white race, distinguishing it from the dark and par-

ticularly the black race, is the rank white females hold in society. The institution of marriage early raised females to equality and companionship with the males, and well has the race profited by the operation of this marked character. Nearly all its great men have inherited their prominent intellects from the vigorous minds of their mothers. This fact has often attracted the attention of the observing, and Dr. Burns brings it out agreeably and profitably, by various examples, in this interesting little work.

ICONOGRAPHIC ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SCIENCE, LITERATURE AND ART; systematically arranged; by G. Heck. The text translated and edited by Spencer F. Baird, A.M., M.D., &c. New-York: Rudolph Garrique. 1850.

We have already bestowed a complimentary paragraph on this highly useful, interesting and beautiful publication. The number of portfolios published, up to this period is nine, and we discover no falling off in the excellence of the style of issue, or the value and interests of the literary contents. The articles are of uniform fullness and significance, the illustrative engravings equally numerous and well executed, and the topics treated are of a sort greatly to serve the cause of practical art and science, in every department, particularly among a people such as ours.

GIBBON'S HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co.

This useful edition has been completed. It comprises six volumes of between five and six hundred pages each. With a copious index, a new feature, it is doubtless the most perfect edition of the work that has ever been published in this country, especially if we take into account the economical price at which the volumes are sold.

SHAKSPEARE'S DRAMATIC WORKS, with Introductory Remarks and Notes, original and selected. Illustrated. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1850.

Numbers eighteen and nineteen of the Boston edition have been issued, containing King Richard II., and the first part of Henry IV. Of the thousand and one editions of Shakspeare, that household author, which are annually put forth in this and other countries, it is not incumbent upon the reviewer to speak. But in the case of an edition so very beautiful as the present, combining such rare excellence of style and typography with such marvellous cheapness, we should wrong both public and publisher, were we to withhold our tribute. Certainly, no more exquisite specimen of printing, having regard to the price charged for it, was ever given to the public. A large and beautiful octavo, in a type at once large, new and handsome, on paper of the whitest and thickest, the edition fairly challenges comparison with any that has been issued from the press for the last twenty years. It is issued in parts, each issue containing a complete play, and each illustrated by a fine steel engraving of the heroine of the piece.

A DICTIONARY OF MACHINES, MECHANICS, ENGINE-WORK, AND ENGINEERING; designed for practical working-men, and those intended for the Engineering profession. Edited by Oliver Byrne, author and inventor of the "Calculations of Force," &c., New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1850. Charleston: J. Russell.

We have received number thirteen of this valuable and highly useful publication, and cheerfully commend it to the favor of the machinist and working-man generally. The title, as given above, amply serves to develop its purposes. The highest praise which can be accorded it, seems to be compassed when we state that it fulfils all the conditions which it promises.

A SECOND BOOK IN GREEK: containing Syntax, with reading lessons in prose; Prosody and the Dialects, with reading in verse, forming a sufficient Greek Reader. With a Vocabulary. By John McClintock, D.D., late Professor of Ancient Languages in Dickinson College. New-York: Harper Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff-street. 1850.

This work is intended to occupy that place in the student's preparatory course hitherto filled by "Jacobs' Greek Reader;" and in the clearness and fullness of its

elucidations of syntax, it certainly is superior to most editions of that work; though it contains much less variety of matter, the prose extracts being, we believe, almost wholly from Xenophon's Anabasis. The remarks upon prosody, versification and the dialects form a valuable addition, giving precisely the information needed by the student at this stage of his progress, and which most grammars in use fail to impart. We regret that the author has not thought proper to mark the doubtful vowels in the text; the only sure method, in the present state of classical instruction, of securing accurate pronunciation. We commend the work to the attention and careful examination of teachers.

THE INITIALS: A Story of Modern Life. Three volumes of the London edition complete in one. Philadelphia: A. Hart, late Carey & Hart. For sale by all booksellers in the United States and Canadas. 1850. Price 50 cents.

This novel is said to be equal to "Jane Eyre." We cannot affirm as much, but have no wish to dispute the publisher's dictum. It is a story of life in Germany, and not without interest.

EULOGY UPON THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF JAMES K. POLK, late President of the United States, delivered at Washington City, July 9th, 1849. By Hon. H. S. Foote.

This admirable eulogy by the Hon. H. S. Foote, has been given to the public under circumstances expressed in the following note:

WASHINGTON, July 9th, 1849.

SIR:—The Committee of Arrangements return you their grateful thanks for the admirable manner in which you have complied with their request. to deliver a eulogy upon the life and character of JAMES K. POLK, late President of the United States.

Devoid of fulsome praise, it spoke truth in its most convincing form, and was an effort worthy one statesman, occupying a proud and honorable position, to the memory of an illustrious brother statesman—now no more.

In order that it may be laid before the American people, and in conformity with the resolution of the Jackson Democratic Association, we request of you a copy of your address for publication.

We are, with the highest regard, your obedient servants,

B. F. BROWN,	J. D. HOOVER,
J. E. DOW,	THOMAS J. GALT,
THOMAS RITCHIE,	GEORGE W. PHILLIPS,
JOHN MCCALLA,	Z. W. MCKNEW,

To the Hon. HENRY S. FOOTE. *Committee of Arrangements.*

The oration itself does justice alike to the gifted speaker and illustrious dead, who was its subject; and we regret that the limited space of a monthly publication will not permit a more extended notice.

IMPRESSIONS AND EXPERIENCES OF THE WEST INDIES AND NORTH AMERICA, in 1849, by Robert Baird, A.M. Lea & Blanchard: Philadelphia.

Mr. Baird's book, although of no extraordinary merit or novel pretensions, is characterized by much strong sense and acute observation, liable of course to those national prejudices which are prominent in the English mind. As a whole, however, it will repay perusal. In remarking upon slavery, he truly charges upon the infamous northern abolitionists the prolongation of the hour of emancipation, as the result of their selfish, cowardly and atrocious efforts, to fan a flame for the destruction of others, being in fancied security themselves.

NEW-YORK, PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE; comprising a History of the City of New-York, a description of its present condition, and an estimate of its future increase. By E. Porter Belden, M.A., Projectór of the Model of New-York. Prall, Lewis & Co., 76 Nassau-street.

This, we are pleased to observe, is a third edition of the valuable work of Mr. Belden. It combines a vast variety of information in respect to the city and its progress, compiled with great perspicuity and skill. It is also beautifully illustrated with engravings of the principal buildings and localities.

Engd by T Loney

Printed by J.Dalton

William Strong.

MEMBER OF CONGRESS FOR PENNSYLVANIA

Engraved expressly for the Democratic Review

FIN.

THE

UNITED STATES MAGAZINE,

AND

DEMOCRATIC REVIEW.

VOL. XXVII. SEPTEMBER, 1850. NO. CXLVII.

JEFFERSON AND FOX.

To EXAMINE, define, and illustrate the Law of Human Progress, is one of the most interesting studies to the philosophical mind, and one of the most instructive to the practical man. We do not now intend to enter this inviting field of inquiry. That we live in an era of progress, is an universally admitted truth. That our age is, in this respect, distinguished from the times which preceded it, except in the celerity and vigor of the movement, will hardly be asserted by the student of history. Though the last three-quarters of a century has been remarkable for social and political progress in every part of the world, yet nowhere has the advance been more steady and rapid, or more astonishing and beneficial in its consequences, than in the United States and Great Britain.

An illustrious ex-president* has but recently departed from among us, who saw a few depressed colonies, hovering along the Atlantic coast, achieve their independence, and expand into a republic of thirty sovereign states, stretching its territory from the capes of the Delaware to the mouth of the Oregon, and from the Bay of Fundy to the valley of the Rio Grande, swelling its population from three millions of subjects to twenty-five millions of freemen, becoming richer in all the attributes of true greatness than any contemporary power, and attaining a rank among nations which made its influence potent in every cabinet of Europe, and on this continent supreme.

A distinguished ex-minister† of Great Britain, whose death has just been chronicled, saw the long-waged contest between the throne and the people, between the privileges of the aristocracy and the rights of the commonalty of that country, result in gradual concessions to the demands of the latter, as worthy, on account of their number and importance, to be called a "Revolution," as the events that dethroned the House of Stuart and crowned the Prince of Orange.

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* Gen. Jackson. † Sir Robert Peel.

The progress of society in both these countries, during the period we have specified, was caused mainly by combinations of men in each, organized on similar principles, though bearing different names. In America, this combination was originally called the Republican, and is now known as the Democratic party; in England it was once denominated the Whig, and is now known as the Liberal party. Both these parties were organized at about the same time—we allude to their modern characteristics—and each rallied under a leader of eminent attainments, who held unbounded sway over his followers, and had few equals and no superiors among his contemporaries, whether we regard the solidity of his talents or the lustre of his services. We need hardly add, that we allude to THOMAS JEFFERSON, and CHARLES JAMES FOX.

There were striking points of resemblance, as well as some marked dissimilarities, in the minds, characters, and histories of these great statesmen. The salient point of identity in their characters and histories is, that they embodied in their principles and reflected in their measures, more fully and perfectly than any of their contemporaries, the progressive tendencies of their times, or, in popular phrase, "The Spirit of the Age." To explain our meaning, we will briefly state what seems to us to be the *modus operandi* of Human Progress, not as it exists in our times merely, but as it has existed in all ages.

At no period of the world have human institutions (and we use the term in its broadest sense) been so perfect that they would not admit of improvement; and never so imperfect that the evils they engendered were not surpassed by the blessings they conferred. On examining any era in the annals of the race, we find two classes of men viewing the institutions of their times from widely differing positions, and, as a consequence, placing very opposite estimates upon their value. The ardent, the ultra, the reckless, fix their eyes on prevalent evils, and attribute them to the inherent structure of existing institutions. Regarding the latter as too bad for amendment, they would fain exterminate the former by destroying the institutions. On the other hand, the placid, the inert, the timid, look exclusively at the blessings which surround them, and regard them as the legitimate and sole fruits of existing institutions. So believing, they esteem the latter as too perfect for improvement, and therefore would fain preserve them not only from destruction but from alteration. Occupying a middle ground between these extreme parties—neither of whom is wholly right nor wholly wrong—we discover a third class, who differ in many material points with both the others, and hold many opinions in common with each. This party admit the existence of the evils which the one extreme anathematizes, as well as the blessings which the other idolizes, and would fain exterminate the former while preserving the latter. They are the true eclectics; and searching for the happy medium between complete destruction and unimpaired preservation, they are ready to tear down when demolition will reform, and alert to build up when new creations will improve. Acting as the umpire between these extreme parties, they are able ultimately to win to their middle ground the more reasonable portions of the antagonists, who unite with them to destroy what is evil and conserve what is good in existing institutions, and to make such additions as will impart to them harmony and beauty. This combined party may be denominated CONSERVATIVE REFORMERS.

We by no means intend to say, that the mutual conflicts and partial

conjunctions of these three forces, have invariably been regulated by fixed laws, nor that their operations have always been obvious to the superficial eye. But, that three grand divisions of society, substantially such as we have indicated, have, from the earliest periods, been at work in carrying forward the cause of Human Progress, will scarcely be denied by those who have studied the nature of man and the history of the race.

To this great middle party of Conservative Reformers, belonged Jefferson and Fox. And it is this party which has borne America and England onward in the path of improvement so rapidly during the past fifty or sixty years. We will briefly note some of the steps in the social and political advancement of our own and our father-land during this period.

In America, we have seen a complex and exquisitely balanced polity, created by ourselves without aid from foreign precedents, so administered as to guard the sovereignty of the several states while maintaining the supremacy of the federal head; and laws so framed as to bestow the largest measure of individual liberty consistent with social order—the electoral suffrage extended to the entire body of the people; and the powers of legislation and administration, to an unprecedented extent, taken from select bodies of officials, and restored to the masses of the constituency, making them in fact what they were in theory, "sovereigns"—the common and statute law systematized and simplified, the courts made accessible to the needy, and judges rendered amenable to the people by means of frequent elections—the sanguinary features of the penal code removed, imprisonment for debt abolished, penitentiaries converted into houses of reformation, poor-houses into homes for the friendless, and asylums erected to soothe, educate and restore, the deaf, dumb, blind and insane—the monopolies of banking, trade, and every species of associated wealth, and of the learned professions, either wholly abolished, or compelled to run an equal race with individual competition—the utmost freedom of speech, the press, and of religion, guarantied and enjoyed—rudimental education universally and freely diffused, and newspapers and libraries established in every considerable village—labor, fairly paid and made honorable, uniting with enterprise, skill and capital, to clear forests larger than all England, to construct roads, canals, and railways across states by whose side European principalities dwindle to rural parishes, to invent machinery and establish manufactures suited to our peculiar wants, and to cloud the most distant ports with the sails of our commerce—the national honor maintained on the land and on the sea, while exhibiting the national hospitality by receiving to our shores and admitting to the rights of citizenship millions of the subjects of foreign states—and, in a word, we have seen the capacity of man for self-government vindicated and illustrated under institutions which maintain the supremacy of law without stifling the aspirations of liberty. This brilliant spectacle, unparalleled in the history of mankind, ought to hide even from the eye of envious criticism those few social evils yet existing among us, which time alone can remedy.

During the period over which we have glanced, we have seen the middling and lower classes of England, acting under heroic leaders, explode the dangerous doctrines of constructive treason, modify the law of libel, sedition and conspiracy, and place the freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembling, under the protection of juries—humanize the entire penal code, greatly circumscribe the death-penalty, and secure the full benefits of counsel to prisoners on trial for their lives—remove many

abuses in the administration of the civil courts, make them more accessible to the poor, and simplify the whole body of the laws—render the law of debtor and creditor more tolerant of the misfortunes of the former, and infuse a little of the leaven of charity into the poor laws—make it possible for a landless sportsman to "wing" a pheasant without being himself maimed by a spring-gun, and for a peasant to kill the hare which poached on his beans without expiating his offence on the gallows; extend more widely the blessings of rudimental schools, cripple the educational monopoly of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and give an upward bound to the national intellect, by means of cheap publications, mechanics' institutes, and periodicals conducted on liberal principles; curb the power of the established church, and relieve dissenters from political disabilities and ecclesiastical persecution, by repealing the test acts and emancipating the Catholics; greatly increase the influence of the commonalty, by destroying the rotten borough-system of representation, and extending the suffrage to half a million of artisans, yeomen and shopkeepers; give increased freedom to commerce, by abolishing the East India monopoly, the corn laws, and the navigation laws; improve the administration of justice in the penal colonies, restore nominal freedom to large masses of colonial subjects, and compel ministers to listen to the complaints of colonial legislatures; and, in brief, render the cabinet, the parliament, and the judiciary, more obedient to the dictates of public opinion, and more deferential to the liberalizing spirit of the age. These achievements, so salutary in their immediate consequences, and inspiring so much hope for the future, tend to mitigate the abhorrence with which Christendom views the continued oppression of millions of British subjects, at home and abroad.

Now, we do not assert, that the events we have noted have been produced solely through the agency of the democratic and liberal parties of America and England; but we do say, that, so far as they can be called *political* events, they are the legitimate fruits of those *principles* which are embodied in the creed, and have been reflected in the measures of those parties, and which are not thus embodied and reflected by the federal or whig party of this country, and the tory or conservative party of England.

Though the position of Messrs. Jefferson and Fox, at the head of the democratic and liberal parties of their respective countries, is the salient point of resemblance in their public lives and characters, the likeness between them does not terminate here. Many of the particular doctrines and measures which they advocated or combated, and the events in which they participated or sympathized, were the same, or exhibited striking points of similarity.

Jefferson and Fox entered public life the same year—one, as a representative in the colonial legislature of Virginia—and the other, as a member of the British House of Commons—both being subjects of George III. Both continued in public life nearly forty years, distinguished for extraordinary convulsions, and both bore parts in the great drama of affairs so conspicuous as to make their names familiar in all parts of the world. Though one lived and died a liege subject of his king, while the other early threw off his allegiance to the crown, and took a leading share in a successful attempt to despoil it of its brightest jewel; yet the loyalist was quite as cordially hated by his sovereign as the rebel.

There was abundant cause for this. Few men in the American Congress were more vehement in their denunciations of the ministry for their treatment of this country during the revolutionary contest, than was Fox in the British Parliament. He sided with Burke, Barré and Dunning, in espousing the cause of the colonies, and nightly rained down upon king and minister a pitiless storm of logic, wit, sarcasm and anathema. If to report the Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia, and stake life, fortune, and sacred honor upon the issue, required heroic courage in the favorite son of the Old Dominion, then, to defend that Declaration in Westminster, exhibited courage not less heroic in the classic scion of Holland House. Much as our great citizen rejoiced over the peace of 1783, his joy could scarcely surpass that of the great Commoner. And a king, whose attachment to his colonies amounted to fanaticism, might be pardoned for hating the subject Fox as heartily as the rebel Jefferson.

Jefferson and Fox were the early friends of the French Revolution, deplored the excesses into which it was driven by fanaticism, but vindicated its necessity, gloried in its general principles, and maintained that the sublime doctrines mixed with its fire and blood would ultimately regenerate Europe. The avowal of these opinions drew upon them great obloquy at home, while they endeared their names to the republicans of France. Mr. Jefferson, when the Revolution commenced, was our minister at that Court. His society was sought, not only by Condorcet, D'Alembert, and other men of letters and science, but he was often consulted by Mirabeau, La Fayette, and other leading revolutionists. The Declaration of the Rights of Man was drafted at his house, the pen of the author of the American Declaration bearing a part in its composition. He also assisted in perfecting the first Constitution, which was modeled by a committee sitting at his house. During the same period, Mr. Fox declared the taking of the Bastile as "the greatest and best event that had happened in the century," and he pronounced a splendid eulogium, on the floor of Parliament, upon the Declaration, and vindicated the acts of the National Assembly.

After Mr. Jefferson's return to this country, and while at the head of Gen. Washington's cabinet, occurred some of those frightful excesses in Paris which blanched the cheek of Christendom. Notwithstanding the attack on the Tuilleries, the seizure of the king, and the massacre in the prisons, Mr. Jefferson still clung to the cause of France; combating the sentiments of his colleague, Hamilton; avowing his hostility to the policy of Pitt; and encouraging the hopes of Washington. Here, his sentiments and position were similar to those of Fox in England. The events to which we have alluded filled Britain with alarm. Societies for "Constitutional Reform" had been organized in London. Their avowed object was a reform in Parliament. The character of many of their members, the Duke of Richmond, Fox, Grey, Whitbread, Sheridan and Tierney being of the number, forbid the idea that treasonable designs could have been cloaked under their ostensible objects. The king suddenly convened Parliament, and in the address from the throne declared, that under the plausible pretext of discussing a reform in Parliament, conspiracies existed for overthrowing the government, and that the kingdom was on the eve of a revolution. During the debate which followed, Fox met his royal master with the declaration, that "there was not one fact stated in His Majesty's speech which was not false—not one assertion

or insinuation that was not unfounded. Its prominent feature was, that it was an intolerable calumny on the people of Great Britain: an insinuation of so gross and black a nature as to demand the most rigorous inquiry and the most severe punishment." These words of thunder, aided by the shower of ridicule, glittering with wit and epigram, which Sheridan poured down upon the royal panic-maker, did much to restore the nation to its senses. Two years later, Pitt having resolved to crush the Societies, at all hazards, paved the way for indictments for high treason, by introducing bills to suspend the *habeas corpus*, and to clothe the government with extraordinary powers in arresting suspicious persons. On this occasion, Fox made a stand for the ancient liberties of the people, raising his voice to more piercing tones as the storm increased its rage, and encouraging the few friends of constitutional freedom, who gathered around him, to hope for the rising of a better day for the good cause. The bills passed. Then came the trials of Tooke and Hardy, the splendid exertions of Erskine in their defence, the triumphant acquittal of the prisoners, and the final explosion of the doctrines of constructive treason. We can barely allude to the subsequent struggles of Fox and Erskine to modify the law of sedition and conspiracy, resulting in the carrying through Parliament of a declaratory act, making the jury in such cases "the judges of the law and the fact."

During these perilous times in England, the same antagonist principles were in conflict on this side of the Atlantic. The war was not as fiercely waged; for the friends of "a strong central government," which should have power to arrest "suspicious persons," regarded themselves as farther removed from the contagion of "French principles," than did the same school of politicians in England. The alien and sedition laws, and the frequent prosecutions for libels on President Adams, were shoots of the same soil which produced the suspension of the *habeas corpus*, and the indictment of Tooke for treason, and of the Dean of St. Asaph for sedition. Jefferson, with more calmness, as befitted his more placid temperament, but with not the less vigor, waged the same battle here which Fox fought in England, acting on the principle afterwards announced in his first inaugural message, that "error of opinion may be safely tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it."

We have spoken of the high esteem in which Mr. Jefferson was held by the friends of liberty in France. The war between England and that country, during the greater part of the revolutionary period, prevented Mr. Fox crossing the channel. After the peace of Amiens he repaired to Paris, where he was warmly welcomed by the republicans, much courted by the literary *savans* of the metropolis, and received with marked distinction by the First Consul, with whom he had several interviews. The unostentatious manners, varied acquirements, and lively conversation of both the remarkable men of whom we are speaking, would have admirably fitted them to excite enthusiasm in the saloons of Paris, even though their liberal opinions and early sympathy with the French cause had not inspired the confidence and won the admiration of that susceptible and brilliant people.

The estrangement, growing out of their different views of the French revolution, which took place between Fox and Burke, who had gone "shoulder to shoulder" through the American contest, was not unlike that which occurred between Jefferson and Hamilton. Both the latter had

acted conspicuous parts in the revolution. One had written its Declaration of Independence; the other had contributed to frame its Constitution. Both had the confidence of Washington, and were called to the highest seats in his cabinet. But they widely differed in their opinions of the antagonist policies of France and England, and of the necessity for a strong central government for America, which should curb the expression of individual sentiments, and merge the sovereignty of the states in the federal head. The one became the founder and oracle of the conservative portion of his countrymen, while the other was the recognized leader of the party of progress, whose principles and measures have carried the nation steadily forward in the path of improvement and renown. Yet it is believed that they entertained mutual respect for each other's motives and characters. For twenty-five years, Fox and Burke rarely differed in their opinions of public measures, and they cherished for each other unbounded esteem and admiration. After their separation, the former gratefully said of the latter, that "he had learned more from him alone, than from all other men and authors;" and Burke generously declared, that "he knew Fox when he was nineteen, since which he had risen by steady advances to be the most brilliant and accomplished debater the world had ever seen." The writings of Burke, inspired by the terrors of the French revolution—gorgeous in style, impregnated with philosophy, but displaying a gloomy distrust of the capacity of man for self-government—are still quoted as authority by the alarmists and conservatives of England, while the name of Fox is the talisman of the party whose future triumphs in the liberal cause will pale the brilliant victories already won under the banner which he unfurled in the night of European freedom.

Both Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Fox were in favor of conferring upon the whole people the largest measure of political rights. The early advocacy of this doctrine by the former is well known. He is the oracle of the party that inscribes among the cardinal articles of its creed, equality of representation and universal suffrage, and which has incorporated those principles into so many state constitutions. Nearly sixty years ago, Mr. Fox, as chairman of a committee of an association, called "Friends of the People," made an elaborate report in favor of a reform in Parliament, which should include universal suffrage, voting by ballot, annual sessions, equal representative districts, no property qualification for representatives, and payment of members for services—the very "six points" since advocated by the Chartists. Both these broad-minded men were also the friends of unrestricted freedom in all that pertains to conscience and religion. They were never able to believe, that the best way to convert a heretic was to roast him; nor, that making the profession of a particular creed the necessary passport to political advancement, promoted the purity of the Church; nor, that ecclesiastical anathemas and sectarian acrimony encouraged the growth of that charity which suffereth long and is kind, which beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, and endureth all things. In his youth, Jefferson caused religious liberty to be made a fundamental article in the "Bill of Rights of Virginia;" and the epitaph, of few words but voluminous meaning, which he dictated for his tomb, in his old age, proclaimed him as the "author of the Declaration of Independence, of the statute of Virginia for religious freedom, and the father of the University of Virginia." Two of the earliest and ablest speeches of Fox were against compelling subscription to the thirty-

nine articles as a qualification for admission to the Universities, and in favor of the repeal of the corporation and test acts, of which measures, as well as of Catholic emancipation, he was the steady friend and advocate.

It would compel us to go too much into detail to specify other particular measures, substantially identical, which received the support of these men. Suffice it to say, that in all the contests that occurred during their long and eventful career, they took the side of the people against power, advocating the mental, personal, religious and political freedom of man, irrespective of clime, color, creed or condition.

Fox and Jefferson possessed minds of uncommon native acuteness and vigor, which they amply stored with the treasures of learning and knowledge. Each was the favorite son of a fond father. Fox was nobly descended. His father, the first lord Holland, was an eminent statesman and orator, and his mother was the daughter of the Duke of Richmond. Early discovering marks of extraordinary genius in his son, his father bestowed great pains in affording him a complete education. Jefferson, though his family were respectable, was of comparatively plebeian extraction. His father's early education was totally neglected, but a naturally strong mind and much subsequent reading, supplied in some measure the deficiencies of his youth and raised him to positions of considerable influence. He died when Thomas was fourteen, having previously given him every means of education in his power. As a student, Fox realized the highest hopes of his father by taking rank among the first scholars at Eton and Oxford, where he distinguished himself for the keenness and vigor of his reasoning faculties, and acquired a taste for classical literature, which he cultivated with pleasure and assiduity through life. Jefferson was but two years at college. His favorite instructor, Dr. Small, an enthusiast in physical science, inspired his pupil with that fondness for philosophical pursuits for which he became so distinguished. He studied law under George Wythe, who possessed one of the most profound, acute and liberal minds that Virginia ever produced, and who was an ardent friend of civil and religious freedom. The instructions of this celebrated and influential man were of invaluable service to Jefferson, not only in training his intellect, but in opening to him the road to preferment and distinction. Of him, Jefferson has gratefully said, "He was my faithful and beloved mentor in youth, and my most affectionate friend through life." Fox, after leaving the University, made the tour of Europe; and having reached his majority, he entered the House of Commons, then resplendent with the rising genius of Burke, and the retiring glory of Chatham. In this great school he matured those rare powers of forensic eloquence which ultimately gave him the mastery in an arena where North, Pitt, Burke, Windham, Sheridan, Grattan, Erskine, Canning, Castlereagh and Grey, struggled for supremacy. Jefferson came to the bar under the patronage of Wythe, and was soon after elected to the provincial legislature, in whose proceedings he bore a leading part. During the preliminary conflicts with the mother country, Wythe and Jefferson were among the chiefs of the opposition in Virginia, and when the crisis had fully come, they sat as colleagues in the Congress of Independence, both master and pupil signing the immortal Declaration which the latter had penned. Unfortunately for Fox, extreme indulgence was mingled with parental fondness, and his continental tour, during which he spent some time at Paris and Spa, afforded him opportunity to imbibe those habits of gaming which were the bane of his existence.

The grave duties which occupied the youth of Jefferson, and his remoteness from those "sores on the body politic," (as he has denominated large cities,) combined, with his naturally calm temperament, to save him from those excesses which made Fox their sport. His social habits were as serene and pure as the unruffled sky that arched the summit of his own Monticello. It is a mistake, however, to suppose that the gaming-table engrossed much of the mind, though it dissipated a good deal of the time and money, of Fox. An anecdote illustrates this: One night he had played deep and lost enormously. He seemed much depressed, and on leaving the house his face was uncommonly grave and his air solemn and abstract. His friends were alarmed, and followed him through the streets, at a sufficient distance to elude his observation, while he made his way home. Reaching his dwelling, they rushed in in time to prevent the rash deed of suicide; and bursting into the library found him stretched on the floor, divested of his coat and cravat, his hand grasping, not a razor, but a volume of Herodotus, which he was perusing with the utmost avidity!

Mr. Fox was inferior to few professed scholars in his knowledge of the literature of Greece and Rome. He was well versed in the languages and literature of modern nations, and few of his contemporaries were so deeply read in the general, constitutional and political history of his own country, or so well acquainted with the condition of the nations with which it had diplomatic and commercial intercourse. But, his knowledge of the exact sciences, of metaphysical philosophy, and even of political economy, was confined to the baldest rudiments. His leisure hours were given to society and the classics. He would rush from the Commons at midnight, where he had been grappling with Pitt and his legions for hours, covered with the dust and foam of the fight, and plunge into Homer as into a refreshing bath. During the four years that he almost wholly absented himself from Parliament, through despair and disgust at the turn of affairs, he dwelt in the country, employing his time in gardening, farming, and studying the Greek poets and historians. Here, too, he began gathering the materials for the history which he did not live to finish. The acquirements of Mr. Jefferson were quite as varied as those of Mr. Fox, though not of precisely the same kind. He delighted more in physical science than in classical literature, though he was by no means as negligent of the latter as Mr. Fox was of the former. He was a reader of the best Greek and Roman authors, and was skilled in some of the modern languages. And if Mr. Fox excelled him in a knowledge of the general history of nations, he counterbalanced this by his greater familiarity with the principles of law, mathematical science, and mental and moral philosophy. Mr. Jefferson was wont to escape from the drudgery and irritation of official cares, and relax his mind in the midst of his books and apparatus, and he was peculiarly fond of the society and conversation of learned men. Like Fox, he withdrew some four years from public life, disgusted with the tendencies of the times, and like him he cultivated the earth and enriched his mind, while watching the progress of events, counseling his political friends, and preparing to lead them to victory. Fox's stormy life was arrested in mid-career and in the zenith of his fame. Jefferson spent the long evening of his lustrous day, in the prosecution of his favorite studies, in corresponding with a vast circle of eminent scholars, statesmen and philanthropists in both hemispheres, and in entertaining throngs of admirers from all countries. The libraries, cabinets, galleries and gardens of Monticello,

richly stored with rare books, paintings, statues, and curiosities gathered from all climes, were the favorite resort of strangers and pilgrims from every part of the world, drawn thither by curiosity, or to testify their homage to the liberal patron of science and the illustrious apostle of liberty.

Each of these devoted students became an author. Mr. Fox wrote some highly-commended Latin and Greek poetry, while at school; prepared a few numbers of a paper called "The Englishman," after he became a politician; and in the heighth of his power published a letter to the Electors of Westminster. After his death, his nephew gave to the world, his "History of the Early Part of the Reign of James II.," a mere fragment of his plan of a History of the Revolution of 1688. Though displaying great research and ability, its Thucydidean style exhibits little of that fire which used to electrify the House of Commons. His other writings were confined to official papers. As an author, he is outranked by Mr. Jefferson. The style of the latter is a model of strength, terseness, transparency and grace. His pamphlet of 1774, entitled "A Summary View of the Rights of British America," and addressed to the king, was republished in England under the auspices of Burke, and rapidly run through several editions. His "Notes on Virginia" were republished in England and France, and his numerous Essays on political and philosophical subjects, were extensively read at home and abroad, giving him celebrity as a civilian and devotee of letters and science. His Manual of Parliamentary Practice, prepared when he was Vice-President, is a standard authority in all the legislatures of the country. The four volumes of his posthumous works are replete with instruction and interest to varied classes of readers. His state papers will be cherished by his countrymen while their free institutions endure.

Fox was the greatest debater of modern times. Jefferson never reached even a second or third place as an orator. He never aspired to be an eloquent debater, and is not recognized as a public speaker of any grade. This was undoubtedly owing, in a great degree, to an error in his early training. No person, with such a penetrating mind, such stores of knowledge, such self-possession, and such powers of conversation, as belonged to him, need fail of reaching a high, if not the first rank among orators, *if he will.* Eloquence is not a gift, but an attainment; not an inspiration, but an acquisition. Perfection, or even respectability in the art, can be reached only by the study of the best models, united with unwearied practice. Jefferson was an admirer and student of the rarest models of ancient and modern eloquence. The rest was within himself. He omitted to practice an art whose theory he must have well understood. True, he had a hesitating delivery and a feeble voice. But Fox overcame the former by participating in every debate which occurred in the Commons, and Demosthenes remedied the latter by declaiming against the raging waves on the seashore. Fox was not what, in common phrase, is called "a natural orator." He had to conquer great defects and supply great deficiencies. The means by which he did these he has disclosed. After he had reached the acme of his fame, he said, that on becoming a member of Parliament he resolved to let no question pass, under discussion, without speaking upon it, and to address the House every night. And he added, that he never failed to do so but a few times, and regretted these omissions. Such a resolution would appear absurd in a less robust and

cultivated mind, and its execution by a less vigorous and skillful hand would probably result in making the experimenter, not the first debater, but the greatest bore, of his age. Fox's eminently Demosthenean discipline was only an extreme application of the old rule, that "practice makes perfect." His ambition was to become an orator. He loved the power, but despised the drudgery of office. His road to high station was early obstructed. He took sides with the people against the throne, in the darkest hour of British freedom. His desire to rule a nation, early gave place to his passion for leading a band of followers, of which the country was not worthy. His youthful aspirations to control the policy of a kingdom, were ultimately abandoned for the determination to confound the counsels and conquer the intellects of its rulers. He aimed to become an orator, not in the common-place, nor even in the Ciceronian sense of the term, but an orator that should inform the reason rather than amuse the fancy; that should trace effects down to causes, and causes up to effects; that should convince the judgments and bend the wills, while swaying the feelings and firing the passions, of his auditors. His position as the leader of an Opposition, not less than the texture and temper of his mind, made him rather a debater than an orator. Consequently, his greatest displays were in the reply; his feeblest in the opening. His long service in a minority, and his brief experience as a Minister, rendered him more powerful in attacking the policy of others, than skillful in defending his own. But this defect vanished when advocating the cause of civil and religious freedom. Then his warm soul inspired his capacious intellect, and his mind moved in the sublimity of power when his heart generated the momentum. The distinguishing characteristics of his oratory were penetrating reason, glowing vehemence, and lucid simplicity. These elements constituted that rare union of strength and splendor, which gave him pre-eminence in an age prolific in eloquence.

The peerless men whose characters we are observing, were alike remarkable for gentleness of disposition, simplicity of manners, and comprehensive humanity. MacIntosh says of Fox, that "he united in a most remarkable degree, the seemingly repugnant characters of the mildest of men and the most vehement of orators." With all his vast acquirements, and when swaying the counsels or shaking the senates of a kingdom, he was as free from vanity, ostentation and arrogance, as a child. He has given a definition of humanity, which he illustrated in his acts. Says he, "True humanity consists not in a squeamish ear, but in listening to the story of human suffering, and endeavoring to relieve it." The kindliness, the modesty, the courtesy of Jefferson, were proverbial. The unvarying placability of his temper, disarmed opponents and won very friends. The philosophic placidity which shone so serenely in his social intercourse, made him the delightful companion of the grave and the thoughtful; and his urbanity, lively conversation, and unaffected interest in their prosperity, won the confidence and inspired the admiration of youth. His services in behalf of the middling and lower classes of society, are the enduring memorials of his benevolence and philanthropy. What more humiliating evidence of the blind malignity of party spirit do our times afford, than the fact that both these men were the objects of the unsparing malevolence of their political opponents, whose bitterness, even the grave of the one and the seclusion of the other, were for a long time insufficient to abate.

It is not as the great orator and great writer, that posterity will remember Fox and Jefferson, but as the great actors of their age. Their deeds carried their fame over the world like sunshine; and these will never die. As the mists of prejudice and party clear away, they will disclose few points in the public career of these illustrious statesmen, which their disciples will choose to obliterate or obscure.

IN MEMORIAM.*

Grief, no less than love and joy, has its befitting periods and appropriate expression: the elegy, as well as the ode and song, was early established as one of the legitimate forms of poetry. Having its origin in feelings that in our world can never fail, if genuine it must ever find a response in the human heart; for all, sooner or later, are called to drink of sorrow's wholesome but bitter cup; and it is a law governing not only man, but all creatures capable of feeling, that whatever strongly moves must be expressed. Some cry of pain, some motion of anguish, reveals to the attentive observer the feeling which man more nobly expresses by sorrowful looks and words. The latter, whether spoken or written, are ever the resource and sad relief of the sensitive and suffering spirit. But to him who has been gifted with the power of expressing his sorrows in melodious verse, it becomes a source of inexpressible satisfaction. The bitterness of grief is oft forgotten in the sweetness of the lament. Soothed by his own strain, and borne away by the song which he pours from his heart, he no more remembers the trials and hardships of his earthly lot, but lives in a world of his own beautiful creations—a world which we may yet find far more real than that to which we give the name. So Milton, sitting in blindness, poverty and neglect, held glorious converse with spirits and angels, and man in primeval innocence. So Schiller, in constant bodily suffering and peculiar trials, could forget all, whilst delineating the scenes of Wallenstein and Wilhelm Tell. Max and Thekla, and the Inspired Maid, were to him better society than all the nobles of Germany. And who knows whether Tennyson may not have found as many sweet moments in composing and rehearsing to himself in quiet hours this volume of simple elegies, as from the society of his deeply lamented friend. We shall the more readily admit this, if we remember that it is only the heart that has been purified by affliction, that is capable of the highest and purest enjoyments. So that in this, also, we see the goodness of *Him that hath done all things well*, in that He not only affords the needed consolation to those who properly bear their griefs, but by means of those very afflictions prepares the heart for new and nobler joys. Thus may life, with all its corroding cares and nameless sorrows, and death, the consummation of its ills, but prepare and lead to an existence,

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* In Memoriam. By Tennyson. Boston: Ticknor & Co., 1850.

where all earthly trials shall be remembered but as the kind admonitions of a wise and loving parent.

But if it is a relief to suffering genius to pour forth its grief in fitly chosen words, it is scarcely an inferior solace for the like afflicted, though less gifted, to make those words their own. How many a sorrowing spirit has found comfort in the deep musings of YOUNG! How dear to many a tender, saddened heart, are the pathetic strains of Mrs. HEMANS! Cowper, Goldsmith, and Gray, have each their devoted admirers, who find in their polished verse a sweet diversion from their own pressing cares. And if we turn to the still greater masters, to the sacred strains of David's lyre, or those that fell from Isaiah's hallowed lips, or the sublimity and deep pathos of Job, we recognize the highest source of consolation that poetry and inspiration can confer.

The occasion of these poems, as we gather from various allusions, was the death of the author's intimate friend and companion, "A. H. H.," (Arthur H. Hallam,) son of the historian; esteemed and beloved for rare qualities of mind and heart, and betrothed to the poet's sister. He died at Vienna, in 1833, far from his friends and English home. When time, the "healer of human hearts," had somewhat assuaged his grief, and anguish was softened to sorrow, the poet records, in a series of elegiac poems, one hundred and thirty-one in number, the thoughts, moods and feelings connected with this singular bereavement. There are few personal incidents in these poems, but no one who reads them can doubt the reality of the occasion which called them forth, or the sincerity and truthfulness of the delineations. Doubtless this little volume has been the author's intimate companion for many a month and year, and has often supplied the place of his lost friend. It has therefore accomplished one purpose, and that no unimportant one, if it afforded a relief and solace to the mind of the author. But will it afford the same to others? Will it become, like the works we have mentioned, a cherished thing, dear and familiar as household words? We think not. These poems are, in a word, capricious and fanciful. They do not spring from, nor appeal to, what is deepest and most universal in human nature. The very occasion and circumstances of the volume do not seem to be altogether rational or natural. To lament the departed is a sacred duty, as well as sweet relief. But where no ties of blood have been severed, and the relation is entirely one of sympathy and sentiment, to extend one's grief over a period of from ten to twenty years, and its record over more than two hundred pages, indicates a state of mind with which not the many, but only those of similar idiosyncracies, will fully sympathize. There *are* certain books which may be considered among the necessaries of life; so much so, that it is better, if it must be, to sacrifice a portion of daily comforts rather than do without them. When we see a mourner, in the plainest weeds of woe, inquiring for the "Night Thoughts," or a student, in threadbare garments, asking for a cheap edition of *Longfellow*, or some poor, pious soul rejoicing that from her hard earnings she has at length saved enough to purchase the dear old *Pilgrim's Progress*, we recognize these as indications of true fame, and lasting worth in the works so sought. But *In Memoriam* will never be so regarded. The self-denying sons and daughters of affliction and poverty will never abridge themselves of a single comfort to obtain a copy. It will be read, and portions of it admired, by the refined and cultivated; but few even of those will read

it through, or turn to particular pieces so oft as to commit them to memory. The latter we consider a very good test of the value of poetic effusions; so much so, that were certain great works lost, all that is most valuable in them could be recovered from the memories of their admirers. Perhaps could such an event happen to our poetic literature generally, it would not be so great a calamity; it would accomplish at a single stroke what time is silently, but as surely effecting.

Notwithstanding what we have said, we would by no means deny that certain portions of these elegiac poems are really beautiful and worthy of the author—such as none but one of the first poets of the age could have written. We will quote the commencement and close of the introductory poem:

"STRONG Son of God, immortal Love,
Whom we that have not seen thy face,
By faith, and faith alone, embrace,
Believing where we cannot prove;

* * * * *

Thou seemest human and divine,
The highest, holiest manhood, thou:
Our wills are ours, we know not how;
Our wills are ours to make them thine.

* * * * *

Forgive what seemed my sin in me;
What seemed my worth since I began;
For merit lives from man to man,
And not from man, O Lord, to thee.

Forgive my grief for one removed,
Thy creature whom I found so fair.
I trust he lives in thee, and there
I find him worthier to be loved.

Forgive these wild and wandering cries,
Confusions of a wasted youth;
Forgive them where they fail in truth,
And in thy wisdom make me wise."

To which we would reply in the beautiful words of Mrs. Hemans:

"He that sits above
In his calm glory, will forgive the love
His creatures bear each other, even if blent
With a vain worship; for its close is dim
Even with grief, which leads the wrung soul back to him."

Can any one fail to admire the pathetic beauty of the following, though a few lines may be a little obscure:

"O, Father! wheresoe'er thou be,
That pledgest now thy gallant son;
A shot, ere half thy draught be done,
Hath stilled the life that beat for thee.

O, Mother! praying God will save
Thy sailor, while thy head is bowed,
His heavy-shotted hammock-shroud
Drops in his vast and wandering grave.

Ye know no more than I who wrought
At that last hour, to please him well;
Who mused on all I had to tell,
And something written, something thought;

Expecting still his advent home;
And ever met him on his way
With wishes, thinking, here to-day,
Or here to-morrow will he come.

O, somewhere, meek, unconscious dove,
That sittest ranging golden hair;
And glad to find thyself so fair,
Poor child, that waitest for thy love!

For now her father's chimney glows
In expectation of a guest;
And thinking 'this will please him best,'
She takes a ribbon or a rose;

For he will see them on to-night;
And with the thought her color burns;
And having left the glass, she turns
Once more to set a ringlet right;

And, even when she turned, the curse
Had fallen, and her future lord
Was drowned in passing through the ford,
Or killed in falling from his horse.

O, what to her shall be the end?
And what to me remains of good?
To her, perpetual maidenhood,
And unto me, no second friend."

The following contains a beautiful thought, happily expressed:

"'More than my brothers are to me,'—
Let that not vex thee, noble heart!
I know thee of what force thou art,
To hold the costliest love in fee.

But thou and I are one in kind,
As moulded like in nature's mint;
And hill and wood and field did print
The same sweet forms in either mind.

For us the same cold streamlet curled
Through all his eddying coves; the same
All winds that warm the twilight came
In whispers of the beauteous world.

At one dear knee we proffered vows,
One lesson from the book we learned,
Ere childhood's flaxen ringlet turned
To black and brown on kindred brows.

And so my wealth resembles thine,
But he was rich where I was poor,
And he supplied my want the more
As his unlikeness fitted mine."

We have quoted sufficient to give our readers some idea of the peculiar vein of the author, and of the character of the work. We might adduce other stanzas that are obscure, exceedingly fanciful, and, as they seem to us, weakand prosaic. But what modern book of poetry does not contain such? Nor should we judge too harshly poems which the author doubtless wrote rather for his own solace, than for the eye of the public. Perhaps he hesitated long ere he gave them to the world. We might infer this from their appearance *seventeen years* after the death of the friend they so abundantly lament. Sacred unto us be ever the voice of sincere grief. Notwithstanding all their imperfections,—and we have applied to them tests which few modern poems could endure,—they contain much of pathos and simple beauty, a vein of tender and pleasing though melancholy sentiment throughout, and much, also, of the distilled wisdom of life. The philosophy of experience is the highest of all philosophy, because it is applicable to our present needs; and nowhere can we study this to better advantage than in the revelations of a true poet. Let us close these brief and hasty remarks by a sentiment, in which all who have been rightly taught either by their own or the experience of others, will fully agree with the author:

"This truth came borne with bier and pall,
I felt it when I sorrowed most,
'Tis better to have loved and lost
Than never to have loved at all."

S. E. B.

THE LOVED ONE EVER NEAR.—GOETHE.

I THINK of thee, whene'er the sun's bright shimmer
Streams from the sea;
I think of thee, whene'er the moon-beams' glimmer
In fount I see.

I see thee on my way, when, worn and weary,
Dust-clouds arise;
Or o'er the narrow bridge, dark, lone and dreary,
The wanderer hies.

I hear thee, when the waters murmur, glisten
Or tricks the rill;
Deep in the silent groves oft go to listen,
When all is still.

I still am with thee, be thou e'er so far,
Art ever near!
The sun declines, soon lighteth me each star,
O wert thou here!

S. E. B.

TO ALICE.

I'm thinking on the time, Alice,
When first I felt the flame
Of love, enkindled in my heart—
I feel it still the same;
I thought that I'd resist, Alice,
Thought that I'd heed it not;
Would I had done so, in that hour,
For now I am forgot.

I lov'd thee deeply, earnestly,
With fervor and with truth;
With all that fondness only known
To the first love of youth.
'T was not the wild and flickering flame
That rages, and is past,
But 'twas the fire which steady burns
The same until the last.

I would I could forget, Alice,
'T would give me peace and rest—
That peace I've lost this many a day,
Peace to my aching breast.
And yet it's cherish'd much, Alice,
That love I bear, so deep;
Cherish'd like fragments of some dream
Bright'ning our hours of sleep.

No, 'tis not cherish'd like a dream,
But like the past and thee,
And first warm love, love still the same,
As they alone can be.
I'd not forget it—no, Alice,
Nor thee would I forget;
A melancholy joy it is,
And I'll cling to it yet.

For, give the blind man sight, Alice,
And, then, when this is done,
Tell him to look upon yon orb,
Yon glorious orb, the sun;
And he will take one look, Alice,
One look, though fraught with pain,
And then, with sorrow, mix'd with joy,
Will lose his sight again.

They told me, "do not love," Alice,
"For pain will be thy lot;"
They said, "look not upon the sun,"
But I did heed them not.
And now I'm blind again, Alice,
Blind to earth's beauties rare,
Blind to all else, because I look'd
On one without compare.

But may you still shine on, Alice,
Shine on, the pride of all,
Although no straggling ray of light,
On me shall ever fall.
For the captive in the prison, Alice,
Rejoices but to know
That he, alone, of all mankind,
Receives no light below.

But we look for peace at last, Alice,
Peace which shall never end,
Peace in that home above this earth,
Where we may all ascend.
But even there I feel, Alice,
My grief will cling to me,
Grief which is dearer than all joy,
Because I grieve for thee.

THE VARIETY IN THE HUMAN SPECIES.*

THE theory that all men are of one nature and one descent, finds in Rev. Dr. Smyth a very earnest, but not always a judicious advocate. A fraternal sympathy towards all men—a world-embracing charity—is alleged as a part motive for the preparation of this work—and the author does not forget to give his philanthropy a sufficient expression; but the *great* object to which all his sympathies for man, and all his impatience to vindicate true science are made entirely subservient, is the *defence of the Bible.* Had not this watchful divine seen, or fancied he saw in the advancing idea of a multiplicity of distinct families of men, a corresponding progress of disbelief in the Sacred Volume, we doubt if the book on "The Unity of the Human Races" would ever have received birth. We must therefore regard him, not as the philosopher, or man of science, but as the spiritual champion, clad in the complete Christian mail, and going forth to assail the rebuilt walls of Doubting Castle, and to cut off the head of rejuvenant Infidelity with the sword of the Faithful. Not content with the lighter warfare of the lyceum and the public journals, which he had before waged, he now falls upon the enemies of the faith with the weight of a tome of four hundred pages, in which he seeks to turn all phases of the subject to one point, and combine such an overwhelming flood of evidence, that the authority of the Holy Book shall be rescued from all disrespect, and with it the incident of the infusion and propagation of but one blood in man made a demonstrated truth. But this very reach of his aim, has in part proved fatal to his object, (so far as regards the *incident,*) by causing the lack of *unity* in his arguments. The inconsistencies of Dr. Smyth's reasoning and evidence will be noticed in the progress of this article.

In our humble opinion, Dr. Smyth has greatly misjudged the nature of the case, in supposing there was any need of his championship of the Bible. We cannot see how the truth of the Bible is involved in the issue, until the advocates of a divisibility of the race dispute its history. We know of no one of them, at present, who does not only fully acknowledge the authority of that history, but who does not even depend on it for a portion of the proof of his theory. The only occasion, then, that Dr. Smyth has for bringing the Bible so prominently into the discussion, is to vindicate his own *private interpretation* of the sacred writings. He supposes, indeed, that the constructions put upon certain texts by his opponents, if established, would be fatal to the consistency of the whole book, and would sap the whole foundation of the Christian faith; but this is no more than an opinion, to be weighed against the opinions of those, some of them learned divines, like himself, who hold to the opposite theory. The assumption, therefore, of *defending* the Bible

* THE UNITY OF THE HUMAN RACES, Proved to be the Doctrine of Scripture, Reason, and Science; with a Review of the Present Position and Theory of Professor Agassiz. By the Rev. Thomas Smyth, D.D., member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

doctrine, is purely gratuitous, and the ardor which the author manifests on this portion of his subject, is exactly that kind of zeal which prompted the church, centuries ago, to reject with horror the great truths relating to the order of the solar system, because they were totally at war with what *they considered* the doctrine of the Bible. The Bible did not *then* need such protection—and if it ever did, it has certainly long outgrown the necessity of that kind of guardianship. The Book was not sent into the world to limit and restrain men in the search for truth—to bind up their minds in ignorance, and perpetuate the reign of old errors; its mission is the very opposite—to set free the human mind—to relieve it of the abuses which have clung around it, and clogged its path—to lead it in the search for truth—to open things which are hidden. It has long ago established the divinity of its own origin, while those who were laboring to accomplish that work, were honestly abusing its doctrines, misinterpreting its spirit, and pulling it backward with all their force. With the history of The Book before us, we ought surely to feel very confident of its own ability to vindicate its own truths—very diffident of our capacity to perform for it that service. The effort to do it, betrays, often, not only a presumptuous spirit, but a doubting, hesitating belief—a sad want of the great virtue of faith. We ought certainly, now, to consider the Bible "firmly grounded and established." With its light shining constantly on our way, we may launch out boldly in the investigations of nature—we may fearlessly acknowledge the truth of whatever is well-proved, however it may *seem* for the moment to militate with Bible history or Bible doctrine. We have had sufficient experience to learn that our understandings can neither infallibly comprehend the teachings of the Bible, or the connection and bearing of incomplete portions of science—and that, however these may appear to differ at first, eventually we shall find a perfect harmony between nature and the book which has been given us by nature's God.

But Dr. Smyth seems to lack this confident spirit, and to be impressed with the fear, that unless the Bible, or rather his private understanding of it, can be at once established by logical demonstration, it is in danger of falling into infinite discredit. He repeatedly asserts, in different forms of expression, his continually present idea, that the truth of the Bible depends on the establishment of his opinions. Thus, on page 337, he says: "Now this theory is necessarily INFIDEL. It is in open and direct opposition to the testimony of the Bible. It overthrows not only Moses, but the prophets and apostles also, and thus undermines the Scripture, as a divine record, both of doctrines and of duties;" and he therefore argues, that "all who believe in it as the word of God, *must contend earnestly*." "Man should not distort Holy Writ to suit his notions of right and wrong," says Dr. Nott, an advocate of the theory thus summarily branded Infidel, and as pious, Scripture-believing, and learned a divine, possibly, as Dr. Smyth, who quotes the sentence, but cannot see that it has any application except against the doctrines of its author.

Dr. Smyth's hostility to our theory probably finds its origin in the fact, that Voltaire and other infidels, as he mentions, have used it to discredit the Bible. Yet we humbly conceive that Dr. Smyth's opponents are doing more to baffle this infidelity, than he will accomplish, with whatever expense, in this direction, of his biblical zeal. On one point, in fact, he fully *agrees* with the infidel: viz., the inconsistency of the theory with the Bible, and so far would satisfy the latter. We, on the

other hand, strike at the very root of the infidel's argument, and explode his whole effort, by proving his assumed facts entirely consistent with that which he seeks to refute.

Of course, the effect of Dr. Smyth's plan of controversy is to destroy all the value of his book as a scientific investigation. He starts with his mind pre-occupied—his judgment is fully determined. He believes the Scriptures to assert positively the unity of the race, and he will therefore believe nothing that asserts the contrary. Putting the assumed Bible doctrine in *advance*, as he does, he cannot do otherwise. Whatever evidence appears to controvert the doctrine of the Bible must be rejected—(or what is the same thing, perverted from its true bearing,) for the Bible is superior authority to all, and what does not agree with it, is either false in itself, or is presented in a false view. What is the worth of the *investigation* after such an outstart?

But not only will Dr. Smyth not tolerate other understandings of the Bible beside his own, but he will not allow the *right* of private interpretation to those differing from him. Page 373, he complains of Professor Agassiz for giving his views on the Scriptural relations of this question, imputing to him, with other "scientific observers," "arrogance and intolerance" in presuming "to interpret and determine the nature of inspiration, and the actual teachings of the Bible." "They transcend the limits of their sphere and functions, and dogmatize upon that with which they have, *as men of science*, no concern." Now, we would charitably inquire, why it is not of the same "concern" to Professor Agassiz and other "men of science," to sustain *their* scientific theories by the authority of the Bible, that it is to Dr. Smyth to support *his* scientific theory with that authority? and why it is not equally as proper for them to "interpret" and "dogmatize" upon the *Bible*, as it is for one of the clerical profession to enter the ranks of "scientific observers," and dictate to them what theories they must believe, and what reject—assuming to "interpret and determine '*scientific truth*' by his understanding of the Scriptures?"

In examining those texts, which are thought to afford the strongest Biblical support to the theory in question, we shall not assume to prove our own opinion from the Bible, though the argument would bear turning to that point without violence. We shall merely attempt to show that the Bible affords no direct sanction to the theory we oppose,—and shall thus merely rescue the question from a premature and improper decision, and place it on clear scientific ground, to be decided according to the evidence which legitimate inquiry may suborn and reason weigh. It is no part of our argument to put any class of men without the pale of humanity, or to draw any unnecessary distinction between their varieties.

To begin with the first chapter of Genesis, the reading would seem plainly to indicate that Adam was the first created man, his creation immediately following the completion of the world, with its vegetable and animal population, and the heavenly bodies; and in chapter ii., verse 10, we are distinctly told, that prior to his creation "*there was not a man to till the ground.*" But for the same reason that we should derive from the history of the creation the inference that Adam was the first and only created man, we should be obliged to accept many other things, equally derivable from the account, which we know cannot be true. Thus, we should be obliged to believe the whole universe was made as an incident to

the birth of our globe, and for the accommodation or beautifying of this infinitesimal grain of the creation. But we have now every reason to believe that the different bodies of the universe were created at widely different periods of time—that in fact, through an eternity of ages, the work of creation has been in regular progression, and that this world was among the latest and most insignificant of the births of time. We understand now, that the inspiration of the sacred historian did not embrace an enlargement of his knowledge relating to the order of the great universe, and that God had no design in his revelation to man to acquaint him with such knowledge as was either not absolutely necessary to his well-being, or that it came within the scope of his faculties to discover for himself.

Beside the great intervals elapsing between the creation of the different bodies of the universe, thus seeming included within the space of four days, we know also that a long period must have elapsed between the creation of the world and that of Adam. That in fact, the world was not originally made by a single immediate act, but that, in conformity with that uniform law of progress, that pervades and has forever pervaded all God's works, it advanced through a series of stages, in each of which it had a peculiar character, and supported a peculiar population, until it arrived at that high condition necessary for the support of a creature like man. If, then, the historian was ignorant of these things, or knowing them, deemed them extraneous to his narration, intending only to present the great truth that the heavens and the earth were created by the power of God, we can no more expect a complete and particular history in other respects. As we follow the narrative, we shall find that it becomes more and more limited in scope, or rather that it had but the single object from the beginning, to reveal the character of the Almighty, and to trace the origin and history of that particular family of the human race, known as his "chosen people." The immediate family of Adam is noticed no further than it appears to have had connection with that particular branch from which came the tribes of Israel; and the collaterals of that branch itself are dropped, with usually but a very brief notice, when mentioned at all, and often spoken of in the manner of heathen and outcasts. There is no reason, therefore, to suppose, that if any others were created cotemporaneously with Adam, the historian must have known it; and if he had, it would seem to have been foreign to his object to bring them within what is so evidently a *national* history.

Chapter i., verse 28—"And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply, and *replenish the earth and subdue it:* and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowls of the air, and over *every living thing* that moveth upon *the earth.*" It is a sufficient explanation of this passage to say, that it does not conflict with either theory. The *earth* may mean the entire globe, and may mean as well only that part of it which might be needed for the use of Adam and his descendants. Certain it is, however, that the *whole* earth can never be subdued and replenished by man. The license either way could have referred only to the habitable parts of the earth. "Every living thing" may be properly explained to mean only such as he should *meet.* Adam could certainly himself have no practical sway over the animals of the polar regions, or of any region beyond his own immediate locality, and the last is true, also, of his descendants.

Genesis, chapter xi., verses 1, 2—"And it came to pass when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them; that the sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they were fair, and they took them wives of all which they chose."

Dr. Smyth explains that the "*sons of God*" are to be understood as the sons of Seth, Enos, and other pious patriarchs, separated from the posterity of Cain, and who found the visible Church. The same, he says, are "called by the name of the Lord," (Genesis iv., 26,) while others are merely termed *men*, and their daughters, the "daughters of men." In allusion to their cruelty, he supposes these *men* are called "giants," (Genesis, vi., 4,) *i. e.* fallen or apostates. This is altogether a forced interpretation, and especially objectionable from one who insists so strenuously on the strict and literal interpretation of the other parts of this historical account. We have no reason to doubt that the men termed "giants" were so designated on account of great stature and enormous strength, making them the terror of other men. This accords with the early history and traditions of all nations, which are replete with stories of giants and terrible men, which, with all their fabric of exaggeration, are not doubted to have a groundwork of truth. The early existence of any nation, is a time peculiarly favorable to the production of such characters, and we know certainly that they *have* appeared at later times, and even in our own day. But if we deny they were real giants, we have precisely the same reason to deny the records of antediluvian longevity. The phrase "sons of God," is understood by some to refer to the angels, or some superior beings, who were seduced to earth by the beauty of the "daughters of *men*," but this is more fanciful than probable.

As the whole species are assumed to have descended from Adam, it is again asserted that they also all came from Noah in the second instance. The proof in this case is, however, even less decisive than in the first. It is by no means clear that the whole face of the earth was swept by the deluge. Dr. John Pye Smyth has written a very able work to prove that the deluge was limited to a small part of the world, so that other families besides Noah's escaped. Other writers have maintained the same opinion with much force and ingenuity. But we are not disposed to labor much on this point, as it is quite unnecessary. Whichever way it may be decided, this matter of the deluge, as we shall presently have occasion to show, will sweep down some at least of the pillars of our author's superstructure.

Thus we see there is nothing in the Bible, so far as that book is brought into the inquiry, that proves against us even the starting-point,—the *original* unity. For all that the Bible decides to the contrary, there may have been ten pairs of human beings created directly by the Almighty as well as one. But as we have said, it is not our intention to press that point. We shall argue for no more than is *necessary* to our theory. We will draw no distinctions that can be avoided, being as anxious as Dr. Smyth himself to bring the races as far within a common brotherhood as the case admits. We have re-opened the question which it had been attempted to close by a false judgment, and we are now ready to pursue the inquiry in a proper spirit. If the unity of origin were necessarily connected with the unity of races, afterward, it would be important to bring this point fully forward; but as such is not the case, we gladly waive any effort to prove that the races of the human kind are descended

from more than one original man. Farther than this, we are willing, following the inclination of our sympathies, to concede that all the indecisive circumstances taken together, of the language of the sacred history,—the universal prevalence of the effects of Adam's sin,—the universal adaptation of the gospel—the assumed geological marks of the universality of the deluge—the traditions said to be found very generally among nations and tribes, of the leading events of the Mosaic history—the dignity of our nature (here simply an aspiration of man's) above that of the animals, who are generally admitted to have proceeded from multiplied creations,—and the non-necessity for any purposes of replenishing the earth, of the creation of more than one human pair—though these aggregately combine nothing like proof, may, in the absence of positive proof on the other side, be admitted to give the weight of plausibility, or even probability to the theory, that all men descended primarily from Adam, and afterwards from Noah.

The investigation comes, then, immediately to the Difference at present observable between the several races, (or branches of the one race, if the term is preferred,) and we are to decide whether the types created by these differences are radical and inconvertible, or are accidental and susceptible of erasure. We believe the testimony before us gives clear and unequivocal proof that these differences are permanent as the race itself, and that we are therefore inevitably forced to the belief, that at some period, during the progress of human propagation, constitutional and ineradical differences were introduced, by which the original family was as effectively severed into distinct races as if they had proceeded from different stocks. We shall prove this, by the nature of the distinctions, as they open to our understanding, and by at least the suggestive evidence of the Bible.

The *time* of this division we must place far back in the early ages, as we have the positive testimony of history to the existence of the present varieties back to a very remote period—very nearly to the time of Noah. Now, if we refer to the Scripture for anything suggestive of such an event, at or near that time, we find, first, the curse of Canaan—Genesis, chap. ix. v. 25,—"And he said, cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." It has been generally supposed that the black race is descended of Canaan, though the opinion is somewhat questioned at this day. Thus, much connection, at the least, may be established between the prediction of Noah and the condition and characteristics of the blacks: that the curse denounced slavery upon the children of Canaan, and implied an *odious distinction* between them and the descendants of Shem and Japheth. Now, as far as we have any *certain* history of the black race, it has always been held in slavery; and the physical features which distinguish it from the white and other races, in the estimation of them all, and even of the negro himself, positively degrade him below them. But we are not anxious to press this point.

Genesis x. 25.—"And unto Eber were born two sons; the name of the one was Peleg; for in his days was the earth divided." What is the meaning of this *division?* Does it mean more than a dividing of the *land*, or not? It appears to us it must have meant *much more* than this. We must bear in mind, that these people had, like the men of this day, the faculty of acquisitiveness, or desire of isolated individual possession, and all the other selfish and vicious propensities which prompt men to commit injustice to each other, and create disorder in society. Indeed, their evil dispo-

sitions are manifested in the next chapter, in a design so impious and daring, as to demand a special and most remarkable interposition of God. It cannot, therefore, be supposed that Noah's descendants had lived in *common* until this period, owning the land together, and dividing its yield fairly to their mutual support. Only an innocent and purely simple people might live in that manner, but such a system can never exist among a people of active evil propensities, or among one at all advanced in civilization and the arts of life, as the Bible shows us these people were, to a considerable extent, long before this time. It is the very nature of unjust dealing among men to make them all anxious to have their own rightful substance separated from that of others, that they may have better guardianship over it. And as the progress of civilization not only stimulates, but is itself chiefly the result of growing acquisitiveness in the individuals of a nation, its tendency to a division of property is inevitable.

The division of the land must have occurred quietly and continuously with the progress of the race and the acquirement of settled habits; and until kings arose, and arrived at that degree of power, when *they* would claim the right of disposing of the land, each man would take according to his necessities, from unoccupied grounds, and there would be none who could pretend to arrange the "division." The ownership of the kings or communities would grow up in the same gradual way, so that in any view, the division of the land must have been a gradual and quiet event, and could not have marked the era of any one man. But the "division" referred to by the Bible, differs from all this; its mention in the midst of a genealogical register, shows it to have been a memorable event. It took place at a period wholly within the life of one man, and seems to have been a sudden and remarkable change of the state of things, until then existing.

But we have, in fact, positive evidence of the division of the land long previous to this time. Cain builded a city—Jabel was the father of such as dwell in tents, and of such as have cattle (iv. 20). This mention of a remarkable distinction in the *mode of dwelling*, joined with that of pursuit, is sufficient to show that they formed a distinct community, probably a more or less civilized one than the others. The "kingdom" of Nimrod, (x. 10,) is also proof that the mere *earth* was long before parcelled, the limits of his domains being assigned and recognized by others. There can be little doubt, that the word refers to the "division" occasioned by the confusion of tongues, of which the history is given in the next chapter. Let us now see what was comprehended in that event.

Chap. xi. v. 7—9.—The *confusion of languages* gives us positive testimony that God did at least, at or near the period in question, effect by a miracle *one* great change in the nature and condition of men. A change of language, producing a number of essentially different tongues where but one existed before, involves of necessity very material changes in other respects than the mere alteration of spoken *sounds*. To effect no more than that change, it was necessary that there should be radical changes of the mental action,—the feelings, sympathies, desires, &c. It is a fully established fact, known to all proficients in physiology, that the *character of sounds* made by any person, are the result of his peculiar organization. The prevalence of certain tastes, dispositions, propensities, feelings, &c., regulate the expression of the voice, and not merely the inflexion of sound;

but they would determine the kind of words which that individual would combine, if he undertook to invent a language. We see this fact clearly illustrated in the comparison of the language of any nation with the characteristics of the people speaking it. The tongue of a barbarous and rough people is always harsh and dissonant,—of a civilized and polished race always flowing and harmonious; and all the various phases of character are represented by their exactly corresponding shades in the language.

The mental change, then, necessary to produce this utter confusion of languages, must have been very deep and strong—a modification of the whole current of feelings, emotions, desires, and opinions. The narration of the Bible shows conclusively that the whole purpose of the Almighty was effected by the simple act of confusing their tongues. The separation was then effected of their own spontaneous desires. Their sympathies had before led them to hold together as "one," and to have great common objects to which their energies were unitedly applied. But now this strong feeling was dissolved—their homogenity was gone. They abandoned their common schemes, and felt averse to living together. A mere change in language, if such could have been made alone, would not have altered their social sympathies. On the contrary, we know that it is the disposition of men to congregate more closely under the pressure of sudden evils, especially if they be of an alarming character, and seek mutual aid. As when now, people of different languages, or those having no language, meet, they would have soon made themselves understood by each other; and in a brief period would have learned their languages, interchangeably, as their descendants have done, and finally would have commingled and fabricated of the whole, a common language, as was done by the Normans and Saxons, our ancestors, and by many other nations. We can determine this point with certainty, as we know our progenitors were men like ourselves, having all our faculties; we know, also, that the principle which produced the confusion of tongues remains in force to this day, subject, equally with other principles of our nature, to measurement and comprehension. Nothing can be better proved, than that the new disposition to separate, and not merely to part, but to scatter themselves "abroad from thence *upon the face of all the earth*," was the effect of a deep and radical change of mental organization.

So great a change of mental habit inevitably produced a corresponding change of the *modes of action*; for it is clear to every one, that people will act just according to their mental processes. The *habits of life* were therefore changed—a variety of modes of living, pursuits and objects, corresponding to the variety of tongues, must have prevailed. The articles of food, the fashions and substance of dress, the modes of erecting houses, cultivating the earth—of performing all kinds of mechanism, must have changed. And, finally, there must have grown up as many varied forms of the social state—as many different kinds of government, and as many phases of civilization or barbarism.

Now, it is impossible that any such radical changes of mind, or of habits of life should occur, without producing as remarkable *physical* changes. This is so well understood, that we need not dwell much on this point. We have it, then, established, as we think, too plainly to admit of question, that the confusion of languages was accompanied by very remarkable changes of mental organization, habits of action and physical

characteristics,—more remarkable than any that could be effected by climate, education, and all other causes combined. Now, if the differences before us for investigation are the most remarkable differences we know of in men,—and if, beside, they have that partial distribution to place and climate which induces the belief with some of these circumstances being their cause, while we see that the miracle of old was intended expressly to scatter them over all the earth, and as certainly as God is a provident being, and the race survived the dispersion, to *adapt* them to all the climates and circumstances of the earth,—seeing this so plainly, how can we avoid the conclusion, that it was at this time and by this miracle, that those varieties of the race, or a portion of them at least, were created, which we now see in the world?

It is about the time of this confusion of tongues, and the consequent dispersion of the race, *that we hear first* of the distinction of color in the race. The information is then given us of the existence of *black* men, by profane history; and if we believe the distinctions of race to have been created at that time, we then add one more to the remarkable verifications of Scripture which are derived from uninspired history. But the entire absence of all mention of any such distinctions in the record preceding that of the confusion of languages, is good presumptive evidence of the Scripture itself in favor of our opinion, in addition to that derived from the account of that event. Had there been the present variety of men living together in the families of Adam and Noah, prior to that time, it must not only have been mentioned as a matter of interest by the historian, but it could hardly have been excluded by actual design, so as to have left a faithful and intelligible history. Moses has thought proper to inform us, that God made woman beautiful;—that the "daughters of men" were so "fair" as to attract the love of the "sons of God;"—that there were differences in physical stature and strength; has explained to us the peculiarities of certain people,—informed us of the mode of living, occupation and kind of property of some,—and it seems to us now impossible that had distinctions existed, which of necessity must exercise such remarkable influences on the characters, social and civil relations, and pursuits of men, that he should have designed or forgotten its mention. And had *he* done so, still we are certain that the differences would have *told their own* story by their regular propagation into the family of Israel, or had a separation previously taken place, would have descended in the traditions of the house.

It may be said in reply, that had such a change as is mentioned occurred, it would have been mentioned by Moses, as being even more remarkable than the confusion of tongues. But we do not mean to assert that this change was effected at once. It is not the usual plan of God to effect important constitutional changes, either in men, animals or worlds, by immediate, single acts. We see changes, of a less magnitude, true, than the one in question, but indicating how great changes could be made, going on around us by a gradual progress of natural operations. We suppose, therefore, that the rudiments of the change, only, at first appeared, perhaps in no noticeable degree, and were gradually elaborated to their perfection along equally with the progress of the dispersion they were intended both to occasion and to fit men for. We do not incline at all to believe that the tired workers of Babel, after viewing the upward

extension of their tower at the close of some day, retired to their beds, and awoke in the morning to astonish each other with a motley of black, yellow, and red faces, in place of the former universal white; or that even after parting with an intelligible "good night," they horrified each other by mutually bidding their morning salutations in an incomprehensible gibberish. It may be said there is, then, no miracle. We are not strenuous about the word, although we cannot think the introduction of the *principle* by which the change was effected, which introduction could be made only by the direct power of God, is unworthy of the name. God performs miracles in all ages, and many that are unnoticed by man. Thus far the suggestive testimony of Scripture.

The book before us labors very little to explain the *origin* of the particular varieties of the race, although it is so much its great aim to show that they all came out from a common source. The author seems aware of the weakness of the theory on that point, and rather seeks to establish the unity of races as an independent fact, without reference to the cause of division. As a first step, he adduces the opinions of Dr. Prichard, Dr. Lawrence and others, "that all the varieties of men can be accounted for by *natural causes.*" We agree fully with the opinion, but as we shall show, the difference is not for that reason any the less wide and permanent. It is then stated, "that the differences of physical organization, and of moral and intellectual qualities, which characterize the several races of our species, are analogous in kind and degree to those which distinguish the breeds of the domestic animals; and must, therefore, be accounted for on the same principles;" and that the most powerful circumstance favoring this production of varieties, "is the state of domestication." "That external or adventitious causes, such as climate, situation, food, or way of living, have considerable effect in altering the constitution of men and animals; but that," it is yet admitted, "this effect, as well as that of art or accident, is *confined to the individual, not being transmitted by generation, and therefore not affecting the race.*" Here the whole ground seems given up—and we cannot understand how the inference is immediately drawn, "that the human species, *therefore*, like that of the cow, sheep, horse and pig, and others, is single; and that all the *differences which it exhibits are to be regarded merely as varieties.*" But we shall see, again, that Dr. Smyth does not, at other times, remember this concession, but asserts a very large, permanent, and transmissible effect for climate, food, &c. Indeed, immediately following, he quotes Prichard, who, stating that the physical differences of color, form, &c., between the Arian race in Persia and Hindostan, says, "The cause which has given rise to this diversity can apparently be *nothing else than the influence* of the hot climate of Hindostan." He then goes on to quote Prichard further, to the effect that the variety of complexion in Africa is according to the temperature of its various regions, the "limits of Negroland" being assigned as the tropics on either side. The same circumstances are then traced to Asia and Oceanica, and it is here positively asserted, that "we perceive among them *actual and undoubted* TRANSFORMATIONS INTO THE MOST EXTREME VARIETIES, and that among the inhabitants of the same place are found also a great variety both of features and complexion, which can only *be explained by the difference of food, exposure, and other peculiarities of* condition." He then goes on to quote from different authors, who attribute all the varieties to climate, food, &c.; and one of

them, Dr. Bachman, endeavors to show the analogy between the operation of these causes upon vegetables and animals, and their operation upon men. Dr. Carpenter is quoted as saying, "that none of the variations which have been pointed out as existing between the different races of mankind, have the least claim to be regarded as *solid, specific distinctions*, being entirely destitute of that *fixity* which is requisite to entitle them to such a rank," and that "there is a tendency to the *fusion* of all these varieties, and a return to a common type." The last authority quoted is "a very curious traditionary legend" of the Tonga Islands, which we are willing, if Dr. Smyth insists, to receive as having equal pretensions to a foundation in truth with the opinions of the writers he quotes. To refute the theory here laid down, we would really need but to place different parts of the book in juxtaposition: thus, before, it is asserted that the differences of climate, &c., affect *only the individual*, not being transmissible, while in another place he quotes approvingly the same author, Prichard, that all these effects are propagated, and "thus even the smallest varieties once produced are *never again* obliterated." Which of the contradictory assertions is to be admitted? If the latter, it admits all our theory. If the smaller varieties are never obliterated, how can the larger ones ever be, and how is the alleged *transition* of race to occur?

Again, he quotes Dr. Wiseman, "that we can find sufficient proofs in the languages and in the characteristics of larger bodies, or entire nations, compared, of their *transition from one* race to another." If the smallest varieties are not obliterated ever, how can a white be transformed to a black, or a black to a white, or either to a red or deep yellow tint? Or can a man be both black and white, or red and white, or black and yellow at once.

The next argument we notice, is the attempt to prove the black race the *earliest* race of men, and that man was at first created highly civilized, and fell away from that state. This argument is designed to enhance the dignity of black men—but so far as regards their superior age, it can be no more a proof of their dignity, either as the superior or equal of the whites, than the same is proved for all the lower orders of animals, who existed in regular scale of descent according to their distance in advance of the epoch of man's creation. This idea also adds another to Dr. Smyth's frequent inconsistencies, as we know man was created in the temperate regions of Asia, and for a long time remained there, gradually spreading abroad. If, therefore, the first men were negroes, and lived in that region, and came out from it over the rest of the world, the foundation of the theory relating to climate is wholly pulled away. Again, if the argument is true, the reluctant truth is forced upon us, that black men had a *different origin* from the white race—they did not *derive their paternity from Adam.* There can be no other result, all unconscious of it as our author appears. We have every proof that can exist in the nature of things, that Adam, the original of the *white* races, (whether he was or was not of the black,) was *not* a black man. The nation of Israel was white, and the patriarchs, through whom that family descended directly from Adam, were most certainly like their descendants on one hand, and their progenitor on the other. Had a change of color and features occurred at any time from Adam to Abraham, or from Abraham to Jacob or David, the sacred oracles, and cer-

tainly the Jewish traditions, so full, so zealously preserved, would have informed us of the remarkable event. These remarks apply with still greater force to the secondary head of the race, Noah, from whose time the period was less to the establishment of the house of Israel, and the records more full. We may be certain that neither Adam nor Noah were black men, and that the patriarchs, as they had one form of religion, one mode of life, one system of education and of opinions, and were of a *selected blood*, were men marked by common physical and mental characteristics. We may add, also, that Adam, as is universally acknowledged, coming fresh from the hand of his Creator, was physically the glory of his race—a perfect man—while to our senses, and in his own judgment, the negro is in this respect vastly the inferior of the white.

The other condition assumed, the primeval civilization of the blacks, forces the same results again upon its authors, with equal certainty. Adam certainly *was not* created in a civilized state, nor did he attain it by eating of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. When he first became aware of his nakedness, the garment he invented gives no equivocal evidence of a totally undisciplined ingenuity; and so poorly did his skill serve his convenience, that the Almighty himself made "coats of skins" for the clothing of the untutored pair. The gradual progress of invention to the construction of tents to dwell in—the gradual aggregation of power in the hands of a chief or ruler, the embryo of empires—these, and the whole history of which these instances are parts, show the same slow but constant advance from barbarity to civilization which other history everywhere records, and which is consistent with all our own observations of man as he is before us at this day.

If, therefore, Dr. Smyth and his authorities succeed in proving the negro the earliest race, and civilized in its first state, they infallibly prove that it was created at another and far different time from the white, and is an entirely distinct species. We dislike to consider this argument, for the theory urged, beside not being entirely without support in the arguments offered, is very consistent with the observed order of progress in nature—a continual advance from lower to higher orders of being. If we assume that the negro race preceded the white, it will be difficult to avoid the inference that it is a distinct and permanently inferior order, doomed by the inviolable laws of progress, revealed to us by geology, to sink toward its utter extinction, as the powers of the white race expand toward their highest development.

[To be continued.

THE USURY LAWS.

The writer of the following pages would not have attempted thus publicly to treat a subject which, from its importance and complex nature, might give employment to a more able pen, but for the appearance and extensive circulation of a pamphlet entitled, "Importance of Usury Laws," and the complimentary notices it has received from respectable sources, as containing a triumphant vindication of the justice and policy of those laws. This pamphlet contains the argument of Hon. John Whipple, of Providence, Rhode Island, first published in 1836, with introductory remarks by the editor of the Bankers' Magazine.

The subject discussed is one upon which the opinions of mankind seem never to have been fully at ease, at least within the memory of the historian, and for several years past, it has been attracting increased attention amongst American statesmen and economists. The spirit of liberty, ever restive under conscious and unnecessary restraint, is beginning to demand, in tones which brook no evasion, the *reasons* why a man should not enjoy the same liberty in respect to the terms upon which he may obtain the use of another man's capital in the form of money, that he has in obtaining it in any other form.

These reasons are not, as all must confess, entirely obvious; and yet, such is the inquisitive spirit of the age, and especially of American freemen, that they must be clearly presented and firmly established, or the distinction must be laid aside. To punish such reasons is the task which Mr. Whipple has reluctantly imposed upon himself in the pamphlet alluded to—we say *reluctantly*—for he more than intimates an opinion, that time-honored usage upon this subject should so excite our veneration, as to render reasons unnecessary; and to inquire into the soundness of the reasons he has offered, is the object of the present essay.

Mr. Whipple begins by giving a tolerably fair synopsis of the positions and arguments of Mr. Jeremy Bentham, in his little work, entitled, "A Defence of Usury," published in 1787. He quotes Mr. Bentham's general propositions thus:—

"That no man of ripe years and sound mind, acting freely, and with his eyes open, ought to be hindered, with a view to his advantage, from making such a bargain in the way of obtaining money, as he thinks fit; nor (what is a necessary consequence) anybody hindered from supplying him upon any terms he thinks proper to accede to.

"That contracts in general ought to be observed, is a rule, the propriety of which no man was ever yet found wrong-headed enough to deny. If this case is one of the exceptions (for some, doubtless there are) which the welfare and safety of society require should be taken out of the general rule, in this case, as in all others, it lies upon him who alleges the necessity of the exception, to produce a reason for it."

"This," says our author, "would have been a fair statement of the question, had the exception contended for been a new one." But claiming that the exception is as old as the general rule, he proceeds to upbraid

Mr. Bentham for his presumption in demanding an affirmative reason, "until he establishes the contrary." Supposing the exception to be as old as Mr. Whipple imagines, still there was a time when it was *new*, and when, by his own admission, it was incumbent on those who alleged its necessity, to produce a reason for it. Have they ever done it? If so, when? and where is it recorded? If it is on record, they have only to refer to it. If it is not on record, they are the delinquents, and the demand still rests on them with unabated force. Whether the exception is as *old* as the general rule or not, it is certain that its *correctness* has not been as universally admitted. Diversity of opinion as to its necessity, is as old as the exception, and in every stage of its existence, a reason for it has been demanded, and it never will be too late to repeat the demand, until a reason shall have been furnished, or the distinction abandoned.

But Mr. Bentham, in the absence of any alleged reasons in favor of Usury Laws, proceeds to state such grounds of argument as his imagination could suggest, and Mr. Whipple quotes them as follows:

"In favor of the restraints opposed to the species of liberty I contend for, I can imagine but five arguments.

"1. Prevention of usury.
"2. Prevention of prodigality.
"3. Protection of indigence against extortion.
"4. Repression of the temerity of projectors.
"5. Protection of simplicity against imposition."

He proceeds to give the outlines of Mr. Bentham's arguments against these five propositions, and also a very meagre and cautious epitome of the positive evils resulting from Usury Laws, which he has enumerated.

Upon a common-sense view of the question, most men would be inclined to agree with Mr. Bentham, that his five propositions embraced every rational ground of argument upon the affirmative side, and that his argument upon those points, as well as the positive evils enumerated, were somewhat weighty, and entitled to serious consideration, and hence the reader is naturally led to anticipate a close and searching argument in reply to Mr. Bentham, upon those plain and definite propositions, and also that *some* disposition will be made of the positive evils he has pointed out; and he cannot but be surprised at the summary manner in which the author disposes of Mr. Bentham and all his propositions and arguments. It is on this wise,

"Had Mr. Bentham taken the pains to understand and state the reasons upon which these laws really are founded, and to overthrow those reasons as successfully as he has the cob-house of his own imagination, he might have been indulged in a little sentiment of this sort. But to steer clear from the beginning to the end of his book, of the sole questions upon which the policy or expediency of such restraints depend, and then to end with a poetical triumph of this sort, is a liberty which, perhaps, no other man but Jeremy Bentham would have indulged in."

Let it be remembered, then, as we proceed, that Mr. Whipple does not attempt to depend the Usury Laws upon any one of the hypothesis instituted by Mr. Bentham. All these he regards as the cob-houses of Mr. Bentham's imagination, and admits that he has successfully demolished them. What, then, are the reasons upon which these laws really are founded?

Mr. Whipple answers the question thus:

"The policy and expediency of Usury Laws must depend mainly, if not entirely, upon two questions:

"1st. Supposing the parties to stand on equal terms, and the bargains which they make to be, in general, perfectly fair as between themselves, is it, or is it not for the interest of the public to allow money to be converted into merchandize, and bought and sold at any price the parties may chose to stipulate?

"2d. Do the parties, in general, meet on equal terms, and are the bargains, in the absence of Usury Laws, as fair as bargains usually are, in relation to merchandize?"

"These two questions," says the author, "involve, substantially, all the other questions that relate to Usury Laws."

Had the writer stated his questions a little more intelligibly, and confined himself, for a single page at a time, to the discussion of either one of them, the task of the reviewer would have been comparatively easy. As it is, both the meaning of his questions, and to which of the two many of his arguments are intended to apply, must be a matter of conjecture. As he maintains the negative of both questions, we may consider the first as equivalent to the assertion, that the repeal of the Usury Laws would be injurious to the public, and the second, that it would be injurious to individual borrowers.

I. The author maintains that it is not for the interest of the public "to allow money to be converted into merchandize, and bought and sold at any price the parties may choose to stipulate;" and he frankly admits, that "if such a traffic would not injure the public, then one of the reasons which have been supposed to exist, is removed." How money could be converted into *merchandize*, in the common acceptation of the term, except by exchanging it for merchandize, or in what manner the repeal of the Usury Laws would bring about such a result, the author does not attempt to show. If his meaning is that, by allowing money to be bought and sold, like any other thing, it would thereby become a sort of merchandize, it is time he were informed that, independently of Usury Laws, money is and always was, and will always continue to be, just that sort of merchandize which he supposes it will become if the Usury Laws are abolished. A man at all acquainted with the nature of money, and the laws which control its operations, would need no further evidence that the author's ideas of currency were anything but clear and definite. Commodities in general may be bought and sold for a time, but their ultimate destiny is *consumption*. Money differs from all other commodities, in that its ultimate destiny is to be *bought and sold*. This is the sole object of its creation, and, as money, it is the only use that can be made of it. As good a definition, perhaps, as can be given of money is, that it is that commodity (whatever may be its material) which is permanently devoted to being bought and sold in exchange for other things. Whether it should be "bought and sold at any price the parties may choose to stipulate," or not, it is certain that it always has been, (with rare exceptions,) from the day that Abraham and Ephraim agreed upon the price of a certain field, to the present time, and probably will continue to be. The *price* of money is the value of whatever it is sold for. For governments to fix the value of everything for which money is sold, would be impossible, and to attempt it would be absurd. I con-

clude, therefore, that it would *not* "be injurious to the public to allow money to become the subject of *unrestrained traffic* like any other article," and, consequently, according to the author's own terms, "one of the reasons which have been supposed to exist" is removed.

But, peradventure, Mr. Whipple may tell us that by "*buying* and *selling*" money, he means *borrowing* and *lending*, and that by the "*price*" of money, he means the *interest* or rent paid for its use. If this were his meaning, he should have said so, and not obscured his subject and misled his readers, by speaking of one class of transactions in terms which apply exclusively to another and an entirely different class of transactions. If a man had hired a horse to ride ten miles, and paid one dollar for his use, it would be a singular method of stating the fact, to say that he had bought a horse for one dollar.

With this understanding of the author's meaning, the plain statement of his first question is—Would it be injurious to the public to allow money to be loaned upon any terms the parties may choose to stipulate? The decision of this question he thinks must depend upon the following contingencies:—

"If such a freedom from restraint would inevitably increase the average rates of interest, it would be a serious evil to the community. If its tendency should be to reduce the rates below what they formerly were when the Usury Laws remained in force, it would be a blessing."

He seems to regard these as little short of self-evident propositions,—at least he does not attempt to prove them. Before proceeding to a discussion of these propositions, the reader should be apprised of the kind of reasoning with which Mr. Whipple desires to be met. He says:—"Let them, however, convince us by facts and experience. I object to the whole mass of their theories. Scarcely any two of them agree in those theories. The writers denominate these artificial rules, the *science* of political, that is, national economy. Why not furnish us with a science of individual economy? The one is quite as necessary and quite as useful as the other. The science of prudence, I suppose, would come next, a subject quite as reducible to rules as economy. The truth is, that literary men of all ages have had some predominant hobby. At one time the science of Astrology ruled mankind. Next comes Metaphysics, which employed the pens of the ablest men of its age. This science is now agreed to deal pretty much in moonshine, and has gone, with its fellow-science, Astrology, to the tomb of the Capulets. Next comes Political Economy, which had its day, though a brief one. We now find it low down in the western horizon, Phrenology over our heads, and Animal Magnetism about an hour high in the east. What will come next, no one can guess. Come what will, for one, I shall not abandon the wisdom and experience of mankind very hastily, especially in relation to a question so nearly touching the safety of property in general as the one before us."

Had not Mr. Whipple warned his opponents thus explicitly not to approach his arguments with *truths*, and demanded that they should be tested by *facts*, we should have some hope of convincing him, that in making the assumptions he has in regard to high and low rates of interest, he has not quite reached the bottom of his subject. Facts may be valuable auxiliaries to an argument, if we can establish their connection with their alleged causes, and not otherwise; and this connection can

only be established by an intelligent perception of *truths* and *principles.* I shall not, therefore, regard very scrupulously the foregoing injunction, but endeavor to bring the questions at issue to the test of truths, as well as facts.

Political economy, which the author not only scouts from the circle of the sciences, but from the sphere of useful knowledge, would, if it had been consulted, have helped him somewhat in maintaining his assumption, that whatever tends to lower the rates of interest is advantageous to the public, and it would have sustained him triumphantly, if the downward tendency of the rate of interest was the result of natural causes, and not of legal restraint.

It does teach that the downward tendency of the average net profits on capital is indicative of increasing wealth in the country where the phenomenon may occur, because that downward tendency is the effect of increasing competition of capital with capital, which could not take place without an increase of capital. But it does not teach that the public is benefited by whatever tends to reduce the profits of capital employed in any one pursuit, below the average rate of profits or capital otherwise employed. Mr. Whipple inquires whether there can be any doubt that high rates of interest are injurious to the public! The correct answer to this question must depend upon what he considers *high rates.* If he alludes only to *relative* rates, the question is too indefinite to admit of a categorical answer; for, of two supposed rates, the higher one may or may not be a public evil. If we admit the assumption, that of any two supposable rates of interest, the higher one is necessarily a public evil, we must admit that any rate of interest, however low, is a public evil, for we cannot imagine a rate of interest so low but it might be still lower. If there is any justice in receiving any interest whatever for the use of money, it is as easy to conceive of a rate which would be too low, as of one which would be too high. If it is just to receive interest or rent for money at all, there must be some *reason why* it is just, and the rate of interest must be limited, in both directions, by the reason in which it is founded, and we must search for that reason. That the productive agent has a permanent and exclusive right to the avails of his industry, is a truth which but few will be bold enough to deny. The surplus products of individual industry constitute individual capital, and this capital is capable of aiding the industry of its owner, and contributing to further production.

To the advantages of this agency, the owner has as absolute a right as he has to the capital itself, and if he relinquishes those advantages for the benefit of another, he is entitled to a compensation corresponding to the additional profit he might have derived from employing that capital himself. This furnishes a clue to an *equitable average rate of interest,* which is the average *net profit* on capital employed in the various departments of industry. By net profits should be understood, the profits which remain after paying for the labor, skill and talent, whether of the owner of the capital, or those employed by him, engaged in aiding and directing, and all other expenses incident to its productive operations.

He who loans his capital to another, is justly entitled to the same income from it, that he might have derived from employing it himself, after paying himself for his own agency connected with it such compensation as similar services would command; or, to vary the example, he is entitled to the same

income in the form of interest, which he might have received in the form of dividends, if he had placed it in a joint-stock association engaged in manufacture or any other pursuit,—his own agency, in either case, being little more than to make the investment and receive the income. This profit he will have, as a general rule, or he will not loan his capital.

Anything, therefore, which tends to raise the ordinary rate of interest *above* the ordinary rate of net profits in capital, is a public evil, because it abstracts a portion of the reward naturally due to industry, and adds it to that which is naturally due to capital, and so discourages industry. So, on the other hand, whatever tends to depress the ordinary rate of interest *below* the ordinary net profit on capital, is a public evil, because it abstracts so much from the reward naturally due to the capital, and adds it to the reward naturally due to industry, and so, to the extent of its influence, discourages the production of capital, and especially the employing of it through the agency of those who have none of their own, and cripples the productive energies of both capital and labor by keeping them apart, and not only so, but tends to a concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, by preventing the enterprising poor from becoming wealthy, as in numerous instances they do, by the use, in the start, of borrowed capital. There is, then, such a thing as an equitable average rate of interest, *dependent* upon the average rate of net profits; and any *average* rate of interest, either above or below that, is a public evil.

Had Mr. Whipple been on speaking terms with the principles of political economy, he might have derived from the foregoing considerations a much better argument in support of Usury Laws than any he has produced; for that same science which he ranks with astrology and mesmerism, demonstrates that there is a constant and strong tendency among the various branches of industry to an equilibrium of profits, and that average profits are not subject to very frequent nor extensive fluctuations; and hence he might have maintained, with some show of plausibility, the propriety of fixing the rate of interest at the average net profit on capital, as nearly as that could be ascertained.

If it is granted that a uniform rate should be established by law for all times, places, and circumstances in which the law is to take effect, all, upon due reflection, will agree that it should be fixed at the average net profit on capital within the same limits. The necessity of a uniform rate, in the absence of an agreement between the parties, is generally conceded. But the legislator is liable to commit egregious errors in carrying the restriction even thus far. New states are always settled by emigrants from the older ones, who are naturally prejudiced in favor of the laws and institutions to which they have been accustomed, and they frequently adopt the laws of their native country or state, with too little regard to their adaptation to the new circumstances and influences with which they are to stand connected; and the migrations of interest laws furnishes a remarkable example of this kind.

Our forefathers brought their interest laws from England as they did their weights and measures, and they have been carried from state to state, with but slight modifications, throughout the republic; and generally without reference to any rule except that such was the per cent. in their native states. The legitimate results of these blunders have been felt in a greater or less degree by the earlier settlers of all the states; but most

severely in those which possessed the greatest internal resources, and which have settled the most rapidly, in the extreme difficulty with which money could be obtained even upon the best security.

This difficulty has usually been attributed to a scarcity of capital. This is doubtless *one* cause of the trouble; but another plain and obvious cause has been, that the ordinary net profit on capital has been so far above the legal rates of interest, that those who had capital could do better than to loan it at all at those rates. Another ill effect of fixing the legal rate of interest below the net profit on capital, even if limited to cases in which no agreement has been made between the parties, is, that if one man gets into another's debt by ordinary deal, it furnishes an inducement to the debtor to be slack concerning his promise—to avoid payment as long as possible—because he is paying less interest than he is receiving in profits on the amount due. Business men in the West have seen this principle operate, not always to their satisfaction; and eastern merchants may have suffered some delay, occasionally, from the operation of the same principle, without ever finding out the precise nature of the "*misfortune.*"

Instances have occurred in which men have paid seven per cent. on their debts, and the costs of a law-suit besides, and made money at that. We shall be better prepared to appreciate the impropriety of fixing an uniform rate of interest, (except for cases in which no agreement has been made,) even at the average net profit on capital, if we consider the variations to which those profits are subject.

Although there is a strong tendency to an equilibrium of profits between the different pursuits in which capital is employed, yet they are, by no means, absolutely equal.

1st. At the *same place* the profits on capital will be greater when it is scarce, than when it is abundant, just as labor will be higher when laborers are few, *ceteris paribus*, than when they are many. That competition has a tendency to reduce profits, is so far within the scope of observation, and so generally admitted, that the mere statement of the proposition is sufficient.

2nd. They are different at different places, at the same *time.* This follows in part, from the first proposition, as capital may be more abundant, at the same time, in one place than another, but not from that circumstance alone.

The *resources* of our country, or a particular section of the same country, may offer a larger reward, both to labor and capital, than another, while the hardships, privations and risks to be encountered in reaping those advantages, are such as to prevent for some time, if not permanently, a sufficient competition, either in labor or capital, to reduce the profits of either to the common level. The rapid settlement of the new western states, and the cultivation of their millions of acres of rich soil, and the consequent rapid growth of towns and cities, and the prodigious strides by which the value of real estate, both in town and country, has advanced towards maturity, have afforded returns, and, in some of the more recently settled states, still afford returns to both labor and capital, which could not be realized in a country which had acquired a greater degree of maturity.

Certain *latitudes* also afford greater remunerating profits, both to industry and capital, than others. The great productiveness of the lower latitudes, and the high estimation in which the products of those regions are held, afford greater natural inducements to both labor and capital,

than are usually found in the higher latitudes; and yet such is the risk of life and health by exposure to those climates, that neither capital nor labor flows to them in sufficient abundance to reduce profits to the common level in more healthful climes.

3rd. The profits on capital differ, under different circumstances, at the *same time and place.* Investments which afford but *temporary employment* for capital, must offer larger profits than those which give *permanent* employment, or capital will not be diverted to them. The reason for this is found in the inconveniences and loss of time incident to frequent changes in the modes of employing capital, or repeated acts of investment. Employments which call for capital in *small amounts* must, in general, offer larger inducements, *per centum*, than those which call for it in larger quantities. The reason of this is, that he who has any considerable amount of capital will be content with a somewhat smaller income from it if he can keep it together, than he will if it is to be divided and scattered. The various employments which occupy capital must, in order to attract it equally, afford profits proportioned to the *risk* incurred. An employment which is attended with extraordinary risk, must afford extraordinary profits, or it will be abandoned. So potent is this principle, that an attentive observer will find it, in nice gradations, pervading all the business affairs of men.

The foregoing are among the most prominent and permanent influences which vary the net profits of capital. When all the influences which tend to raise profits combine, they produce the maximum rate; and when those combine which tend to reduce profits, the minimum rate is the result. We find, then, that the rule or criterion by which alone the equitable rate of interest can be determined, varies widely, at different places, at different times, and under different circumstances. If the net profit on capital is the only criterion by which we can determine what is and what is not an equitable rate of interest, and those profits are subject to the variations which have been pointed out, it would seem to be a logical conclusion that the equitable rate of interest must be as variable as the criterion by which it is determined,—in other words, *that an equitable uniform rate of interest is impossible.* The same influences which have been enumerated operate equally upon capital in the loan market, as upon capital seeking an investment in any other way. If the peculiarities of a particular section of country, or a particular period of time, afford extraordinary net profits, they will as certainly demand extraordinary rates of interest. And there is no injustice in the demand; for the net profit, whatever it may be, is the reward naturally due to capital for the agency it exerts in production. Labor and capital are partners in the production of wealth. The proportion of the product which belongs to labor is determined by the operation of principles which cannot be elucidated in the present essay. It is sufficient for the present argument to arrive at a clear perception of the truth; whatever that proportion may be, or however it may fluctuate, it is just as equitable in the case of capital *loaned*, as it is in any other case; and that the same freedom must exist in relation to it, or capital will leave the loan market and seek investment elsewhere. The legislature might as well enact that one man should not labor for a certain man for more than fifty cents per day, and leave him at liberty to work for a hundred other men at any price he and they could agree upon, any one of whom would give him a dollar a day, as to enact that capital

loaned shall receive a profit of only six per cent., while there are a hundred other ways in which it may be employed at a net profit of twelve per cent. The effect of every such attempt, if it has any effect at all, must inevitably be to drive capital from the loan market. It will have the same profit then, legally or illegally, that it can get elsewhere, or elsewhere it will go. What then shall we think of Mr. Whipple, when in reply to Mr. Bentham, he says:—"I believe it was never before pretended that Usury Laws lessened the quantity of money, or prevented any one from borrowing!" The author seems to suppose that there is just so much money which must be loaned, or lie idle! He does not seem to comprehend the simple truth, that it is *capital* which is loaned, and that in being loaned it only assumes, for the moment, the form of money, in order that the borrower may, by a single act of exchange, get the borrowed capital in the precise form in which he wants it, and that the ordinary quantity of money in circulation has really nothing to do with determining the quantity of capital in the loan market.

The intelligent reader must by this time be convinced, that of two supposable average rates of interest, the higher one is not *necessarily* injurious to the public, and that an uniform rate of interest, however nicely adjusted to average net profits, cannot be equitable in all cases. But the law of *supply and demand*, acting on the loan market, determines the actual average rate of interest, and produces extremes extending both above and below the equitable point, even under the varying influences I have pointed out, and a little attention to this law, may enable us the better to estimate the validity of those objections to the free principles which are drawn from the extreme highest rate. The general operation of this law is concisely stated by Mr. Mill as follows:

"The rate of interest will be such as to equalize the demand for loans with the supply of them. It will be such, that exactly as much as some people are desirous to borrow at that rate, others shall be willing to lend. If there is more offered than demanded, interest will fall; if more is demanded than offered, interest will rise; and in both cases, to the point at which the equation of supply and demand is established."—(*Mill's Pol. Economy*, vol. ii., chap. 23.)

The average rate of interest thus established cannot vary very widely from an average equitable rate, because both the motive which prompts the chief demand, and that which induces the chief supply, are regulated by the actual net profit on capital. The borrower cannot afford to pay more than the net profit, and will not, except in extreme cases of necessity arising out of embarrassed circumstances, which cases are rare, and constitute but a small portion of the demand; and the lender cannot afford to take less than the ordinary net profit, and will not, except in extreme cases of indolence or inability to employ his own capital, which cases are also rare, and furnish but a small portion of the supply. Still these extremes do exist, and affect in some degree the average rate of interest, and to prevent the higher extreme, is one of the main objects of Usury Laws, which will be examined in reply to Mr. Whipple's second inquiry.

The limits I have assigned to this essay will not permit me to follow Mr. Whipple through all the errors and absurdities he has evolved under this head. I will only quote his own summary of them, and remark briefly upon the points he supposes he has established. He says:—

"I have attempted to show that it (money) is unlike merchandise in the following essential features:

"1st. That money is the creation of government—merchandise of individual industry. Its *origin* is therefore different."

Money, I must be permitted to say, *is not* the creation of government in any sense which should or can exempt it from the operation of the same laws of trade which affect other commodities. Gold and silver are dug out of the earth by the labor of individuals, just like iron and copper, and for many ages they were used by common consent, as money, and passed by weight. Abimelech gave Abraham a thousand pieces of silver as damages for detaining his wife. In payment for a certain field, "Abraham *weighed* to Ephron four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant," at a time when governments did not exist, except in the patriarchal form. The coinage of money was of comparative late date among the Persians, Greeks and Romans. "The Persians had none coined before the reign of Darius, the son of Hystaspes; nor had the Greeks (whom the Romans most probably imitated) any before the time of Alexander. We have no certain vestiges of the existence of coined money among the Egyptians, before the Ptolemies; nor had the Hebrews any coinage until the government of Judas Maccabeus, to whom Antiochus Sidetes, King of Syria, granted the privilege of coining his own money in Judea. Before these respective times, all payments were made by weight."—(*Horne's Int.*, vol. iii., part 4, chap. 7.)

Yet money existed long before these periods, as the product of private industry, and by the spontaneous laws of trade. In coining money, the government has created *nothing*. It has only taken the currency as it was, and reduced it to a more convenient form; and the only advantage in having even this done by the government instead of private individuals, is, that every one may have the faith of the government to rely upon, that a coin bearing its stamp is, in weight and purity, what it purports to be.

Bullion possesses all the essential qualities of money, and possesses about the same value by weight, and is subject to the same laws of trade as coin, and no sane man will pretend that the owner has not as absolute a right over the one as the other; for with the slight difference of the expense of coining, they are alike the product of individual industry, as much so as iron or anything else.

"2nd. That the *object* of the government in creating money was a currency for the convenience of all; whereas the object of the product of individual industry is the advantage of the individual alone."

It has already been shown that gold and silver are as really the product of individual industry as iron or wheat.

As *value* is the essential property of money, and as that exists in the metal before the government touches it, it is unnecessary to discuss the *object* of government in doing what it never has done, and never can do.

"3d. That the title of an individual to merchandise is absolute, the public having no interest in it. But that his title to a portion of the currency is *qualified*, he having no legal, at least no moral right to prevent the object of its creation."

[To be continued.

THE CONDOR.

FROM THE GERMAN OF A. STIFTER.

I.

A NIGHT PICTURE.

About two o'clock, on a beautiful June night, a cat walked along the ridge of the roof and looked up at the moon.

One of his eyes, upon which the beams of the starry night struck obliquely, glistened like a green will-'o-the-wisp, the other was jet-black; and so coming, at length, to the end of the roof, he stared in at a window—and I out of it. Raising the great, friendly orbs of his eyes to me, he seemed oddly enough to wish to inquire: "How comes it, thou dear old play-and-room-fellow, that, at this time, in the late night, thou holdest out of the window thy face, which usually lies, ever blooming and healthy, upon the white pillow, and slumbers so peacefully, when, in my night-walk, I come past occasionally and look in?"

"Ay, friend," I replied to the silent question, "The times have altered very much of late, as thou seest. The white pillow lies yonder upon the bed unruffled, and the full moon paints the sweetly glittering pane thereupon, instead of shining in my slumbering face,—which face I must hold out here upon the window-sill this night, in order that, during three-fourths of it, I may look out upon the sky; for on this same night there will rise the strangest and craziest star which was ever seen. It will indeed not shine, but if judged according to its real worth, there is that within it which is richer in beams than the moon and all the stars taken together, thy sparkling eyes not excepted, most honored Sir!"

Nearly thus I replied to the cat, and, as if he understood my words, he turned once more towards me his large, friendly eyes, which shone like the glittering pane, and bending he pressed the side of his soft fur against my hand, and began forthwith his familiar purring, while I proceeded to talk with him:

"One sees many things in a long moonlight night, as thou well knowest, dear one, if thou only hast the spirit of observation; but I knew it not, when I had no time to notice one so honest-hearted, until in this waiting and looking into the sky, while the expected heavenly body came not, I had sufficient leisure to study the course of a summer-night.

"But since all is true, which I disclosed to my dear friend Hinze, therefore I see no reason why I should not reveal it also to a much dearer human friend, to whom, some day, this leaf may come; nor why I should conceal that truly a singular and unhappy fate chained me to this window, and, by a strange fascination, kept my glance in the air during the whole night. It might have been very foolish, but any one who had witnessed beforehand what I had, would gladly have set up there with me.

"The time hung heavily as lead.

"Unfortunately I had risen much too soon, for the tiresome evening-bustle of men still trailed along the streets, and produced strange discord with the lovely moon, whose rosy countenance already lay yonder between two large chimneys, and from thence saluted my windows.

"Gradually the people retired to rest, until at length nothing was heard but the shouts of revellers, resounding here and there, as they took their late journey homeward. Then began the time which philosophers, poets and cats love—midnight; my four-footed friend had also shown hisgood taste in selecting this time for his walk.

"The moon had now freed itself from the roofs, and stood high in the blue firmament,—a glimmering light began to spread over the sky, through all the clouds darted rays of silver, from all the plated roofs ran down broad streams of the same, and from every lightning-rod, roof-point and steeple-cross bright sparks were thrown. A thin, silvery mist floated over the vast city, as a veil which lay upon thousands of slumbering hearts. The only gold-point in the sea of silver was the burning lamp yonder in the garret of a poor laundress, whose child lay in the silence of death.

"All was beautiful, and thus the hours, one after another, passed away. The shadows of the chimneys had long since turned around—the moon's silver orb was already approaching the second half of its dark vault—there was a death-like stillness—only I and the little lamp watched.

"But that, which I sought, appeared not.

"Twice had Hinze walked across the roof without coming to me. The great city beneath me, swimming indistinct in the magic of moonlight, as if one could hear it breathe,—but the sky, in the spot at which I was looking, only remained bright, as it had been during all the night. Yet I waited. It was, as if each moment the silence became deeper. The moon advanced perceptibly upon the second hemisphere; a flock of lamb-like clouds, which, low towards the south, wandered in the blue pasture, became softly luminous, and even the fog-banks, which had slumbered since evening, stretching themselves along the western sky, and late into our night had reflected back the beams of America's sun, were now extinguished, and glowed only in the rays of the moon, which shed over them a soft, pale light, as they floated slowly away.

"The clock struck two, and Hinze came. Then commenced that silent discourse with him, which I have written down on the beginning of this leaf; but the conversation did not continue long, as we both soon became weary of it, and each returned to his own occupation, he to his pleasure-walk, and I to my monotonous gazing.

"The lamp of the widow had meanwhile been extinguished; therefore I feared that soon quite another lamp would begin to shine; for already in the east a suspicious, pale gray light crept forth; the air also, until now so warm and calm, began to move, for I felt it blowing with the morning coolness upon my face, and the rushing of the spring-floods was distinctly borne across the mountains.

"Thereupon, in a bright girdle of sky, between two long bands of clouds, there appeared, as if floating slowly along, a dark spot,—I quickly seized my telescope, and raised it towards that part of the firmament. Stars—clouds—the radiant sky—flitted across the object-glass. I regarded them not, but continued to seek anxiously through the tube, until suddenly I seized and held fast a large black ball.

"It is right that I should here introduce a remark. Against the delicately white morning-sky, at first so faintly red, like the peach-blossom, a significant, large dark ball became visible, almost imperceptibly floating upward—and beneath it, hanging by invisible threads, trembling and reeling in the glass of the instrument, like a dot in the sky, the little skiff, a curved leaf, which bore three human beings, and which could have been shaken down from the morning-red as naturally as a drop could fall from the neighboring clouds.

"Cornelia, poor, deluded child! May God save and protect thee!

"I was compelled to lay aside the telescope, for it became more and more dreadful to me, that I could not see at all the cord by which the boat was fastened to the baloon.

"Is also the second fast as certain as the first? Then farewell, my heart,—for thou knowest and lovest the fairest, noblest, most thoughtless of women!

"I could not refrain from again taking the telescope; but the baloon was no longer visible; probably the upper cloud-band had received it, from the ground of which its outline had disappeared.

"I waited and watched a long time in the sky, but found nothing more.

"With singular emotions of indignation and anxiety I laid away the instrument, and gazed into the air, until at length another but glowing ball appeared and poured its dazzling light over the great, fair city, upon my window, and upon the clear, serene, empty firmament."

II.

A DAY PICTURE.

The young man, in whose journal the foregoing was written, word for word, was a painter just commencing the practice of his art, nearly twenty-two years of age, though from his appearance one would have supposed him scarcely eighteen. From a profusion of blonde hair, which he still wore in boyish ringlets, looked forth an extremely ingenuous countenance, with a fair complexion, full of health, and adorned with the firstlings of a beard, of which he was very proud, and which sat childishly defiant upon the upper lip,—and beneath a tranquil brow, in which still dwelt all the innocence of childhood, two dark blue eyes full of enthusiasm. He had also brought into the great, wicked city, from the solitude of the forest-land in which he had grown up, all the simplicity of his native valley, and as much knowledge as at his age is generally attainable.

And thus, early after that night so memorable to him, and which he has described above, he sat there in his garret, which by degrees became filled with the warm beams of the morning sun, leaning against the high back of an old-fashioned, stuffed chair, whose innumerable yellow nails extended over him in the early light a glittering, starry arch. His hands were folded upon his breast, and his eyes rested upon the empty canvas which stood before him upon the easel, but they mused not upon pictures, for in their deep, melancholy fires was the dawn of a passion, which sadly blissful, burned into his heart, and appeared in proud beauty upon his

youthful countenance—upon whose unwritten leaves were the first letters of the great city, the title that now begins a hot life, full of happiness and of unrest, but lying far from the peaceful isle of his childhood.

Love is a beautiful angel, but often a beautiful angel of death for the trusting, deluded heart!

His night-companion, Hinze, his landlady's cat, lay upon the broad window-seat, and slept in the sunbeams. Not far from thence, upon the drawing of a cherub, lay the telescope. In the streets beneath, already bustled the industry of a great metropolis, providing for the hunger and luxury of to-day.

While the artist sat thus in his narrow chamber, which the heavens had at length filled with the golden sunshine for him, elsewhere quite another scene appears. High in the firmament, in the solitude of the boundless air, floated the balloon, and bore its little bark and its brave voyagers, with a soft air-current westward through the unsubstantial ocean. Around was a death-like stillness, only interrupted occasionally by the low creaking of the taffeta when the east wind struck against its sides, or by a scarcely audible whisper in its silken cordage. Three persons, also in the deepest silence, sat in the boat, wrapped to the chin in thick furs, with green veils drawn over their faces. Through one of these glistened the soft outline of a beautiful, pale, female countenance, with large, spiritual, anxious eyes—and therefore was the second fact true, as the nocturnal observer had supposed. But since she had embarked, there was no longer to be discovered that brave Cornelia, who, like the Roman namesake, wished to be distinguished above her sex, and like the heroic sons of the same, would venture the attempt to break the bands of oppression, and who desired at least to show by example, that woman can declare herself free from the arbitrary limits which cruel man has drawn around her, for thousands of years, without thereby losing aught of virtue and feminine delicacy. She was no longer what she had been but a half hour before; for all, all was different from what she had anticipated.

The preparations for the ascent had been made in the earlier dawn, in order to avoid all unnecessary observations, and with highly excited hopes the maiden stood near by, while the balloon was filling, scarcely able to control the beating heart, and the richly auguring expectations of the results which would ensue. It was, however, an anxious moment to the sympathizing bystanders, when the tarnished silk swelled to a gigantic ball, and the strong ropes by which it was held to the earth, were stretched to their utmost extent. Curious instruments and engines were brought and laid in the sides of the boat. A tall, fine-looking man—he was usually gentle, gay and joyous, but now pale and sad—went around the machine many times, in order to prove the capacity of all its parts. At length he asked the young lady if she persisted in her wish, and upon her replying, "yes," he looked upon her with a strange expression of admiration, and assisted her respectfully into the boat, remarking, that he would not trouble her with a repetition of the warnings which he had already given her a fortnight before, and upon which, doubtless, he had bestowed sufficient consideration. He waited a few moments, and then, as no answer followed, he entered also, and after him an old man; he was held to be an aged, scientific amanuensis.

All was now in readiness, the machine in order. Cornelia threw one glance upon the trees of the garden, which stood around and looked dimly

forth in the gray morning-light. Then burst from the lips of her companion the words: "Now, in the name of Heaven, let the brave Condor fly—unfasten the ropes!" It was done, and seized by the thousand invisible arms of the air, which pressed it upward—the gigantic fabric trembled and wavered an instant—then slowly rising, it drew the little skiff free from the motherly support of the earth, and gaining in swiftness at every breath, finally shot with the speed of an arrow perpendicularly upward into the stream of morning-light, and in a moment the flames of the rising sun burst upon its ball and its cordage, so that Cornelia was alarmed, supposing that the whole balloon was on fire; for the lines of the cords engraved themselves upon the blue sky like the glowing bars of light, and its globe shone like a huge sun. The retreating earth was still quite black and inextricable, passing away in the darkness. Far in the west, upon a fog-bank, lay the waning moon.

Thus it floated higher and higher, gaining in roundness each instant. Two hearts, if not another also, and an older, beat high with the sublimity of the moment.

The voyagers rose now into an archipelago of clouds, which at the same time scattered upon the earth their morning roses, while up here they wore white glittering icebergs, swimming in the fearful blue currents of air, and threatening the ship with their whirlpools and chasms. But as they came nearer, these icebergs moved and spread themselves into white, undulating mist. At this moment, the sun rose upon the earth, and the latter again became visible in the distance. It was still the well-known maternal face, as we see it from a high mountain, but sweetly beautiful, and blushing beneath the veil of sunbeams, which gilded also the window of the garret where sat the young master.

"How far, Coloman?" inquired the æronaut.

"Nearly the height of Mount Blanc," answered the old man, who sat in the other end of the boat, "rather more than fourteen thousand feet, sir."

"It is well."

At these words, Cornelia looked carefully over the side of the vessel, and sent her glance down perpendicularly through the ærial abyss, upon the dear, forsaken earth, now still more brightly shining, if perchance she might discover any places which she knew; but see, all was strange, and the familiar residence even was no longer visible, and of course not the threads which bind us to a dear little spot which we call home. As the woods threw great shadows against the horizon, a wonderful structure of mountain chains, like crowding waves, spread themselves out in the distance, and stood forth from dun-colored places, probably plains. Only a stream was distinctly visible—a slender, trembling thread of silver, such as is often spun in the late autumn, in the dark fields. Over the whole, a singular yellow light seemed to hover. When she withdrew her glance, she met the joyous eyes of the gentleman, which recalled her to herself. He placed the telescope aright, and fastened it.

It was at this time that we discovered the balloon, as we left the chamber of the artist. It moved, as we said, with a gentle air-current westward, without rising higher; for, since twenty minutes, the mercury had not fallen in the tube. Both the men were engaged with their instruments. Cornelia drew her garments more closely around her, and retired into a corner of her seat. The passing breeze played with her

locks, and the vessel rocked from side to side. Of her heart, she gave to herself no account.

The silence was now interrupted only by the monotonous murmur of the men, as one dictated, and the other wrote.

Now on the horizon, in the misty distance, appeared vast glistening snow-fields, which Cornelia could not decipher.

"It is the Mediterranean Sea, honored lady," said Coloman; "we will here only try a few air-experiments in our wings, and prove the electricity; then shall you see a much more beautiful mirror, no longer of silver, but like pure, shining gold."

Meanwhile the young man had filled a vial with strong coffee, and, placing it in unslaked lime, he poured water upon the lime, and thus warmed the liquor; he then added some rum to it, and presented the young lady with a cup of the hot and reviving beverage. On account of the extreme cold, she felt the beneficial effects at once, as new life flowed through her system. The men drank also. They then conversed in a low voice, and the younger nodded. Hereupon the old man began to empty overboard the bags of sand which stood in the vessel. The Condor rocked in its bath, and, as with the splendid wings of its namesake, it rose slowly and solemnly into the highest ether—and now the scene became suddenly and wonderfully changed.

Cornelia's first glance was again towards the earth—but this was no longer the well-known fatherland; flaming in a strange golden smoke, it appeared to reel backward, bearing upon its extreme brow the Mediterranean Sea, like a narrow, glowing band, swimming in unknown, fantastic masses. The maiden affrighted, turned away her eyes, as if she had seen a monster—but also around the boat waved far and wide a thin, white pall, extending and moving itself—seen from the earth—the lambkins of the sky. To this sky her glance now flew—but behold, it was no longer there. The whole vault of heaven, the beautiful azure clock to our earth, had become an entirely black ground, reaching measureless and boundless into the abyss; that refreshing fullness and flood of light, which we enjoy so ungratefully below upon the earth, had up here entirely disappeared. As if in scorn, all the stars became visible—small, dimly perceptible gold points, scattered and almost lost in the wilderness—and finally the sun, a threatening orb, without warmth, without beams, a sharply defined disk in the waving, swelling, white, melted metal; thus it stared with destructive brilliancy from the abyss—and yet without fastening a single ray of light upon this unsubstantial space; only upon the balloon and its little bark gleamed a dazzling brightness, causing the spectre-like machine to stand out from the surrounding darkness, and sketching the countenances in ghastly outline, as in a magic lantern.

And yet—the fancy can scarcely conceive it—yet it was our own soft, lovely air, in which they sailed—the same air which, in the morning, fanned the cheeks of an infant. The balloon came, as the old man observed, into the upper, opposite trade-winds, and must have been going forward with fearful velocity, as the inclined position of the skiff indicated, and the powerful shaking and pulling of the taffeta, which however gave out a sound no louder than the moaning of a child; for up here were the limits also of the empire of sound—and when the vessel turned from the sun, there was nothing, nothing visible but the terrible stars, like ghosts, which wander about by daylight.

Now, after a long silence, two snow-white lips opened, and a low, timid voice, said: "I am dizzy."

But no one heard it.

She drew her furred cloak more closely around her, to ward off the shaking fever-frost. The men still labored at things which she did not understand; but the young, beautiful, formidable man appeared to her to send, from time to time, a majestic glance into the boundless gloom, and to play with danger and sublimity; in the elder was perceptible no trace of emotion of any kind.

After a long, long period of forgetfulness, the young man turned towards the maiden to observe her; but she looked around with a silent, delirious gaze, and upon her lips stood a drop of blood.

"Coloman," cried the young man, in as loud a tone as possible, "Coloman, we must descend; the lady is very ill."

The old man stood up from the instruments, and looked towards her, with a countenance glowing with anger, and full of rage.

With a wonderfully strong voice, he exclaimed: "I told you, Richard, that woman cannot endure the sky—the undertaking which has cost so much is now incomplete; this beautiful voyage, the easiest and most pleasant in my whole life, will be entirely in vain. We must certainly descend, for the woman will die here. Open the valve."

After these words, he sat down again, grasped a rope, and drew the folds of his mantle together; but the young man pulled hastily at a green silken cord—and like a giant falcon, the Condor shot down perpendicularly a hundred fathoms through the air, and then sank slowly, ever lower and lower.

The gentleman supported the fainting Cornelia in his arms.

III.

A FLOWER-PIECE.

I know not how much time had passed since the air-voyage. It was again morning, before the day had scarcely dawned, that the young artist was sitting in the old-fashioned chair with the yellow nails once more, and gazing upon the canvas stretched before him; at this time, however, it was not empty, but displayed the outline of a large picture, which was already surrounded by a heavy gilt frame. He labored upon the piece, as if eager for action, and any one who had seen him, as in self-forgetfulness he allowed his eyes to run over the painted landscape, would have supposed that from him must have flowed into the picture the warmth and softness which so unmistakable and so charming appeared in the same. Often he went backward some steps, examining and proving the whole with skillful glance; then with glistening eyes proceeded with his work. It is a glorious moment, when the angel of art appears upon the unconscious, charming, youthful countenance, illumines it, and raises it, without the knowledge of its possessor, so beautifully and so far above its accustomed expression. More and more brightly shone the sun into the chamber, and in this humor was it, that a servant, about mid-day, brought a sealed note.

The young man broke it open. "Well, I will come," said he, and the hot crimson rushed to his checks, the evidence of a sentiment which he fancied lay concealed within the deepest recesses of his heart, and which, of late, he had struggled sadly and unwillingly to subdue.

The servant went away, but the youth painted no more.

The next day, about ten o'clock, dressed in a fine suit of black, a light hat over his abundant blonde hair, he left the city, passed through the long, cheerful streets of the suburbs until he came to the entrance of an elegant country-house; he went in here, ascended the broad staircase, and opened the folding-doors to a large hall filled with pictures.

Here he stopped, and allowed himself to be announced.

Presently a door opposite the entrance opened, and an elderly woman appeared, who immediately, and with maternal joy, extended her hand to him and pressed his warmly.

"Go in," said she, "go in. She has waited for you almost with anxiety. Ah! Gustavus, how much I have suffered! She has indeed accomplished it; then she was sick—she must have seen fearful sights—she must have gone far, very far; for their return lasted three days and nights.

"Since her recovery, she is so good and gentle, that it goes to my heart strangely; yet she will not say a single word about this journey. But go in."

The youth had listened with a mournful air; he was silent, and his melancholy became deeper.

He approached the door, opened it, and disappeared beyond it.

The room, in which he now found himself, was spacious, and furnished in excellent taste. At a window, in the midst of a forest of foreign plants, sat a young lady. She was dressed in white satin, whose soft lustre contrasted beautifully with the dark green leaves of the camellia.

She rose, as the young man entered, and came towards him with a friendly air. A form, above the middle size, full of the lofty charms of gentle birth, but also possessing the still higher attractions of graceful manners, which make one so beautiful. Her face was spiritual, her complexion fair, though to-day quite pale. Two large dark eyes looked forth from the paleness upon the artist, and greeted him kindly.

But he observed not the slight trace of humility or sickness, which trembled in her manners—his heart lay banished to the past, his eye was troubled and haughty.

There was a moment of silence.

"We have not seen each other for a long time," said she in a low voice; "I have been slightly ill."

He bowed, but said nothing in reply.

"Have you been well, since I saw you?" she inquired.

He answered, "I have been well."

A lofty, wondering glance was thrown upon him—but, without speaking, she turned towards the camellia, where stood an easel, moved something which there was no necessity for moving, placed something aright which was not wrong before, and looked among the green leaves of the plants, as if in search of something—and then came back again. He stood meanwhile upon the same spot, as one who waits for commands, his hat in his hand, and without changing his position the breadth of a hair.

The lady sighed,—and then finally recovering herself, inquired in a still gentler tone: "You have thought of us, perhaps, during this time?"

"I have often thought," he replied with unembarrassed voice, "upon you and of our studies. The colors upon the picture may indeed have dried too much already."

But now her face was suffused with a deep blush, and she exclaimed warmly: "Let us paint."

As she hastily averted her countenance, the crimson hue was visible only behind the temples, and the expression of profound sorrow in her eyes was caught only by her mirror. It was very evident, and her dress had already indicated, that she had not wished to paint. But as he now laid aside his hat, approached the easel, opened a compartment of the same, took out the painting utensils, and standing, placed the colors upon the pallet—as she had looked upon all this with large, silent eyes—and as he politely offered her the pallet, therefore she pushed back hastily one sleeve of her satin dress, and with inexpressible pride seated herself.

He stood behind her, exhibiting in his countenance no trace of emotion.

The painting began. The old woman, the young lady's nurse, went back and forth from time to time.

The young man, as teacher, commenced with a clear voice, coolly and tranquilly, a critical examination of that which was already upon the canvas, and performed this duty more briefly and with greater commendation than usual; he then gave the plan for that which the picture next needed, and named the requisite tones and the colors from which they were to be made.

She took and mingled them.

"Right," said he. The tones were now placed near each other upon the pallet—the painting continued, and in the apartment was perfect silence; only interrupted, as in a grotto, by falling drops, so here by the occasional words, "right—warmer—deeper." At length, even these were heard no more; by the long handle of the pencil he showed her what to unite, what to separate; or he put down suddenly a light or a deep shade, where it was needed, and she had not ventured to place it.

What he wished, he had obtained; but any one who had seen him, as lonely he raised his beautiful face from behind her chair, would have observed the burning anguish swimming therein,—but she looked not towards him, and there was elsewhere around only the blind walls.

As often the spirit of discord comes between men, at first, as a thing so slight, so unsubstantial, that they see it not, or consider it not worth sweeping away with a breath of the mouth or a fold of the garment,—as it then secretly increases, until finally it stands between them like a huge, inexpugnable, cloudy giant, so was it here. Once, indeed, had there been to him a beautiful dream, as if in her also trembled the beginning of that passionate existence, which lay so mysteriously upon his soul; once this dream came: but then again, there was her pride, her effort for freedom, her venturous attempt—all, all was so entirely different from what his timid, swelling heart told him that it should be; so very different, that, suddenly gnashing with his teeth, he threw everything behind him, and now stood there as one who scorns,—and as she still continued to paint, without making one side-movement of her head, or speaking a single word, then he pressed his lips close together, and thought he hated that woman right heartily! And as hour after hour of the morning flew away,—as he listened to her breathing, and each moment brought only the same image, then it became sultry in the room, and all at once

—he knew not wherefore—he went to the window and looked forth. Without all was silent as within; a gloomy blue sky spread over the motionless green trees,—the youth fancied that it was surrounding them with a great serpent in order to crush them. Suddenly he heard behind him a dull sound, as if something was laid down; he looked around; truly pallet and painting-rod were put aside, and the maid sat leaning back in her chair, her face covered with her hands. For one moment, he looked upon her, and began to tremble; then gently he approached nearer,—she moved not,—then still nearer—he held his breath; he looked at the beautiful fingers which concealed the blooming countenance, and he saw, at length, that gushing tears were forcing themselves between them; in an instant he was upon his knees before her. Men speak of a fabulous flower of the desert, which for many years was an inflexible plant, but which, in one night, burst forth into bloom, affrighted and trembling at its own happiness—so was it here. Anxiously he sought to look beneath her hands into her face; but he could not see it,—then he endeavored to take hold of the arm gently, that he might remove the hand; but the arm would not yield. Then burst from his lips the passionate words, "Dearest, best Cornelia."

She pressed her hands only the more closely upon her face, and only more abundant flowed the hot tears.

But—how was it with him then? Cruel anxiety did those tears cause him, and yet each of them rolled like a pearl of triumphant rapture over his heart. Where has the serpent gone from the window? where the oppressive blue sky?

A smiling arch sprang over the world, and the green trees waved a sea of glittering splendor!

He had not yet withdrawn her hand, but he sought no longer to do so; she became more tranquil—soon quite calm. Without uncovering her face, she said in a low voice:

"You once spake to me a friendly word about my life, copied after that of men—"

"Let it pass," said he, interrupting her, "it was folly, presumption, in me—"

"No, no," she replied, "I must speak; I must say to you, that it will become far otherwise—ah, I am only a poor, weak woman,—how poor, how weak, even when compared to that feeble, gray-haired man,—'she cannot endure the sky!'"

Then she stopped; and again the tears would come. The youth now drew away her hand; her eyes followed, but her first glance at him alarmed her, so that suddenly her tears ceased to flow. How was he changed? From the looks of the boy, looked forth an expanded, earnest, manly countenance, beaming with the strange lustre of the deepest feeling; but she, also, was no longer the same; in those proud, dark orbs, lay an expression of the deepest humility, and those eyes, now so meek, were fastened upon him, and so tender, so full of love as never —— resigned, weak, helpless,—she beheld herself speechless,—the hot flame of emotion waved—the heart was powerless—a silent attraction—a gentle yielding—and the lips melted passionately together, only an inarticulate murmur of the voice—and the most blissful moment of two human beings had come, and — gone.

The band of gold and ebony around their heads had broken itself, the

flame had burst forth, and they withdrew from each other—but their eyes met not, they only looked upon the earth, and were silent.

After a long, long pause, the young man ventured first to speak, and said, in a subdued tone: "Cornelia, what shall this moment presage?"

"The highest which it can," she replied proudly, but low.

"Well, it is the most beautiful which God has granted to my life," said he; "but behind this great happiness, it is to me now as if there stood a greater, a more lasting sorrow—Cornelia—how shall I learn to forget this moment?"

"God forbid!" she exclaimed, affrighted; "Gustavus, thou dear, only friend, whom alone I had upon the wide earth, when deluded, I thought to elevate myself above my sex—we will not forget; I should hate myself, if I could do so. And you also, preserve for me, in love and truth, your great, noble heart."

He lifted his eyes suddenly to hers, rose from his seat, stepped before her, apparently taller than usual, like a strong man, and said: "Perhaps this heart is richer than I knew; now comes to it a resolution, which surprises even myself, but it is good: I shall enter upon my intended journey immediately; perhaps shall set out to-morrow. I cannot trust to this new happiness—is it indeed only a moment, a flash, in which two hearts meet, and then again night? Let us now see what these hearts are. Lost, this moment cannot be; but what shall it bring forth? Let it produce what it must and can—and as surely as a sun stands yonder, in the sky, so surely shall it, one day, shine upon the fruit of the present flower—it may be so, or so. I know only one thing, that without, there is another world, other trees, another air—and I am another man. O, Cornelia, help me to express what a wonderful starry heaven is within my heart, so blessed, brilliant, glistening—should it stream forth in creations as great as the universe itself,—but ah, I cannot, I can by no means express how boundless, how unspeakable, and how eternal is my love to you, and shall continue so long as a single fibre of this heart remains."

Cornelia was exceedingly astonished at the youth and at his words. They were of the same age; but she was a flower in full bloom, he might, at times, still be called a boy. Consciously or unconsciously, she had drawn from him a premature confession of his love—in one instant he had become a man; he became ever more and more beautiful in her eyes, as soul and love appeared in his features; and she looked upon him with delight, as he stood before her, so noble, so strong, glistening already in the future spiritual life and spiritual greatness, and yet innocent as a child, and unconscious of the divine flame of genius which played around his head.

Soul can only love soul, and genius alone inflame genius.

Cornelia was also standing now; she had raised her beautiful eyes to him, and everything good, fair and noble in her life, the boundless fullness of a pure heart, lay in her smile, and she knew it not, but fancied herself too poor to be able to recompense that heart which had unfolded itself to her view. But at that moment, he secretly promised himself that he would struggle as long as life remained, until he stood before all men great in spirit and in act, in order only that he might be able to repay her, because she had yielded to him her splendid life, asking nothing in return but his love.

They had meanwhile approached the window, and as each spake thus within, they became dumb, embarrassed outwardly.

How strange a thing is the heart in its innocence, when the first joyful emotions of love have come and are passed—then the first impression is to flee, to flee even from the beloved one, in order to bear in solitude the silent, overwhelming power.

Thus they stood, both of them, in the window. so near each other, and yet so far apart. The nurse then entered, and gave them to themselves again. He was able to speak of his journey and of his plans, and when the nurse said that he could still write to them and describe to them the mountains, forests and rivers as beautifully as he had often done in his walks—then wandered his eyes timidly towards Cornelia, and he saw that she blushed.

When at length the nurse again withdrew, he slowly took his hat, and said: "Cornelia, farewell!"

"May you have a prosperous journey," she replied, and added: "pray write."

She had no longer courage to allude, by a single word, to the past scene. She could not trust herself to ask him to delay the journey, nor could he venture to say that he would prefer to remain here; and thus they parted, only as he passed through the door, he looked round again, and saw the fair form of the beloved one, so modest and pure, standing among the flowers.

But as soon as he was gone, she hastened to the image of the virgin, sank upon her knees before it, and said: "Mother of grace, Mother of orphans, hear my vow: henceforth I will be and remain an humble, simple flower, which he with joy may place upon his noble artist's heart, and thereby he will know how inexpressibly I love him, and will forever love him."

And again her tears flowed, but they were soft, warm and happy.

Thus separated, for the first time, two beings who had found each other. Who knows what the future will bring forth? In both of their innocent, surprised hearts, is the glowing, single resolution, to venture the utmost in order to become more worthy of—in order to possess each other to all eternity.

Ah, ye poor ones, do ye know then the dignity and the baseness of the human heart?

IV.

A FRUIT-PIECE.

Many years had passed away since the events mentioned above, but there remains no account of them. What ardor, what conflicts had been between those two, who knows?

Only a very small picture of a later date is still here, which I willingly give.

Some years ago I was in Paris, and overheard accidentally, at a restaurateur's, a violent dispute concerning the comparative merits of two pictures, which were being exhibited at that time. As usual, some praised the first, others the second, but all were agreed in one thing, namely, that modern times had not seen their equals, and what attracted

the people still more, was, that no one knew by whom they had been painted.

"I know the artist," exclaimed a tall gentleman, "it is that pale man, who sat so often in the tower of Notre-Dame, last summer, and was so very silent. He must be in South-America by this time."

"The picture is by Monsard," said another, "every one imitates him."

"Yes, Monsard has surely painted them," cried a third; "the pieces are furnished with a false name, I say, because they are by a celebrated artist."

Some laughed, others screamed, and so it went on; but I hastened from the restaurateur's to the saloon, in order to see these highly-praised pictures. I found them easily, and in truth I was as much perplexed by them as those who stood near me. They were two moonlight pictures—no, not pictures, but real moonlight nights, only so poetical, so breathing, so intoxicated, as I never saw such.

There was continually standing around a thick crowd; and it was remarkable that a cry of delight burst from the lips even of the lower classes, as they glanced at these, and were struck by their resemblance to nature. The first was a great city seen from above, with a multitude of houses, towers, cathedrals, swimming in moonlight,—the second, a river-party in a sultry, electric, cloudy summer-night.

"Gustavus R——, from Germany," stood in the catalogue, and one can easily suppose what a crowd of recollections suddenly awakened within me, as I read "Gustavus"—I knew the artist now very well. Thus, in this manner, thought I, thy heart has reached its accomplishment, and thy love has unfolded itself! Poor, deluded man! Thus the reader will understand what, at that time, appeared to all Paris as a singularity and artist's whim, namely, that in the first picture was a cat—the good, honest Hinze. I remained until the close of the exhibition, and looked also at the other pictures. As in going round the saloon, I came again to the two paintings, I observed that an attendant informed a lady, who stood before them, that she must leave, as it was time to shut the rooms. The lady lingered a moment longer, then left the picture and turned to go—never had I met two such beautiful eyes—she let her veil fall over her face, and withdrew.

I could not, at that time, imagine who she was; and not until to-day, after a series of years, did I learn that the lady, after her visit to the saloon, went to her house in the street St. Honore; that she drew the window curtains in her chamber, clasped her hands over her forehead, and then buried her face in the cushions of the sofa. How all the soft glimmer and lustre of those pure, innocent pictures, was moving in her brain, like a low, gentle reproach of a soul, which is silent, but speaks by light-beams,—which press deeper, are ever present, ever shining, and never, like tones, expire!

Paris knew not, as on that day, its most celebrated beauty appeared in none of its circles, that beauty which inflamed and sported with thousands of hearts. Paris knew not, that she sat at home in her darkened chamber, and helpless, allowing the unavailing tears to roll down her cheeks—tears, which would almost crush her breaking heart;—but it was in vain, in vain! Cold and calm, the power of the past stood out before her soul, and was never, never to bend—and far, far from her home, among the primitive rocks of the Cordilleras, wandered an unknown, strong man, full of scorn, in order to seek there a new heaven for his agitated, creative, thirsting, and still innocent heart.

SKETCHES OF LALLY'S CAMPAIGN IN MEXICO.

Four months after that brilliant drama, known as "*Scott's Campaign in Mexico*," had opened with the fall of the city of Vera Cruz, and its dependencies, there was encamped at a little village, called Vergara, situated on the beach, three or four miles north of that city, a small detachment of recruits for the Fourth and Fifth Regiments of United States Infantry. They had, unfortunately, arrived too late. The last division of that celebrated little army, (which included their regiments,) whose valor at Cerro Gordo had already made their names immortal, had already departed. Too weak to attempt, with safety, a junction with Scott's rear, and fearful that any reverse, however trifling, might, at this time, be fatal to our arms, this small detachment, quietly guarding, at Vergara, the approaches to Vera Cruz by the way of the Great National Road, were anxiously awaiting the opportunity for sharing with their comrades the splendid operations which were then impending.

The battle of Cerro Gordo, (one of the most signal triumphs of science and bravery recorded in history,) fought by them, with such decisive results, on the 17th and 18th of April, 1847, had, in dissipating the enemy's forces, increased his other powers of annoyance to our troops. Large parties of the defeated enemy, three and four thousand in number, interposed themselves between the American army and the city of Vera Cruz, and ranging at will over the whole country, effectually arrested all communication, and at times, indeed, became so bold as to threaten the recapture of that city. Not a single American soldier garrisoned the long line which intervened. The advance of so small a party, under such circumstances, was, consequently, an enterprise of too doubtful and hazardous a character to meet the approbation of *Colonel Henry Wilson*, who was at that time governor of the city, and commander-in-chief.

At last, on the 19th of July, the arrival of three or four hundred men, from the Carolinas and Virginia, and a day or two after, fresh bodies from Texas, Missouri, and other states; all recruits, intended for the 12th and 15th Infantry; regiments authorized to be added to the regular line, by the act of February preceding; together with the presence of a small detachment of volunteer cavalry from Georgia and Louisiana, and a couple of pieces of artillery, swelled the detachment at Vergara to more than one thousand men, and, in the opinion of Governor Wilson, authorized a forward movement.

Accordingly, on the 5th day of August, 1847, orders were issued from the city to hold the whole command in readiness to march, at half an hour's notice. Provisions for three days were issued to the men. The camp was struck, and all who were unfit to march, removed to the hospital, within the city. By night-fall, every one in camp had also his necessary luggage (none other was allowed) disposed of on his person; the tents and provisions had been packed upon the wagons, the arms had been inspected, and forty rounds of ball cartridge distributed to each soldier.

The exercises in which the men were daily engaged during the period of encampment, had abundantly demonstrated that a majority were wholly inexperienced in the use of arms, and the art of war; (indeed, there were several who had never yet pulled a trigger;) no one, however, seemed for a moment to doubt the capacity of the detachment for the most active service, and that there would not be wanting full opportunity for testing their mettle, all seemed agreed; for reports were daily brought in of the assemblage of large parties of the enemy at different points on the road, and for several days, the signs by which their vicinity to Vergara had been recognized, had altogether disappeared.

In addition, as if to assist the Mexicans in this "unjust and damnable war," the statement of several American papers, that the train would convoy a large amount of specie, (some said half a million,) was widely circulated among the ignorant population of the country, and, doubtless, exercised its full influence in collecting upon the road a large number of those predatory bands, with which the country was and still is infested.

It was anticipated that the command would be assumed by Colonel Louis D. Wilson, a gentleman of North Carolina, who had resigned the endearments of home, and the enjoyment of an ample fortune, for the command of one of the companies of the North Carolina Volunteer Regiment, and had been recently promoted thence to the head of the 12th Regiment of Regular Infantry.

The Colonel had a few days before arrived at Vera Cruz, under orders for his regiment, and being the senior officer present, would have been entitled to the command. He was, however, attacked by yellow fever on the very day he proposed proceeding for the purpose to Vergara, and reluctantly relinquished the honor to Folliot T. Lally, Major of the Ninth Infantry, his next in command.* This officer accordingly assumed superintendence of the few arrangements, still necessary for the departure of the train.

On the 6th August, 1847, at the very moment when the divisions of Pillow and Worth were defiling through the streets of Puebla, on their victorious march to the Valley of Mexico, the line was formed and put in motion. The mounted Georgian Volunteers, under Captain Loyall; the Artillery, under Lieutenant Sears, and four companies of infantry, composing the advance. Two companies of infantry formed the centre guard of the train, which consisted of sixty-four wagons. The remainder of the force followed in the rear.

The detachment was, on the 6th, composed of the following officers and corps:

Major F. T. Lally, 9th Infantry, commanding; Captain Benj. B. Alvord, 4th Infantry, A. A. A. G.; Captain Geo. C. Hutter, 4th Infantry; Captain Governeur Morris, 4th Infantry; 1st Lt. Henderson Ridgeley, 4th Infantry; 2d Lt. David A. Russell, 4th Infantry; 2d Lt. Clinton W. Sears, 4th Infantry, and two companies of their regiment.

Captain C. C. Honesby, 12th Infantry; Captain William J. Clarke, 12th Infantry; 1st Lt. Jno. F. Hoke, 12th Infantry; 1st Lt. Charles R.

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* Colonel Wilson died on the 12th August, universally regretted. He was a brave and amiable man. His fellow-citizens of Edgecombe County, N. C., have just erected a monument, whose costly and beautiful tablets bear affecting testimony to the respect they bear his memory.

Jones, 12th Infantry; 2d Lt. Edward Cantwell, 12th Infantry; 2d Lt. James G. Waddell, 12th Infantry; 2d Lt. Charles M. Creanor, 12th Infantry; 2d Lt. John J. Wheeden, 12th Infantry; Surgeon A. G. Howard, 12th Infantry; with three companies of their regiment.

Captain Arthur C. Cummins, 11th Infantry; 2d Lt. Alonzo Loring, 11th Infantry; and one company of their regiment.

Captain Magey M. Winans, 15th Infantry; 2d Lt. William D. Wilkins, 15th Infantry; 2d Lt. Michael E. Doyle, 15th Infantry; and one company of their regiment.

Captain James H. Calwell, U. S. Voltgrs.: 1st Lt. James C. Maniott, U. S. Voltgrs.; 1st Lt. John W. Leigh, U. S. Voltgrs.; 2d Lt. George W. Carr, U. S. Voltgrs.; 2d Lt. James M. Winder, U. S. Voltgrs.; and two companies of their regiment.

2d Lt. Henry B. Sears, 2d Artillery, with a company. 2d Lt. Geo. Adams, Marine Corps. Captain Loyall, Georgia Volunteers; Lt. Anderson, Georgia Volunteers, with one company of their regiment.

Lieut. Clutz, Pennsylvania Volunteers.

Besides which, there were two companies of the Fifth Infantry, commanded by non-commissioned officers. Second Lieutenant, John A. Wheeden, of the 12th Infantry, returned after the first day's march. Captain Besançon and Lieutenant Waters, with a company of Louisiana Mounted Volunteers, joined on the 11th of August—Surgeon Cooper, of the army, joined on the 15th August, with a party of Louisianians, part of Captain Fairchild's company. Second Lieutenant Irenius B. Wheeler, of the 11th Infantry, was a private in the company of Captain Clarke, of the 12th Infantry.

On the first day, the train made little progress. Many of the mules attached to the wagons were found wholly unbroken and unmanageable; the wagons, too, were in very bad order: and the men, long accustomed to the inactivity of the transport and the camp, and encumbered, as they were, with their heavy accoutrements and arms, travelled through the sand with great difficulty. The day, too, was unusually warm, even for that climate. Many of the men threw away their knapsacks after two or three hours' march, as judging from the wrecks and fragments which met the eyes occasionally on both sides of the road, hundreds of their predecessors had done before them. A large number sunk, dispirited and broken down with the constant halts occasioned by the wretched appointments of the train; one or two fell into the hands of the marauders, who hovered in the chaparral on each side, and several, unable to keep up even with the rear-guard, made their way back to Vera Cruz.

At sunset, the train halted at a place about five miles from the city, and bivouacked for the night. The whole left wing and rear-guard slept without tents, and a large number without supper. Picket guards were stationed to guard the approaches to the detachment, and the men, with their arms in their hands, passed the night upon the ground. It was curious to observe that many who, from their large frame and muscular development were considered among the most efficient, were those who had first sunk under the fatigues of this day's journey.

The next morning, about daybreak, the reveille awakened the slumberers, and about ten o'clock they were again in motion; not, however, before Captain Morris, temporarily in command, had caused to be exe-

cuted the countermarch of the whole column, which being done under a fiery sun, and in a narrow, dusty road, was at the moment considered an unnecessary and barbarous waste of time and ground. The captain returned to Vera Cruz at the close of the day, however. The train arrived on the night of the second day, in the neighborhood of the celebrated country-seat of General Santa Anna; which is known as MANGO DE CLAVA.

This beautiful residence occupies one of the most magnificent sites in the whole country. It consists of several buildings, severally used as offices, kitchens, secretaries' room, and poultry houses. The principal building is a handsome stone structure, of perhaps two hundred feet front, surrounded by a broad, open piazza, paved with stone; it is one story in height, and the floor is tesselated in the manner of the ancient Italian cathedrals, with marble; it commands, from its back windows, a noble view of the mountains of the Sierra Gordo. The walls were formerly lined with mirrors; these were destroyed by a party of volunteers of Scott's army, and the fragments strewed upon the floors of the apartments. The spacious garden, although in a state of much decay, was filled with palm trees, which at a distance, while bending gracefully in the breeze, resembled the cautious movements of a concealed enemy. Fruit of various descriptions, and many curious tropical plants, diffused a genial perfume for miles around. It must once have been a princely abode. The walls were already marked in many places with unmistakable evidences of the visits of Americans, who on their way to "the Halls of the Montezumas," had called and left their cards for the great "Napoleon of the West," written in characters which atoned for their want of elegance and strict propriety, in their extreme legibility, and the patriotic denunciations with which they were accompanied.

The command was here divided; the main body pushing on some distance in advance, while a portion barracked in some buildings near Mango de Clava, with the intention to await the stragglers of the first day's march. Few of the missing returned: several, as before stated, having regained the city, and many perished at the hands of the marauders, who hung like vultures upon the flanks of the column.

Three Mexicans, supposed to have been connected with these brutal murders, were arrested under suspicious circumstances, on the 7th, and shot, while attempting to escape the guard.

On the morning of the 10th of August, the very day upon which General Scott's last division left the city of Puebla, in charge of COLONEL CHILDS and a feeble garrison, the detachment arrived within a few miles of a place called the *Paso Ovejas*. The men were carelessly loitering on either side of the wagons, with little appearances, so far as forms of disciplined march were regarded, of an invading force. The day was extremely warm, and by common consent, officers and men seemed to have agreed that each was to make headway in the manner he found most convenient, when universal attention was suddenly attracted by a discharge of fire-arms. From a height which appeared to command the road, about half a mile distant from any assailable point in the column, a number of the enemy were discharging volleys from their *escopetas*, in rapid succession.

It was, perhaps, fortunate for the efficiency of the men, that this, the first attack, had begun under such ludicrous circumstances, and had not

been made at shorter distance, and been followed by an appearance of greater resolution. "*C'est le premier pas que conte.*" Many who had never before heard a hostile shot whiz by, had leisure to analyze the peculiar novelty of the sensation. The balls either passed over the heads of the men, or fell considerably short. Judging, from the repeated volleys, that the foe yet invisible behind their works were fortified and numerous, Major Lally rode along the line and ordered the knapsacks dropped, the guns loaded and primed, and three columns of attack upon the height formed. A rapid charge was now made, but upon arriving at the top of the hill, which was very steep, the works were found abandoned, and a large body of mounted lancers were seen in full retreat, beyond reach, and making for a dense chaparral, through which it was apparent the road wound. Beyond the chaparral, on a hill which appeared to command the outlet, there were several small ruined buildings of stone. It was evident that the outposts of a large party of the enemy had been driven in, and that the main body was concealed in the chaparral and in those buildings.

Every preparation was now made for battle. The command was reformed in platoons of companies, and leaving the wagons in charge of a small guard, the advance, consisting of the officers and companies of the 4th, 5th, 11th and 12th Infantry, and Voltigeurs, preceded by the Georgia Horse, and the Artillery, approached the supposed ambuscade. Arrived at the mouth of the pass, the cavalry, accompanied by the guns, and the troops, (excepting the 12th Infantry left to guard the head of the train, which had now also arrived at the pass,) were suffered to proceed nearly its whole length, without interruption. As, however, they were emerging at the other end, a severe fire opened from both sides upon them, and also from the ruined buildings. At the same moment, a detachment of the enemy's lancers charged with spirit down the road. The Georgians retired; the battery was, however, unmasked, and told upon the approaching cavalry with such effect, that they were forced to retire. The attack was now repeated from both sides of the chaparral, along the whole train, for about three quarters of an hour. During the heavy fire the men at the head of the train apparently wavered, but their subsequent conduct, entirely removed all apprehension, displaying for raw troops uncommon coolness.

The attack at this point was confined altogether to the right flank; the men, standing in platoons, were exposed to a raking fire, and were unable to take proper aim. They were accordingly ordered to file off to the right, and face the enemy. This was at the foot of the hill, which defends the mouth of the pass. The train was halted above, and during the change of front, one of the mules in the leading wagon having received a severe wound, became restive and unmanageable, and charged, "team and all," down the hill. The company were thrown by this accident somewhat in confusion, but immediately regained their composure, and delivered a most effective fire upon the enemy in the chaparral. Attacks were simultaneously made upon the centre and the rear of the train. In both cases they were repulsed without difficulty. The enemy retired discomfited, and the detachment resumed its march.

In the early part of the action, Captains Cummins of the 11th Infantry, and Calwell of the Voltigeurs, were both severely wounded—the latter mortally, while attempting, at the head of their companies, to charge the enemy.

The attack lasted about one hour and a half; the loss of the Americans was in killed one; mortally wounded one; wounded ten. Capt. Alvord, A. A. A. G., was distinguished upon this occasion for his bravery and coolness. Lieuts. Sears and Leigh, each commanding companies, were also conspicuous for their gallantry.

The loss of the enemy could not be fully ascertained; several were however, seen to fall at the head of the train where a desperate assault was for sometime made, and successfully repulsed by the infantry under Winans, Clarke and Jones, assisted by their subalterns, Doyle, Wilkins, Hoke, Waddell, and Cantwell. Many of the enemy were killed by the Artillery, ably officered on this occasion by Sears, assisted by Winder.

Pushing rapidly forward, the command encamped for the night on the hill beyond the bridge of Ovejas—a beautiful stone structure, which here crosses the river a mile or so beyond the pass, and passed the night sleeping on their arms around the guns, with sentries and pickets carefully posted. From this point, the camp-fires of the enemy seemed almost to surround the little column. It was one of those lovely moonlight nights, which so frequently occur in tropical climates, as if nature, in amends for the barbarity of its inhabitants, had thrown around this lovely country all the hues of enchantment. Once or twice during the night a random shot announced the vicinity of the enemy, but no night attack was made or apprehended.

Early on the morning of the 11th of August, large parties, mounted on mustangs, and defiling within cannon shot over the hills in every direction, were seen passing around the rear, and concentrating several miles in advance. At noon, a party of Louisianians, belonging to Capt. Besançon's company, who had heard the guns of the day before, after some little skirmishing, succeeded in reaching head-quarters. They were soon after followed by their gallant captain himself and the remainder of his corps. This was a timely reinforcement, as it was anticipated that the conflict would be renewed at the "Puerte del Rey, or National Bridge."

This noble structure, the work perhaps of two centuries ago, a monument of massive size, whose duration seems intended to be eternal, is of two parts, and spans, with several long ponderous arches, a deep ravine, through whose bed, coming from different quarters, sweep two forks of a deep and rapid current. They meet at the foot of a long promontory on the left, upon the top of which there is built, in octagon shape, a stone bastion. Beyond the bridge, on either side of the road, there appears three or four edifices of stone, and within a few hundred yards of them, where the road turns, and begins again to rise with the surface of the country, there is built a splendid country-seat—the property of Santa Anna, to whom, indeed, the whole country, from Vera Cruz to Jalapa, once belonged.

On the right hand, as you descend into this formidable spot, there appears a perpendicular mass of earth, faced with rock, rising like a high, flat wall, about five hundred feet above the level of the bridge—separated from it, however, by the junction of the streams just described. On the left hand a ravine, some hundred feet deep, considered impassable, renders the castellated promontory quite inaccessible. The hills on the right, moreover, cover, so as to enclose the bridge in a semi-circle, the extent of whose entire arc is commanded by the fire of the castle. The enemy rightly judged, that if these positions were maintained with spirit, the

bridge would not be passed by Lally, and that the train would inevitably fall into their hands. To render the place still farther impregnable, he had thrown across the bridge itself a formidable barricade of stones and earth, taken from the adjoining houses, and disguised by chaparral and bushes. Behind this barricade a couple of hundred sharp-shooters were advantageously posted. Three or four hundred men occupied the castle, but the main body, consisting, as was supposed, of 2,000 men, and upwards, were disposed along the heights on the right. Like a good general, De Soto, who was in command this day, had not forgotten his means of escape, in case of an unexpected reverse, for in the rear of each division the horses of the men were conveniently arranged; those belonging to the troops of the centre, which, as we have seen, occupied the barricade upon the bridge, were concealed from view by the buildings just described.

At about one o'clock, on the 12th August, Major Lally, riding as usual at the head of his column, arrived in sight of the place, and after a hasty reconnoissance, observing that no signs of the enemy anywhere appeared, the column was ordered cautiously to advance. Scarcely had they entered the pass, when the appearance of one or two heads above the parapets of the castle, which were immediately withdrawn, caused an involuntary halt along the whole line. At the same moment three or four stragglers were observed lurking among the buildings on the other side of the bridge. Besançon, who had been sent down with his company to reconnoitre, now returned, reporting the existence of an impassable barricade. His troop had, however, advanced within pistol shot of it, without interruption. A party of infantry, selected from the 11th, 12th, and 15th regiments, less than 150 in number, was at once organized to remove the obstruction. Wilkins of the 15th Infantry, with his company in single rank, had the honor of the advance. Then followed the artillery, which had been unlimbered, and was slowly rolled down the defile, by hand, supported by Clarke of the 12th Infantry and Loring of the 11th, with their companies. Besançon and Loyall, with their mounted men, closed the rear. The train halted at the mouth of the pass, within view, its head protected by Jones of the 12th Infantry, with his company drawn up in line across the road; the rest of the force was dispersed at intervals along the line, and in the rear.

The party, whom we have seen thus sent forward to remove the obstruction to the passage of the wagons, were suffered to proceed without interruption several hundred yards. They passed the first section of the bridge with their guns, leaving their caissons at its extremity, and had, still approaching the barricade, reached the centre. To those who watched their progress from the head of the train, the moment was one of intense interest. The number of stragglers in the town began rapidly to increase; several uniforms were seen, and finally they displayed their arms. Immediately the pieces were put in position, Wilkins' men were ordered to file off to the right and left; the battery was aimed, and other preparations made to fire. Before, however, the orders of Sears, for that purpose, could be executed, the cannoneer, who was about to apply the match, being stricken down by a well-directed ball, a murderous fire opened upon the little party. As if, indeed, armed men had sprung up like those of Cadmus all around them—from the castle, the barricade and the heights, there poured upon the Americans an incessant

and well-directed shower. They, cut off from their friends, exposed to an enfilading fire, it was equally perilous to advance or retreat.—That noble soldier, Winder, of the Voltigeur Regiment, was one of the first struck; pierced by a bullet through his manly breast, he fell mortally wounded. In five minutes, after the opening of the fire, there remained but six men of the artillery company. The infantry also experienced severe loss. Finding it impracticable to remove them, under such circumstances, and there being a great deal of confusion, Major Lally, who had already twice rode unharmed through the file, ordered the withdrawal of the pieces. The gallant Clarke, desperately wounded soon after the opening of the fire, but still on the field, encouraged his men with his voice and example in obeying the order. Exhausted at last, he was carried to the rear. Adams, of the Marines, was struck in the thigh; Creanor, of the 12th Infantry, was also wounded. Thus, almost at the same moment were three valuable officers rendered *hors du combat.* Loring and Wilkins still kept unshaken by the storm that rattled around them, and aided by those brave subalterns, Doyle and Waddell, now commander of Clarke's company, kept up a show of resistance, from the arches and parapets of the bridge. Their fire fell, however, unfelt upon the inaccessible positions of the enemy, who, now confident of victory, rent the air with their huzzas, and still maintained their murderous fire.

The guns were withdrawn to the extremity of the bridge, near the caissons. It was supposed that the elevation there would be sufficient for delivering their fire upon the enemy posted along the heights. After one or two discharges of grape, it was determined to retire still further to the rear. In dragging one of the pieces up the steep sides of the hill, unfortunately the linch-pin, which kept the left wheel in its place, was lost, the wheel fell off, and the gun was abandoned. The other was left in its original position, near the caissons. It had been spiked, during the fray, by the breaking of a priming-wire, and was considered useless. Thus both pieces were now disabled.

At this moment of repulse and discomfiture, had the enemy collected in force, and resolutely crossed the barricade, driven before them the fragments of the dispersed detachment, and at the same moment assaulted the train, in front and rear, the consequences might have been disastrous. With the exception of a vigorous assault, which they made upon the extreme rear, they took no steps, however, to follow up their temporary advantage. The attack upon the rear was easily repulsed; the main body of the Mexicans remaining inactive in their former positions.

In the meantime a consultation was being held at the head of the train. Even here, the shots were telling with fatal effect upon the diminishing ranks of the Americans. The Baron Von Grön, of Prussia, an experienced soldier of the army of that country, traveling with the escort, advised, in strong terms, an immediate assault upon the castle. This he regarded as the key of the whole position. He had, he said, examined the ravine between the road and the hill, upon which the castle or fort stood, there was a swift stream in its bed, but he considered it fordable, and offered with two companies to cross and drive the enemy.

[To be continued.

STOCK MARKETS.

NOTWITHSTANDING that a Stock Market has existed in New-York, to a greater or less extent, for half a century, and has been regulated by a constitution and by-laws since 1820, stock-jobbing, comparatively speaking, is scarcely known in the United States. It is the offspring of the funding system, which was introduced into England by William and Mary, as a means of government revenue. Not that debts had not been contracted by former governments back to the earliest times, but that the system of issuing and registering the evidences of the debt, and providing the means of paying at least the interest, was introduced, in order that the ability of the government, through improved credit, might extend to larger sums. All the former governments had borrowed and neglected to pay. Henry VIII. robbed monasteries. Elizabeth sold monopolies. Charles I. seized money without law, and sold his promises at church doors to the highest bidder. His restored son became a swindler, and a pensioner of France, adopting any expedient that would supply his wants, and royal credit was utterly destroyed. This credit William restored, and the foundation of the nation's debt was laid. The charter of the Bank of England was granted in 1695, and the "moneyed interest" became thenceforth a recognized feature of the body politic. It was at about the same time, 1689, that Louis XIV. created the first "tontine."* From that time to the present, public debts and corporations, for banks, for companies, insuring lives and property, canals, manufactories, mines, pawnbrokers, savings' banks, buildings, and for every possible object for which capital may be associated, has continued to multiply; and with the multiplication of their stock certificates and evidences of debt, the business of dealing in stocks has continued to increase in importance.

The English debt, which commenced with £600,000, of which Charles robbed the London silversmiths, and which was afterwards recognized and funded as a public debt, has since increased to £800,000,000,—say four thousand millions of dollars, owned by 200,000 recipients of dividends. The aggregate capital of all other corporate companies will reach an equal number—making the almost incalculable amount of eight thousand millions of dollars, in securities negotiable on the London Stock Exchange. These vast amounts of merchantable securities afford an almost limitless field for the operations of unscrupulous speculative genius in command of means, and, accordingly, men have risen upon the London Stock Exchange, developing a power greater than that of most princes. The immense volume of stocks, their imperishable nature—for rarely do any securities disappear entirely from the market—and the facility with which their value may be affected by combinations of sales and purchases, by the merest political rumors or reports affecting the credit of companies, that,

* Tontines are but little known in this country. By this plan a number of persons, say 100, subscribe a loan, on condition of which they receive an annuity from the government. This annuity is divided equally among the survivors until the longest liver gets the whole—at his death the transaction ceases. It is sometimes the case that a building is created by a company which divides its income in the same manner, until the whole property ultimately falls to the sole survivor. In New-York and Boston there are instances of this.

for speculative operation, they afford far greater attractions than any other articles of commerce. The strategy, so to speak of the Stock Market, is very similar in its principles to that military system developed by Napoleon, in rapidly concentrating a superior force upon the point of attack. That great chief conquered Europe in establishing this principle, and many a money king has risen in the London world by its skilful use in application to stocks. As in an army a too great supply of force at the desired point defeats the adversary, so in stocks, too great a supply at the proper moment breaks the market to the advantage of the operator. As in military affairs there is a broad distinction between tactics and strategy, so in stock operations there is an immense difference between the mere knowledge of the details of buying and selling, the hourly fluctuations of the prices, the genuineness of the paper offered, the legal forms requisite to pass titles, and the modes of transfer, and that intellectual scope which, taking in the whole commercial and financial horizon, so combines its operations, as, with the aid of the general movement, to produce important results. To know how to drill soldiers, form companies, regiments and columns, to advance, to retire, and perform all the evolutions of a modern army, is tactics. To know *when* and *where* to do all this is strategics. Thus, to know how to buy and sell stocks, recognize titles, detect irregularities, make transfers, and adjust settlements, is the tactics of the Stock Exchange. To know when to combine large operations either for sale or purchase, or both, in connection with the general movement of commerce, so that the former may mature at a prosperous moment, and at the latter, at a crisis when holders are glad to realize, is the strategics of stocks. It is obvious that strategy and the doctrine *des grandes chances*, or "of chances on the long reckoning," could only have occurred to an extensive dealer in war like Napoleon; so neither could the grand combinations of the Stock Market have been illustrated by such men as Rothschild, without the extensive creations of floating promises, with which he was surrounded. It is in these operations that the intellectual character of the Exchange has advanced. The mere common-place rogueries that attend the details of the Stock Market, the advantages taken by "cornering" through time contracts, and multifarious false rumors spread to alarm the timid and ensnare the credulous, seem not to have been improved upon in the last 130 years. No sooner had stocks multiplied in number, than the gambling spirit inherent in man fastened upon them as the instruments of play. The avarice of the Duke of Marlborough soon made him a conspicuous operator in connection with Thomas Guy, the Bible contractor, Sir Henry Furness, a director of the Bank of England, and others. Government credit was then not fully established, and the "war of succession," with its varying fortunes, caused prices to fluctuate, and Marlborough furnished the earliest news of his operations to his coadjutors, in order to share in the gains effected by them upon the Stock Market; and it may well be supposed that adverse rumors from head-quarters always preceded the news of victories. A pamphlet, which appeared in 1719, called "The Anatomy of Exchange Alley," describes, with great force, scenes which are now daily occurring as well in New-York as in London. That the reputation of the Stock Exchange was sufficiently established in that day, is pretty clear from the following extract from the work mentioned:—

"In a word, they are all a gang of rogues and cheats, and I'll pay none of them. Besides, my lawyer, Sir Thomas Subtle, tells me there is not a man of

them that dares sue me; *no, though I had no protection to fly to;* and he states the case thus:—

"'You have, Sir, says Subtle, 'contracted to accept of stock at a high price; East India at 220, Bank at 160, South Sea 120, and the like. Very well. They come to put it upon you, the stock being since fallen. Tell them you cannot take it yet; if they urge your contract, and demand when you will take it, tell them you will take it when you think fit.

"'If they swagger, call names,—as rogue, cheat, and the like,—tell them, as to that, you are all of a fraternity; there is no great matter in it whether you cheat them, or they cheat you; 'tis as it happens in the way of trade; that it all belongs to the craft; and, as the Devil's broker, Whiston, said to parson Gifford, tell them you are all of a trade. If they rage, and tell you the Devil will have you, and such as that, tell them they should let the Devil and you alone to agree about that, it is none of their business; but when he comes for you, tell them you would advise them to keep out of the way, or get a protection, as you have against them.

"'After this, it is supposed they will sue you at law. Then leave it to me; I'll hang them up for a year or two in our courts; and if ever in that time the stock comes up to the price, we will tender the money in court, demand the stock, and saddle the charges of the suit upon them. Let them avoid it if they can.'"

If the whole range of professional tricks as now practiced was exhausted more than a century and a quarter since, the operations upon a grand scale were then not so well developed as now. With the French wars the funding system really put forth its strength, and the giants of the Stock Exchange stalked forth to astonish the world with the success of their combinations. The name of John Law is famous in French finances, but his was a mere paper money bubble, although it embraced all that is known of the nature of that instrument of fraud at the present day. The great loan contractors, on whose operations the march of armies and the destinies of empires depended, rose with the circumstances that called them forth. Abraham Goldsmith, Rothschild, Ricardo, Barings and their compeers, are the men of the present century. A late English work* thus describes the House of Barings:—

"It has been stated,—but as the writer is uncertain of his authority, he gives it with caution,—that they were originally German weavers, who came over to London, and, being successful in business, were, through the interest of William Bingham, of Philadelphia, appointed agents to the American government. Considering, therefore, the large resources at their command, it is not surprising that, during the loyalty loan in 1797, the head of the house made one hundred thousand pounds for three consecutive days; or that, in 1806, it was sarcastically said, 'Sir Francis Baring is extending his purchases so largely in Hampshire, that he soon expects to be able to inclose the country with his own park paling.'

"In 1805 this gentleman, the first algebraist of the day, retired from business with a princely fortune, and shortly afterwards died, full of years and honors. A green old age, a career closed at the pinnacle of prosperity, and a death-bed surrounded by sons and daughters, whom the descendant of the German weaver had lived to place in splendid independence, was his enviable lot. The great commercial house which he had raised to so proud a position was continued by his sons, and may be considered the most important mercantile establishment in the empire. Freehold estates to the amount of half a million, besides enormous personal property, rewarded his great capacity, and his yet greater integrity.

* Chronicles and Characters of the Stock Exchange. By John Francis. Crosby and Nichols, Boston.

"The house of Baring, notwithstanding some periods when doubt and almost dismay hung over it, yet retains the power and position bequeathed by Sir Francis; and, as an instance of the fortune and capacity of its members, it may be mentioned that the late Lord Ashburton, when bearing, as Sir Robert Peel feeling expressed it, the honored name of Alexander Baring, realized £170,000 in two years by his combinations in French *Rentes*."

The most eminent loan contractor of the world was N. M. Rothschild, and of this person we have the following sketch:—

"By his own report, Nathan Meyer Rothschild came to Manchester because Frankfort was too small for the operations of the brothers, although the immediate cause was some offence to a customer; and it is characteristic of the intrepidity of the man, that, with scarcely any hesitation, and with an absolute ignorance of the English language, he came to the country in which he realized such great results. On Tuesday he told his father he would go to England, and on Thursday he started. With £20,000 he commenced his career; and in a short time his capital was trebled. At Manchester he soon saw there were three profits to be made,—in the raw material, the dyeing, and the manufacturing. It need hardly be added, that his great mind had stomach for them all, and that, having secured the three, he sold goods cheaper than any one else. This was the foundation of that colossal fortune, which afterwards passed into a proverb; and, in 1800, finding Manchester too small for the mind which could grapple with three profits, Rothschild came to London. It was the period when such a man was sure to make progress, as, clear and comprehensive in his commercial views, he was also rapid and decisive in working out the ideas which presented themselves. Business was plentiful; the entire Continent formed our customers; and Rothschild reaped a rich reward.

"The name of Rothschild, as contractor for an English loan, made its first public appearance in 1819. But the twelve millions for which he then became responsible went to a discount; it was said, however, that Mr. Rothschild had relieved himself from all liability before the calamity could reach him. From this year his transactions pervaded the entire globe. The Old and the New World alike bore witness to his skill; and with the profits on a single loan he purchased an estate which cost £150,000. Minor capitalists, like parasitical plants, clung to him, and were always ready to advance their money in speculations at his bidding. Nothing seemed too gigantic for his grasp; nothing too minute for his notice. His mind was as capable of contracting a loan for millions, as of calculating the lowest possible amount on which a clerk could exist. Like too many great merchants, whose profits were counted by thousands, he paid his assistants the smallest amount for which he could procure them. He became the high-priest of the temple of Janus; and the coupons raised by the capitalist for a despotic state were more than a match for the cannon of the revolutionist. From most of the speculations of 1824 and 1825, Mr. Rothschild kept wisely aloof. The Alliance Life and Fire Assurance Company, which owes its origin to this period, was, however, produced under his auspices; and its great success is a proof of his forethought. None of the loans with which he was connected were ever repudiated; and when the crash of that sad period came, the great Hebrew looked coolly and calmly on, and congratulated himself on his caution. At his counting-house a fair price might be procured for any amount of stock, which, at a critical time, would have depressed the public market; and it was no uncommon circumstance for brokers to apply at the office of Mr. Rothschild, instead of going to the Stock Exchange.

"He was, however, occasionally surpassed in cunning, and, on one occasion, a great banker lent Rothschild a million and a half on security of consols, the price of which was then eighty-four. The terms on which the money was lent were simple. If the price reached seventy-four, the banker might claim the stock at seventy; but Rothschild felt satisfied that, with so large a sum out of the market, the bargain was tolerably safe. The banker, however, as much a Jew as Rothschild, had a plan of his own. He immediately began selling the

consols received from the latter, together with a similar amount in his own possession. The funds dropped; the Stock Exchange grew alarmed; other circumstances tended to depress it; the fatal price of seventy-four was reached; and the Christian banker had the satisfaction of outwitting the Hebrew loan-monger.

"But, if sometimes outwitted himself, there is little doubt he made others pay for it; and, on one occasion, it is reported that his finesse proved too great for the authorities of the Bank of England. Mr. Rothschild was in want of bullion, and went to the governor to procure on loan a portion of the superfluous store. His wishes were met, the terms were agreed on, the period was named for its return, and the affair finished for the time. The gold was used by the financier, his end was answered, and the day arrived on which he was to return the borrowed metal. Punctual to the time appointed, Mr. Rothschild entered; and those who remember his personal appearance may imagine the cunning twinkle of his small, quick eye, as, ushered into the presence of the governor, he handed the borrowed amount in bank-notes. He was reminded of his agreement, and the necessity for bullion was urged. His reply was worthy a commercial Talleyrand. 'Very well, gentlemen. Give me the notes! I dare say your cashier will honor them with gold from your vaults, and then I can return you bullion.' To such a speech the only worthy reply was a scornful silence.

"One cause of his success was the secrecy with which he shrouded all his transactions, and the tortuous policy with which he misled those the most who watched him the keenest. If he possessed news calculated to make the funds rise, he would commission the broker who acted on his behalf to sell half a million. The shoal of men who usually follow the movements of others, sold with him. The news soon passed through Capel Court that Rothschild was bearing the market, and the funds fell. Men looked doubtingly at one another, a general panic spread, bad news was looked for, and these united agencies sunk the price two or three per cent. This was the result expected; and other brokers, not usually employed by him, bought all they could at the reduced rate. By the time this was accomplished, the good news had arrived, the pressure ceased, the funds arose instantly, and Mr. Rothschild reaped his reward.

"But it was not an unvaried sunshine with this gentleman. There were periods when his gigantic capital seemed likely to be scattered to the four quarters of the globe. He lost half a million in one English operation; when the French entered Spain in 1823, he was also in the utmost jeopardy; but, perhaps, the most perilous position in which he was placed was with the Polignac loan, although his vast intelligence again saved him, and placed the burden on the shoulders of others. With this, however, he suffered greatly, as the price fell thirty per cent.

"The language which Mr. Rothschild could use when his anger overbalanced his discretion, was a license allowed to his wealth; and he who, when placed in a position which almost compelled him to subscribe to a pressing charity, could exclaim, 'Here, write a check,—I have made one—fool of myself!' was courted and caressed by the clergy, was feted and flattered by the peer, was treated as an equal by the first minister of the crown, and more than worshipped by those whose names stood foremost on the roll of a commercial aristocracy. His mode of dictating letters was characteristic of a mind entirely absorbed in money-making; and his ravings, when he found a bill unexpectedly protested, were translated into mercantile language ere they were fit to meet a correspondent's eye. It is painful to write thus depreciatingly of a man who possessed so large a development of brain; but the golden gods of England have many idolaters, and the voice of truth rarely penetrates the private room of the English merchant. Mr. Rothschild's was a character which may be serviceably held up as a warning. There was, however, an occasional gleam of humor in him, sternly as his thoughts were devoted to heaping up riches. 'I am as much as you,' he said to the Duc de Montmorenci, when his title was

granted: 'you style yourself the first Christian baron, and I am the first Jew baron.'"

The honor enjoyed by the father, being the first Jew baron, has been extended in the person of the son, who is the first Jew elected to Parliament, although his seat is being hotly contested. He recently appeared in the House of Commons, presented his credentials, and demanded to be sworn upon the Old Testament. This gave rise to a fierce debate, not yet terminated. The unscrupulous conduct of Rothschild is characteristic of most eminent dealers in stocks, and distinguishes them from other classes of dealers. The maxim that "all is fair in war," applies also, it would seem, to stocks, in the estimation of the operators, if not in that of the world at large. There are, however, very few men who arrive at the eminence which marked the career of the persons named. The London Stock Exchange embraces some five thousand members, a majority of whom fail. It is

"Governed by a committee of twenty-eight, with a chairman and deputy-chairman, annually elected by the members. Their power to expel, suspend, or reprimand is absolute; their decision final; and that decision, adds one of the rules, 'must be carried out forthwith.' In cases of expulsion, the committee should not consist of less than twelve; and of these, at least two-thirds must concur in the sentence. No bill or discount broker, no clerk in any public or private establishment,—excepting those to the members of the Stock Exchange,—no one in business, either in his own name or in that of his wife, can be received as a member. Every applicant must be recommended by three members of two years' standing, who must each give security for £300 for two years. The committee meets every alternate Monday, at one o'clock; but a special meeting may at any time be called by the chairman and deputy-chairman, or by any five members. Brokers and jobbers, or dealers, as they are politely termed, are not allowed to enter into partnership; and, when a defaulter is excluded, his clerk is excluded with him.

"Directly the books are closed at the Bank of England, the price of stocks, excepting only bank stock, is quoted without the dividend.

"When a defaulter, or one who cannot or will not pay the just claims on him, is posted, a libel is avoided by the following words:—'Any person transacting business with A. B., is requested to communicate with C. D.'

"The rules of the Stock Exchange amount in number to 159, and are calculated to meet every difficulty. The charge to the public for buying and selling English stock is 2s. 6d. per cent.

"The terms used on the Stock Exchange have been in vogue for more than a century; and the origin of many may be traced to the early transactions in the stock of the East India Company. Buying for the account has been described; but 'bull 'and 'bear,' 'backardation' and 'continuation,' are understood only by the initiated.

"'Bull' is a term applied to those who contract to buy any quantity of government securities, without the intention or ability to pay for it; and who are obliged, therefore, to sell it again, either at a profit or loss, before the time at which they have contracted to take it.

"'Bear' is a term applied to a person who has agreed to sell any quantity of the public funds, of which he is not possessed, being, obliged, however, to deliver it against a certain time.

"'Lame Duck' is applied to those who refuse or are unable to fulfil the contracts into which they have entered.

"'Backardation' is a consideration given to keep back the delivery of stock, when the price is lower for time than for money.

"'Continuation' is a premium given when the price of funds in which a person has a jobbing account open is higher for time than for money, and the

settling day is arrived, so that the stock must be taken at a disadvantage. In this case a per centage is paid to put off the settlement, and continue the account open.

"'Jobber' is applied to those who accommodate buyers and sellers of stock with any quantity they require. The dealer or jobber's profit is generally one-eighth per cent.

"The 'Broker' is the person employed by the public to sell or purchase stock at a certain per centage.

"'Omnium' is a term used to express the aggregate value of the different stocks in which a loan is usually funded.

"'Scrip' is embryo stock, before the whole of the instalments are paid."

The London Exchange has two classes of dealers—the jobbers and brokers. The latter are supposed only to fulfil orders for clients on commission; the former are always ready to buy or sell at a price. These occupy a particular place on the Exchange. A broker goes to that corner of the Stock Exchange where the business of the particular stock in which he wishes to deal is generally transacted; he asks of a single jobber the buying and selling prices; in an instant he is surrounded by the whole herd of that class of jobbers: if he finds that the price will not allow of his operation being done, he retires with closed lips; otherwise, he either effects it at once, or if the prices are near his limits, he remains hanging about the market until the fluctuations allow him to earn his commission.

The New-York Stock Board, as it is called, is essentially different from the London "House" in its operations. There is no field for those extensive combinations which, as in the case of the elder Baring, would yield a profit of a million and a half in three days. Such a profit would require to realize three per cent. in that time upon the entire debt of the federal government. Nor is the market here so extensive as to permit rival Rothschilds to outwit each other in the sale of tens of millions. The transactions are comparatively very limited, and confined mostly to speculations among brokers, who combine the functions of jobbers and brokers. There are no crowds of wealthy nobles and landlords resident at the commercial emporium, drawing immense revenues from every working arm in the country to one common centre for investment. Here, every locality earns and employs its own surplus. There is no national debt, comparatively speaking, to concentrate the means of the whole country for a national object. The whole principal debt of the federal government is less than half of the annual interest on the English debt. The stocks which are negotiable in the New-York market are nearly all local, and their utmost aggregate value will not reach two per cent. of the amount of English stocks negotiable in London. There is, therefore, comparatively no ground to support the growth of such gigantic operations as are not uncommon on the London Exchange, and the probability is, that there never will be, because there is now no machinery by which to concentrate the earnings of the whole country upon a focus. The old federalist national bank system, the internal improvement system, and the protective system, &c., were all devised to produce such an effect, by building up a great and overwhelming money power, against which, labor might in vain struggle for emancipation. All those projects have been abandoned, with the exception of the last, which still has adherents among a portion of the people, who, in spite of experience, listen to the sophis-

try of those who pretend that it is labor, and not capital, which is sought to be protected. The English court journals are filled with the descriptions of the splendid costume of the daughter of the American minister, who, among duchesses and peeresses, was presented to the Queen, vieing even with her majesty in costly apparel. All this display of the American Croesus resulted from what protective laws did for capital employed in manufacturing, while very few of the operatives who earned that wealth under those laws have the means of subsistence without constant and daily labor.

The existing constitution of the New-York Stock Exchange was revised in 1820, and has therefore operated for more than thirty years. Its rules provide that no person shall be eligible to a seat, who has not been a broker one year, or a clerk with some member for ten years immediately preceding his election. He must be proposed by some member, at least ten days before the election. The votes are by ballot, and three black balls excludes him. When elected, he is notified of the fact, and must pay four hundred dollars admission fee. The theory of the business is, that all the members buy and sell on commission; but the practice varies so much, that probably not five per cent. of the transactions are really of that character. Where the quantity of stock in the hands of the community is very large, and divided among a great number of holders, it would naturally occur that some of them would wish to have stocks sold or purchased every day, and would give an order to a broker for that purpose. For this service, he must charge one quarter of one per cent: but they sometimes evade this requisition on behalf of speculating customers, by charging one-fourth per cent. for buying and selling it for them for nothing. All the members of the board are required to take the bids of any member, and cannot raise the question of his ability to meet the contract, but they may require on a time contract a deposit of ten per cent. Hence, when a "weak" man accepts an offer, an expressive "ten up!" warns him of his shattered credit, while it protects the responsible bidder. A broker who fails in his contracts is suspended until he makes settlement. A committee of five investigate his accounts, and report the result, when a vote of two-thirds of the members present reinstates him, unless his failure was caused by speculation on his own account, or for account of irresponsible persons. This rule is, however, seldom enforced. The defaulting broker may, however, surrender his principal by one o'clock on the day of contract, and the other party is allowed until five o'clock to accept him, and release the broker or not. When the board assembles, usually at half-past 10, A. M., to adjourn at 12, M., the president, who is chosen annually, and enjoys a salary of $2,000 per annum, commences calling a list of all the stocks bought and sold at the board, and as each stock is called, offers to sell and buy on every possible variety of terms are made, amid a din and confusion that would perfectly bewilder a stranger. Of these offers, none are made under $500, and no bid tendered less than one-quarter per cent., unless for sums above $1000. While this calling and bidding progresses, any person leaving the room, or interrupting the calling, or coming in, or absent, is fineable by the president, without appeal. The principal operations of the board are time contracts, which neither in England nor New-York are legal. Sales are made for "cash," to be delivered and paid for immediately after the board—"regular way," to be delivered and paid for on the following day, or at the option of the

buyer, within a certain number of days mentioned, from three days to twelve months, or at the option of the seller. The contract may be closed at a day's notice, either by buyer or seller, the buyer always paying interest from the date of the contract to the delivery of the stock. As very many of the brokers are possessed of cash means very little proportioned to the amount of their operations, the whole turns upon the privilege of drawing checks upon some bank where they have no money, the checks to be made good before three o'clock. Thus, if a broker has twenty contracts come due, as soon as a stock is transferred to him, he gives his check for the amount; the aggregate of these checks may reach $100,000 or more, and he may not have $1000 in bank when he draws them. The stock he receives, however, has been already sold, and he immediately transfers it to the buyer, and receives his check, which he either collects, or has "certified" at the bank on which it is drawn. All these are deposited against the checks he drew in the morning, making his account good, and something over, if his operations were successful. On this system, if a speculator gives an order to buy or sell on time, when the contract comes due, the broker takes in the stock in his own name, and sells it again by this check system. Sometimes when stocks have been sold, and the buyers demand them, they may be too high to buy in at a profit. In this case, the stock is "borrowed;" that is to say, the market price is paid for it, the stock to be returned when called for, at the same rate. This allows a little longer time for the chances of a fall. If there is a profit, he deducts the commissions, and pays over the balance, and he generally requires a deposit from the client, to secure him against loss. These transactions are, however, illegal, and it has occurred that speculators, under cover of an infamous law, have turned round and sued the broker for the deposit. Many serious losses have been sustained by the check system. Persons have been known to pay out checks for stock, sell the stock, draw the money, and walk off, leaving the checks to look out for themselves. There being no legal obligation for time contracts, and the hazards being immensely great, the extremest caution and prompt dealing are requisite to raise the credit of a broker so that his contracts and checks will be freely taken; and the history of the market shows that there are very few who do not fail, sooner or later. Thus, in 1840, the funds of the New-York board having accumulated by fines, admissions, &c., to $20,000, it was resolved to divide this among the sitting members. The money was not given, but loaned without interest, to be called for by vote of the board, at sixty days notice. It was found that ninety-one members were entitled to it, but of these, thirty had failed within the previous twelve months, and only twelve had continued solvent for five years, and a very considerable portion of those ninety-one members have since lost their standing. This fact illustrates the great hazards of the business. In fact, since the great speculative years of 1835,–36, the operations of the Stock Market have dwindled to a very comparatively unimportant point.

When these members assemble to transact immense moneyed operations, it would naturally be inferred that their deportment would be grave, or at least sedate; but, on the other hand, the very spirit of frolic and mischief seems to possess the whole, from the white haired veteran to the tyro, and endless practical jokes are perpetrated without hesitation or regard for fines. The same disposition seems to possess the members of the British Stock Exchange, varied by that inherent, cowardly bru-

tality so characteristic of John Bull when he can oppress with impunity. The following anecdote is given in illustration, from the work already alluded to:—

"I turned to the right, and found myself in a spacious apartment, which was nearly filled with persons more respectable in appearance than the crew I had left at the door. Curious to see all that was to be seen, I began to scrutinize the place and the society into which I had intruded. But I was prevented from indulging the reflections which began to suggest themselves, by the conduct of those about me. A curly-haired Jew, with a face as yellow as a guinea, stopped plump before me, fixed his black, round, leering eyes full on me, and exclaimed, without the slightest anxiety about my hearing, 'So help me Got, Mo, who is he?' Instead of replying in a straightforward way, Mo raised his voice as loud as he could, and shouted with might and main, 'Fourteen hundred new fives!' A hundred voices repeated the mysterious exclamation: 'Fourteen hundred new fives!' 'Where, where,—fourteen hundred new fives—now for a look; where is he? Go it, go it!' were the cries raised on all sides by the crowd, which rallied about my person like a swarm of bees. And then Mo, by way of proceeding to business, repeating the war-cry, staggered sideways against me, so as almost to knock me down. My fall, however, was happily prevented by the kindness of a brawny Scotchman, who, humanely calling out, 'Let the mon alone,' was so good as to stay me in my course with his shoulder, and even to send me back towards Mo with such violence, that, had he not been supported by a string of his friends, he must infallibly have fallen before me. Being thus backed, however, he was enabled to withstand the shock, and to give me a new impulse in the direction of the Scotchman, who, awaiting my return, treated me with another hoist as before, and I found these two worthies were likely to amuse themselves with me, as with a shuttlecock, for the next quarter of an hour. I struggled violently to extricate myself from this unpleasant situation, and, by aiming a blow at the Jew, induced Moses to give up his next hit, and allow me for a moment to regain my feet.

"The rash step which I had taken was likely to produce very formidable consequences. All present were highly exasperated. The war became more desperate than ever. Each individual seemed anxious to contribute to my destruction; and some of their number considerately called out, 'Spare his life, but break his limbs.'

"My alarm was extreme; and I looked anxiously round for the means of escape.

"'You ought to be ashamed of yourself to use the gentleman in that sort of way,' squeaked a small, imp-like person, affecting sympathy, and then trying to renew the sport.

"'How would you like it yourself,' cried another, 'if you were a stranger?' shaking his sandy locks with a knowing look, and knocking off my hat as he spoke.

"I made a desperate blow at this offender. It did not take effect, from the expedition with which he retreated, and I had prudence enough to reflect that it would be better to recover my hat than to pursue the enemy. Turning round, I saw my unfortunate beaver, or 'canister,' as it was called by the gentry who had it in their keeping, bounding backwards and forwards between the Caledonian and his clan and the Jew and his tribe.

"Covered with perspiration, foaming with rage, and almost expiring from heat and exhaustion, I at last succeeded. I did not dare to reinstate it, but was forced to grasp it with both hands, in order to save what remained of it. I baffled several desperate snatches, one of which carried away the lining, and was now trying to keep the enemy at bay, afraid again to attack the host opposed to me, but knowing how to retreat, when a person who had not previously made himself conspicuous, approached and interfered. 'Really, you had better go out;' at the same time pointing to a door I had not seen before."

HISTORY; ITS DEMAND AND SUPPLY.

We are going to complain, perhaps, of what cannot be remedied—perhaps of ills which many do not feel. Still, complain we must, and, as we have no desire to grumble without assistance, we hope there are some few at least who will agree with us; though should we be found to be even in a grievous minority of two or three, we will still maintain that we have a right to make complaints. Those, therefore, who do not like to hear such things have fair warning what they must expect, and if they read, do so at their own peril—"our withers are unwrung."

We are about to announce what we fear will be considered a paradox: to make an assertion which the booksellers will deny with a groan, and those halting on the margin of the literary sea with a laugh; we say there are not histories enough, particularly of England and France; though for the present we shall speak of England exclusively. From the Saxon Chroniclers down to Hume, Lingard, Brodie and Hallam, the supply is almost, if not entirely, equal to the demand; but after these, through the most important, because the most recent, part of English history, we have nothing but incomplete fragments. Down to 1760 there is a respectable chain of works; we will not say that they give us all we want, we will not say that they might not have been vastly improved, both in execution and detail; but we do say, that there is a mass of English historians which may safely challenge comparison, as a whole, with those of any other nation of modern days. After this date, however, and for the last ninety years, during that portion of English history which is of the most vital importance not only to Englishmen themselves but to the rest of the world, we are without chart or compass. When we come to the last page of the last reliable history; when we stand on the brink of that vast abyss—that *hiatus* which separates those events which have been duly digested into approved standard works, "which no gentleman's library should be without," from those other events which are still flotsam on the wide ocean of scarcely reliable biographies, old files of newspapers, unpublished and often undiscovered manuscripts, chaotic annual registers, or that newer abomination, political novels; and, looking beyond, see those who have preceded us but a little, floundering along in this unpromising sea, where

> "Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto:
> Arma virûm, tabulaeque, et Troia gaza per undas,"

it requires a stout heart, a clear head, and more nerve than the generality of readers possess, to plunge into the surge, and undertake the routine of plodding, patient industry, which is necessary to enable one to navigate his way through.

The natural result of this is, that the majority of people among us, particularly the younger portion of this generation, are almost wholly ignorant of English history, since we lost all national connection with it. Many of them know, that after ours came that unceasing fund of essay

and declamation, the French Revolution; so soon as that is mentioned—good-bye to sober old England—every body is over the channel dancing through Europe from the Tagus to the Danube, and from the Mediterranean to Moscow, in the track of the French armies, climbing the Pyramids with French philosophers, and speculating on the nature and effects of the guillotine. Mixed in with this may be some general ideas about Pitt, Fox, Burke and Sheridan, and probably—thanks to Prior and Moore—some knowledge of the last two. But as to clear, useful information relating to English occurrences from 1783 to 1815, one would scarcely believe, till the search has been undertaken, how difficult it is to find. After 1815, the matter is still worse. Nor is it much better among older minds. There are few that have reached mature age who cannot recollect somewhat before the battle of Waterloo; but when those recollections come to be weighed and analyzed, they mostly degenerate into sheer arrant gossip, with here and there a stray fact of importance so completely out of place, that one is forced to wonder how it got into such company. Most of these memories are fertile in anecdotes of the royal and imperial visits—how Hetman Platoff and the Emperors wondered, and were wondered at, stared, and were stared at, and then went home again. There is a confused impression of prostrated trade, a starving people, bankrupt merchants, and an insolvent treasury; but all these are hurried over for George the Fourth and his wife, Lady Jersey, the Princess Charlotte, the door in the Abbey that would not be opened, and Mr. Brougham. Then everybody is a Phil-Hellenist, and talks of Navarino, Botzaris, Byron, and Missolonghi; there is a jumble about Huskisson, Canning, the Navigation Laws, and the West India trade; there is Earl Grey, Lord John, the Duke, the Reform Bill, and the abolition of slavery; a little more about Peel and the Corn Laws, because they have touched our pockets; and so ends this strange, eventful history.

Now, we do not pretend to say that every one among us is as ignorant as this. Very far from it. But we think that a great majority of us know no more about modern English history—we had almost said that they do not know so much. That this is an evil, a manifest and a great one, none will deny. To indicate its cure, however, is not so easy as to show its existence; indeed, we are almost tempted to claim the usual parliamentary privilege of an opposition. We mean to content ourselves with attacking the measures of government and showing the fallacy of the arguments used in their support, without feeling ourselves at all called upon to point out any substitute or preventive for the evils we predict. Still, as we have broached the subject, we will not hesitate to indicate some of the outlines, at least, of the remedy which we hope may be effectual. Let us first, however, discover, if we can, the reasons for this lack of more recent history.

We think it arises almost wholly from two causes: a false delicacy in bringing before the public the interior life and governing motives of those whose memory is still fresh among us, and who have produced an effect upon what are called historical events; and from a false estimate—which may be either too high or too low—placed upon the value of books written in the midst of events of which they treat.

We say that the first of these causes is a false delicacy; and of its falsity we have little doubt. When a man becomes an actor in public life, it can seldom or never be otherwise than by his own option—nay

more, by his own efforts. This being so, the man who enters public life—who becomes a servant of the people, must make up his mind to all the sacrifices which his position and his masters demand; he cannot be both a public and a private man in regard to public acts; and for every step, for every thought of his which produces, which tends or was intended to produce, an effect on public affairs, he is liable, and he has tacitly agreed to be held to the strictest account, as to his motives, objects, and ends, no matter how trivial or how personal; if he conceals these, he is acting not only a disingenuous but an improper part, and is justly liable to be discharged from his trust, as an "ungrateful and wicked servant." But if he has no right to conceal his esoteric doctrines, much less have those who come after him a right to suppress any records he may have left of his public life. Such records are the property of the public only, and any one who keeps them from their proper owners commits little less than moral theft. Supposing such records, however, to be given to the world, what are they worth? This brings us to the second cause we have assigned for the lack of reliable information. When such a record as we have spoken of is published, it meets with various receptions. If the writer has been true to his political doctrines, then his partisans laud it to the skies, while their opponents laugh at the book, as unworthy the paper it is printed on; if, on the contrary, the writer gives his old associates a lesson and a rebuke, the whole state of things is changed; while in the meantime a large and growing class of people come to regard all such books with a sort of neutral indifference, which is scarcely less wrong than either extreme of laudation or condemnation. Now, books like these, written in the time of which they treat, are very valuable things in their way, and cannot be replaced by anything else. They will be prejudiced, it is true,—that our prior reading should enable us to rectify; but they bear the same relation to those of later date that oranges and pine-apples in Havanna do to oranges and pine-apples in New-York. Grammont and Walpole, Wraxall and Twiss, are not history, but they show what history never does. History takes us to the senate or the battle-field; they take us to the dinner-table, and chat with us.

So much for the reasons; now for the remedy. This must arise almost wholly from the character of the man who shall attempt to write the history of recent English events.

The main obstacle in the way of obtaining information on this subject, is the difficulty of access to any decent collection of the useful, current publications of the time; and it should be the object of any one writing modern English history, to remove this first and greatest difficulty.

An historian generally is, or should be, a labor-saver. He is to examine details, extract from them the conclusions to which they naturally lead, and lay these results before his readers, who, finding the work performed, prefer using this compendium to the trouble of going through the same labor for themselves. This general description will, of course, be varied according to the subject of which the history treats. The province of the man who would approach most nearly to the character of the historian of very recent events, is to bring within an available form the produce of the various sources from which those events can be learned. He must be copious of facts; for his readers will be more anxious to judge for themselves, as the results of the judgment more nearly affect

their own interests. He must be cautious of putting forward his own reflections and conclusions; for the same reasons which make his readers desirous of being judges will tend to make him an advocate. In short, he must occupy, from the peculiar circumstances under which he writes, that position which Doctor Johnson assigned to all historians, when he put his well-known dilemma, to show that they had no field for their abilities. He must be content to be a mere digester. His best and most useful quality will be a sort of plodding honesty and perseverance in details; and he must be content to lay the almost unseen foundations on which others shall rest their most brilliant and showy, but, in truth, less useful, historical architecture.

We must, however, guard against this description of an historian being applied one atom beyond its just limits. One who has very nearly filled the historical blank we are complaining of, we mean Mr. Wade, has no patience with any writer who, "aspiring to a higher office than that of a simple chronicler of facts, which is his chief vocation, seeks to embellish, or rather to distort the truth, by beauties of style, by the charms of narrative, by moving and adventurous incidents, by picturesque aud contrasted portraits of eminent persons, and by ingenious theories, conjectures, and unravelments of historical obscurities." All this is very well in the place in which it comes, and it is fortunate for his readers that the compiler of such a book should entertain these ideas; for while Mr. Wade's work professes to be a history of England from the Roman invasion, yet, out of his twelve hundred and forty pages, but little more than one-third of that number brings the history down to seventeen hundred and sixty, while the remaining two-thirds comprise the occurrences of the eighty-seven years following; thus making it essentially a history of England in very recent times, and as such only is it valuable. But if Mr. Wade, or even Doctor Johnson, meant that the history of all times, no matter how long past, should be a mere catalogue of facts, with no connection, but that one comes after another; that style and manner are nothing, and truth is everything; that if the writer narrates all the facts, he does all that is wanted, no matter how harsh, repulsive and tiresome his manner of so doing may be; we are compelled to dissent, and to think that there are some other qualities necessary to the writing of history, than are expended in making an inventory of an estate. It is useless to disguise the fact, that people generally will not read, willingly, that which is not agreeably written. Mr. Wade cannot, and does not, claim for his book any particular attractiveness or beauty of style or narration, and, because his task is to narrate recent occurrences, this nakedness of all but facts is necessary and proper. Those who are really anxious to learn, will not fear the labor they must incur in wading through a dry, and rather tiresome catalogue, of seemingly trivial and unimportant facts, because from those facts they are enabled to arrive at that general idea of the social condition which, in a history of more distant times, and a different style, is conveyed by the general views and conclusions given by the author, without burthening his page with the details from which such views and conclusions are derived. In short, because we are fearful of stronger influences in the first case than in the second, we are unwilling to trust any one but ourselves to arrive at conclusions for us on recent affairs, but we think that there is less danger in confiding, to a greater extent, in the author who treats of things in which his personal interest can scarcely be

strong enough to influence his judgment and sense of right and wrong. We submit to the labor of examining details, so long as we think it necessary; but we are very sure that had Mr. Wade confined his book to a catalogue of events prior to the year seventeen hundred and fourteen, that is, up to the accession of the Hanoverian line, it would never have gone beyond the first edition. Nobody would have cared, except as a matter of antiquarian curiosity, to weary himself with column after column of trivial events, the whole end and object of which was to show what had already been done in half a page of Hume, Lingard, or half a dozen other sufficiently reliable histories. After a result has been arrived at, general readers will not take the trouble to go over the process again and again, for the mere pleasure of testing the correctness of that to which they already assent.

No cause has given greater success to those literary monstrosities, historical novels, than the peculiar style of most histories. D'Israeli and James never would have extended their circle of admirers beyond the usual novel-reading one, if they had related events in the style of Rushworth; and even the limited circle we speak of would, under such circumstances, have uniformly omitted the second chapter of James, and one-third of every chapter of D'Israeli. But after all, is the so-called historical style an evil in itself? Is it *malum in se*, or only one of the *mala prohibita?* Is it essentially faulty? We are not prepared to say so. Our ideas are very different from the popular ones on this subject, and lead to the very opposite conclusion. A man who wishes to learn history should study it, not read it. He should sit down to it as a lawyer does to Coke and Blackstone. There is no royal road to the knowledge of history more than to that of mathematics; and the great difficulty is to convince most people that history is a study at all. There are those who talk of it as "light reading," as something with which to relax the mind after severer application. We must say that, in our opinion, such people have yet to learn what history is, and cannot have understood any historical book they ever opened. We believe that the old proverb, "light come, light go," is no less true when applied to this subject, than when applied to another; and that, therefore, a style which, though by no means obscure or involved, when properly studied, yet requires close attention to extract its full meaning, is far better than one which, by its superficial brilliancy, pleases the ear or the imagination, but gives us few, if any, new ideas or new facts.

We think that this is the belief of most, if not all students. We believe that all who are really infected by the historiomania, cannot be contented with anything but a book whose massy and swelling style is only to be read *ore rotundo*, and whose every word is to be considered and studied with all a lover's care. To such tastes dear, quaint, garrulous old Froissart is infinitely superior to the superficial generalization and glittering wordiness of a more modern school of writers; and the true student looks upon these last with a ludicrous mixture of horror and helplessness not unlike that of Domine Sampson when he met Meg Merrilies in the wood of Worroch. Yet popular feeling, popular prejudice, popular laziness, perhaps, has decided in a different way; and the multitude is led captive by the charms of splendid narration, finely wrought periods, and gorgeous diction. In truth, it is a most delightful thing to be able to satisfy the conscience by saying: "I am reading history; I am improving

my mind; I cannot be accused of wasting my time;" and all the while to be enjoying the pleasing excitement of a well-written novel; to have our blood tingle with sympathy and admiration, or grow cold with dread; to have processions of peers in their ermine, and peeresses in their robes, played off before us till the mind is filled with stars and orders, with velvet and gold; to be able to believe we are combining amusement and instruction; to smooth and beautify the road to knowledge, and to shade it with rose trees from the sun. All this is delightful, but, we fear, very deceiving. We are not now inclined to investigate deeply into the evils of such a system; it is sufficient, for the present, to say that we believe it to weaken the mind, and to fill it with isolated rather than connected events; with results rather than the means by which they were produced. Still this is the style which the present historical taste of the many requires, and we must hereafter either expect the advent of an historian who shall be able to give us the wheat gilded, the lily painted, and the violet bedewed with Lubin's extracts, or we must anticipate an historical schism. The latter, we fear, is most probable. Hereafter, we are inclined to think, we shall have histories for readers and histories for students—milk for babes and meat for strong men.

There is another historical theory as to which we are desirous to enter our dissent. We mean that which authorizes the writing of "outline" or "skeleton," histories for the use of young people, under the idea that they will facilitate study, prepare the way for future and more extensive reading, make larger works more attractive, and firmly fix the prominent points in the memory.

We doubt the possibility of very much facilitating the study of history, or of making it interesting throughout to young minds. There must be a taste cultivated for it before it can be properly enjoyed; but this taste, like all other acquired ones, is to be cultivated only by a very disagreeable process, one which few people, and, above all, few children, will be ready to undertake. Neither can history be properly enjoyed, without a perfect knowledge of all the bearings and relations of the various occurrences which it mentions. We should endeavor to have the same familiar acquaintance with things past that we have with those present; and without this, history, it seems to us, can never be entertaining or attractive. If these are the true principles which should govern our historical reading, how will they affect this class of books? Manifestly we must answer that they cannot reach the end they are intended to attain; that they are totally incapable of so doing.

The history of England is capable of being made as interesting as the best novel that ever was written. Get in all the details—all the picturesque positions, groupings and scenes, and it is like a painting. But is it reasonable to suppose that children who admire a painting will care much for a catalogue of the things out of which it is formed? The first is attractive from its color, its light and shade, its similarity to actual life. Do all that you can for the other, and it will still be nothing more than ink and paper—not like life at all. Just so is it with these books. They give the things from which the picture is to be made, but they omit the feelings, the motives—the light and shade; in short, they leave out every vital principle. A box of brushes and colors is no more a picture than is one of these books a history for a child. They profess, too, to relieve the memory, when all experience has shown that a very large

amount of facts, when properly and attractively arranged, will be remembered with much more ease than a naked list of fewer events, less agreeably grouped.

But are these books good for anything? Are they worth the paper, ink, and binding bestowed upon them? Assuredly, yes. Few books are wholly useless, and in their true position, these outlines are of great value. They are of importance to a class of persons very different from those for whose benefit they profess to be compiled. To resume our illustration; after we have admired a picture for a little while, we become, to a certain extent, artists ourselves. We approach the painting more closely, and are desirous to observe, not the general effect, but the particular execution. The result has attracted us, and we wish to discover the means by which that result was produced. We wish to observe the various colors and tints, and the method of laying them on, and the character of the drawing which the picture contains. This is the result to which all are brought, but from which no one started, and if we expect any good from beginning at the wrong end, we shall be as wofully disappointed as were the followers of the veiled prophet. These books, then, in our opinion, are only suitable for those who have made themselves masters of the whole subject; they will then serve to call up the associations already fixed in their readers' minds.

While speaking as we have done of modern English history, we almost envy the man who shall write the history of the reign of William the Fourth. A reign during which revolution was effected by the simple means of a parliamentary vote—when the sovereignty seemed once more to become an active department of the government; and when sovereign and people united bore down the influence of those who had held power for nearly a century and a half, cannot but be a noble field for examination. But when we add to all this the consideration of the admirable parliamentary tactics, the great social changes and amendments, the adoption of a wholly new foreign and domestic policy, the delicate negotiations which arose from the French Revolution of 1830, the establishment and effects of the "*entente cordiale*," and the great Eastern questions consequent on the rise of Ibrahim Pasha, we can safely say, that few reigns of seven years include more important events within their limits, or are better worthy of a good historian. The time for that historian has come. He can no longer be governed by the precedents of centuries past. A new state of things has arisen which requires newer rules and newer examples than those of Cecil, or even of Walpole. The hour *has* come; has the man?

POLITICAL PORTRAITS WITH PEN AND PENCIL.

HON. WILLIAM STRONG, OF PENNSYLVANIA.

It affords the writer of the following paper pleasure to set about his task. Himself a practical man, he regards those who contribute more than their fair share of good example to society, as being eminently worthy of the respect and confidence of the country at large. Knowing that no other gentleman of his age, in his State, has outstripped his subject in this race of utility, it is indeed a pleasure, rather than a task, to reflect upon the incidents of his career.

William Strong, who now represents the Berks (9th) District of Pennsylvania in the Congress of the United States, was born in Somers, Tolland county, Connecticut, on the 6th of May, 1808, the son of the Rev. William L. Strong, a Congregational clergyman of influence and distinction, and Harriet Deming. William, our subject, was the oldest of eleven children born to his worthy and unobtrusive parents, both of whom sprang from families which were among the earliest emigrants to New-England.

At an early age William was sent by his father to school, in Monson, Massachusetts, where he remained for some two years. From thence he was removed to an academy in Plainfield, Connecticut, where he pursued his studies for six months. He next left home for Yale College, entering the freshman class of that time-honored institution in 1824. Remaining there for the usual term of four years, he was distinguished by the industry and regularity of his habits, devotion to his scholastic duties, and by the systematic and reflecting tone of his mind—traits which, marking his subsequent career, have greatly aided in advancing him, step by step, to the present prominent position which he holds in the House of Representatives of the United States. In 1828, William Strong graduated among those who bore off the highest honors of that celebrated institution. While there, I should not forget to mention William Strong was connected as an active and efficient member with all the societies of distinction known to the discipline of the college.

The pecuniary circumstances of his father were not such as to enable him to be at the expense of all of the collegiate education of William, whose brothers, pressing closely on his years, required and received an equal share of care, assistance and advantages, from their excellent parent, in the work of preparation for the active duties of manhood in this country. Thus, the means furnished by his father were barely sufficient to carry him through his sophomore year—leaving him to abandon his collegiate course, half completed, or to continue his studies for two years, without the means in hand of paying the usual college expenses. He determined on the latter course, and through the recommendation of officers of the institution who had noted the industry and entire integrity of his previous collegiate life, Mr. S. was permitted to make a debt for five hundred dollars, which was hardly sufficient to carry him through his course.

After graduating, New-Englander-like, he at once took a school at East Windsor, Connecticut, where he remained for a year, teaching during the usual scholastic hours, and studying law for eight hours per diem besides, under the advice and assistance of a Mr. Treat. From East Windsor, our subject removed to Tolland, in the same state, where he also taught school; and while there, availed himself of the library and advice of Mr. Stearns, a legal gentleman of that town, of ability and reputation. At the end of a year, he received an invitation to take charge of the classical and mathematical department of a school of considerable renown in Burlington, New-Jersey, and forthwith accepting, he renewed his labors at that point, teaching, and devoting eight hours a day, (which to many others in his position would have been leisure time,) to the study of the law, under the guidance of the Hon. Garret D. Wall, than whom no other lawyer in the State held higher rank at the bar. After remaining a year and a half at Burlington, he had not only paid off his college debt, but accumulated sufficient to enable him to finish his legal education. So, returning to New-Haven, he promptly entered the celebrated law school of Judges Daggett and Hitchcock. Pursuing his studies there for six months with great diligence, at the end of that time he was admitted to practice by the courts of Connecticut. Immediately afterwards, Mr. Strong was stricken down by long sickness, which came near terminating his life; leaving him debilitated, and some three hundred dollars in debt—his slender means having given out at the end of his legal course of studies. On recovering his strength sufficiently to justify him in again venturing to labor, he repaired to Philadelphia, where he had secured the kind regard of Charles Chauncey, Esq., on whose motion he was admitted to practice in the courts of that city and county.

On being admitted in Philadelphia, Mr. Chauncey, then among those at the head of the profession in Pennsylvania, advised him to settle in Doylstown, Bucks county, where there appeared to be a favorable opening; and on repairing thither, he was refused admission to the bar, on the ground that he had not been a resident of the State for twelve months. Immediately retracing his steps, not a little mortified at the ungenerous reception he met at the hands of the Court of Bucks county, he consulted again with Charles Chauncey, and with Horace Binney and John Sargeant, all of whom took deep and kind interest in his success.

At their instigation Mr. Strong turned his steps towards Reading, in Berks county, an ancient town in the middle of the German settlements of Pennsylvania. He reached that point in November, 1832, with less than $10 in his pocket, owing $400, unacquainted with a single individual in the county, knowing nothing of the practice of the Pennsylvania courts, and utterly unable to speak or comprehend a word of the language (German) spoken ordinarily by four-fifths of those around him. Nothing daunted, however, our subject at once commenced the practice of the law in his future home, and also applied himself with much diligence to the study of the German language, so that at the end of his first year he spoke it with great fluency. By that time he found himself in a fair practice; his previous legal education, which was far advanced above that of most young practitioners, having early marked him for one who possessed a knowledge of his business, far superior to the usual professional attainments of most of those of his experience at the bar. So much for

his previous years of devotion to law books for eight hours per diem, when teaching school, and sixteen hours when pursuing his studies at the law school in New-Haven.

On commencing the practice in Reading, Mr. STRONG at once united himself with the democratic organization of the neighborhood, and as he gradually formed business and social relations with those around him, became as well known for the earnestness and soundness of his democratic principles, as for the almost invariable success with which he acquitted himself of the professional engagements entrusted to him. Though the bar of that region was numerous and very strong in intellect, talents and attainments, he rose far more rapidly and surely in his profession, than any other gentleman practising in that quarter. Thus, in five years, his business became more lucrative than that of either of his compeers, and from that time, (1837,) until elected to succeed the venerable John Ritter in the Congress of the United States, he was employed on one or the other side of nearly all important cases occurring in the courts which he attended.

On the 28th of November, 1836, Mr. STRONG was united to the daughter of the Hon. Garrick Mallery, who was at that time the presiding judge of that judicial circuit, and is now a very eminent lawyer of the Philadelphia bar. His wife, a lady endowed with all the graces and virtues necessary to make the home of a husband of correct principles, intelligence, and high character happy, survived their union but seven years, and dying, left two daughters and a son to the tender care of her bereaved companion.

Up to forty-six, though steadily acting with his political friends, Mr. S. took no prominent part in politics, having addressed the people on few occasions on such subjects. Once, immediately after the Legislature of Pennsylvania had re-chartered the Bank of the United States, an immense mass meeting having collected at Reading to take that action into consideration, after urgent solicitation he delivered a speech, exposing, in advance, the character of the institution, its hostility to the real interests of the community, and the surety that, in the end, the country at large would be compelled to pay the penalty of the folly and venality of the majority of the Legislature, as evinced in that action, which falling with force upon the ear of those present, served greatly to fix the county of Berks in that political frame of mind, which, throughout all the mutations in politics that have occurred within the last twelve or fifteen years, has rendered her more famous the country over for giving huge Democratic majorities, than any other county of any state in the Union. In all this time, however, Mr. STRONG was frequently solicited to accept nominations for a seat in the State Legislature. This honor he steadily declined, being without ambition for political advancement, and sincerely anxious to steadily pursue the professional career he had early marked out for himself. In 1846, the venerable and excellent John Ritter having declined a renomination for Congress, the democracy of Berks conferred that honor upon our subject, unsolicited, his health having failed shortly before, owing to the severity of his application to the law, which induced him to become reconciled to entering public life. Thus, Mr. STRONG was nominated over a lawyer of eminence, who had long exercised the controlling influence arising from great personal popularity and connection with the oldest, wealthier, and most influential families of the Congressional dis-

trict. Though a New-Englander by birth, comparatively a new comer among them, and without a blood relation among that constituency, Mr. STRONG, the election coming on, polled nearly eight hundred votes more than the average thrown for the state democratic ticket; a fact, embracing proof that he had won the confidence and esteem of his fellow-citizens of both parties in a remarkable degree.

Mr. STRONG was unfortunate in commencing his Congressional career (in the 30th Congress) with a whig majority in the House of Representatives. Thus, being a new member, and with a whig speaker, he failed to have assigned to him a position on committee, such as under other circumstances he might have expected. He was placed on the Committee of Revolutionary Pensions; a position which had generally been filled by his predecessors from the same district—the Hon. Mr. Muhlenburg and others. He, however, faithfully and industriously discharged the onerously taxing duties of a member of that committee.

During the first session of the 30th Congress, our subject modestly refrained from taking an active part in the class of the business of the House, which, causing one's efforts to be commented upon frequently by the press, brings the representative prominently before the public as a political leader. Devoting himself almost entirely to the investigation and preparation of cases referred to his committee, he delivered at that session but few set speeches. But when the bill authorizing the negotiation of a loan of eighteen millions five hundred thousand dollars was brought forward by the Committee of Ways and Means, a majority of whom were whigs, he delivered a speech against one of its prominent features.

The writer here refers to the principle of specially hypothecating the customs of the country for the repayment of the loan. He contended with convincing force that, after all, the creditor would rely on the faith of the government, and that particular pledges could not fail to prove greatly embarrassing to those entrusted with the management of government finances. He succeeded in effecting the modification of the bill, by expunging this provision, notwithstanding the warm opposition of the Hon. Mr. Vinton and other influential members.

On the 4th of March, 1848, Mr. STRONG also spoke in defence of the Mexican war, and to sustain the position of President Polk, that we were authorized to demand of the enemy territorial indemnification; and also in reply to the speech of the Hon. Mr. Collamer, in which that gentleman had advanced the position, that if we took the territory, we would be bound for the Mexican national debt.

This effort was highly eulogized at the time of its delivery, and was very widely circulated, not only under the frank of members of the two Houses, but in the columns of the newspapers of the day. During the whole of that session, he participated (according to his invariable custom) with indefatigable industry in the general business of the House, attending, strictly, in his seat, while the body was in session.

At the succeeding session, Mr. STRONG delivered an elaborate speech against the system of contracts for ocean mail steamer service, then attracting more attention than any other subject-matter pending before Congress, not immediately identified with the politics of the day. This was, in fact, the first important speech delivered in either House against that system, which has already grown up to threaten soon to become one

of the most enormous abuses under this government. In this effort Mr. S. left no branch of his subject untouched, examining it with a master hand in legal as well as industrial points of view. There were, just then, several projects for other similar contracts pending before the House, which were being pressed upon the members with great earnestness, by the most talented and experienced agents connected with the prosecution of demands upon the different branches of the government at Washington. No stone had been left unturned by the associated capitalists and shrewd speculators who were interested in these various schemes, to dip their hands into the treasury, under this pretence of rendering service to the public. Indeed, so universally popular had the system suddenly become, that it was considered necessary to do little more than to *demand* government assistance in the establishment of a line of ocean mail steamers any where to obtain it. But this effort of Mr. STRONG, taking up and blowing to the winds each of the many pleas upon which these projects were being urged, defeated the enactment of the whole of them; and from that day to the present, the reasons which he urged with so much cogency upon the House, have prevented Congress from entering into any similar new arrangement. This speech was delivered on the 30th of January, 1849.

Mr. S., however, also addressed the House at length, on the 5th of the same month, in favor of the creation of a board for the adjudication of claims on the government, with the view to guard the treasury against the perpetration of frauds in the way of the enactment of laws to pay such demands on the public purse as are now known by the *sobriquet* of "Galphins," and to protect the rights of the honest and shamefully neglected creditor of the government—a measure, at this moment, imperiously demanded by the public interest.

In addition to the delivery of these elaborate speeches, during that session Mr. STRONG devoted himself with untiring industry to the general legislative business of the House, being always present, and lending his aid in the elucidation of the constantly occurring points in the course of business in the hall. In the discharge of this duty, he was forced so frequently to address the House, that at that session he became distinguished as one of the most active and efficient members of the body.

In the fall of 1848, Mr. STRONG was unanimously renominated—an event never before occurring in that Congressional district. This nomination resulted in his election, by a majority of five hundred greater than that given in the district for the democratic candidate for governor, running at the same time; his competitor being a talented and very popular whig.

Before repairing to Washington to take his seat under this election, our subject again married—the lady to whom he was united being the daughter of the Hon. Edward Davis, of Lancaster county, Pa., formerly a representative in Congress.

At the opening of this, the 31st Congress, Mr. STRONG was placed at the head of the Committee on Elections, and was also appointed a member of the Committee on Rules, two of the most important positions known to the organization of the House. Ere the session opened, it was known that more important questions would come before these two committees than had ever previously been adjudicated by either. There were before the Committee on Elections the cases of the contested elections from the

first Congressional district of Iowa, and the fourth district of Pennsylvania, and those of the applications for admission to seats, as territorial delegates, from New-Mexico and Deseret—each involving grave questions of law distinct from the other, and entirely novel, neither having before been discussed or decided by a House of Representatives of the United States; and before the Committee on Rules, the still graver question of framing some provision by which the business of the House might be expedited, without trenching, in a time of great sectional excitement, upon constitutional or other real rights of the minority. In discharging the functions of chairman of the Committee on Elections, Mr. S. had occasion not only to draw up the elaborate and laboriously prepared reports in the Iowa, New-Mexican, Deseret, and Pennsylvania cases, but to open the debate upon each, in a speech setting forth the grounds upon which the committee had drawn the conclusion to which they had arrived, and sustaining their premises by a well matured argument upon the law and the facts, but also to close the debate on each, reviewing and replying at length to every plausible objection urged in the course of the many speeches upon either of these questions against the committee's recommendations to the House.

Among the novel questions involved in these issues, was—whether the Mormons, who were sojourning on the western border of Iowa, where circumstances had unavoidably detained them while on the journey to the great Salt Lake, were entitled to exercise the rights of citizens of that state. On the principle that, being citizens of the United States, they were entitled to exercise the elective franchise somewhere,—before Mr. S. closed this debate with the powerful reply which he delivered to the many arguments of whig leaders, there was apparently a large majority of the House in favor of awarding the seat to the contestant. The writer of this paper (who was in the hall from the moment the subject was taken up until it was finally decided,) was an eye and ear witness of the capital defence of the judgment of the committee on the other side, made by Mr. S. From the moment the subject matter came before the House, until, to the astonishment of most persons present, the yeas and nays on the test question disclosed the fact, that the seat would not be awarded to the contestant in the face of the plain requirements of the law, Mr. Strong was constantly on his feet—explaining here, replying to queries there, arguing, in short speeches, answers to some one of the numerous objections being momentarily started by the capital orators and sharp lawyers on the other side. Never did coolness, quickness of apprehension, profound legal attainments, and invariable equanimity of temper, better serve a party leader than our subject on that occasion; for it was only by dint of his application, and the masterly manner in which he held the reins of the House, that the whole question was eventually returned to the people most nearly interested in the controversy.

The limits of this sketch, the writer regrets, will prevent him from describing, in detail, the contests over the questions of admitting those applying to be recognized as delegates from New-Mexico and Deseret, in each of which, however, he may truthfully remark, that Mr. Strong bore almost the whole brunt of the fierce party and sectional contest made over them. It was his duty to divest these questions of their sectional character, and to bring the majority of the House to examine each wholly as questions of law and fact. To that end, he labored as manfully as suc-

cessfully—the decision upon each being in accordance with the positions laid down by him as correct. But this paper must be brought to a close, as the writer does not trench upon the space which these articles are permitted to occupy in a work of the character of the Review. He therefore will merely add, that as a legislator, the leading characteristics of his subject are ingenuousness, a judgment very rarely, indeed, failing to come to sound conclusions, readiness and pungency as a debater, scrupulous care never to strive to impress upon the minds of the House conclusions not fairly warranted by his premises, an equanimity of temper not to be ruffled in oratorical passages at arms, and the courtesy of a polished gentleman. It will be judged correctly from what is here written, that Mr. Strong has much influence over the House; for these are qualities of statesmanship which invariably cause their possessor to be respected and confided in by those around him.

Mr. S. is among the most rising members in the hall, where he is rapidly coming to exercise the functions of the leader of the democratic party; almost every other of those of his talents and individual weight having identified themselves as *partizans* on one or the other side of the fierce anti-American and unnatural sectional struggle, with which this first session of the 31st Congress has been so grievously cursed.

FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL REVIEW.

The general prosperity was perhaps never greater than now; and the fact is evident, not only in the prompt payment of debts, but the demand which exists for all goods, imported and domestic, while exchanges are at *par*, or below the rate at which shipments of specie are profitable. That the importations have been very heavy, is an indication not only of the wants of the people, but that they possess the means of purchasing. It is a direct result of proximate freedom of commerce—that the agriculturist has an extended market for his produce, and, therefore, greater means of purchasing supplies. The fact is apparent, also, that the goods imported are more of the character of luxuries than in any year since those of speculation. It has also been observed that the proportion of fine goods, both domestic and imported, sold to the masses of the people, is larger than formerly. While the working many thus consumes a better style of goods, the number of the wealthy has increased, and the demand for luxuries becomes greater. The value of silks imported in 1836 was twenty-two millions, and subsequently fell off to about eight millions per annum; but this year it again reaches nearly twenty-one millions. The value of watches imported in 1842 was less than $400,000—this year it is nearly $1,700,000; and these are not purchases upon credit, but paid for, as indicated in the fact that with money here very abundant, and dealers disposed to discount their own notes, exchanges are at par. It is no doubt the case that very considerable amounts of stocks have been sent abroad; but that is only the form in which capital emigrates to this country, and there is no reasonable fear that any revulsion will occur of a nature to cause that capital to be withdrawn suddenly,

or at all. The great prosperity which exists was scarcely allowed for in the estimates of the Treasury Department, when a deficit of sixteen millions was proclaimed by the Galphins. Mr. Meredith, it will be remembered, estimated, in December last, that the surplus on hand in July, 1849, and the avails of loans due the government, would be absorbed, in addition to the revenue, leaving a deficit of $5,800,000, June 30, 1850. The year has now closed, and the result is an excess of $3,873,639 ordinary revenue over ordinary expenditure, as follows:—

UNITED STATES REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE, 1850.

	Qr. ending Sep. 30, 1849.	Dec. 31.	March 31.	June 30.	Total, 1850.
Customs,	$11,450,000	$7,207,060	$11,500,145	$9,342,171	$39,500,376
Lands,	370,000	533,584	565,447	354,743	1,863,774
Miscellaneous,	175,000	259,499	858,393	784,419	1,877,311
Total,	$11,995,000	7,901,043	12,923,985	10,481,333	43,241,461
Civil,	2,673,760	2,866,680	4,920,047	4,409,534	14,875,021
War,	3,302,315	2,880,763	2,788,407	3,827,493	12,798,978
Navy,	2,052,435	2,062,966	1,618,095	2,175,334	7,908,830
Interest,	34,449	1,912,752	57,370	1,780,422	3,784,993
Total,	$8,067,959	9,723,461	9,383,919	12,192,673	39,367,822
Loans Received.	1,246,500	504,100	1,944,400	358,950	4,053,950
Loans Paid,	842,176	2,501,878	1,944,702	359,004	3,648,760

The custom's revenue for the year is within a fraction of forty millions—the largest amount ever received in any previous year, even embracing the expenses of collection for the last six months. The lands have also yielded well, and the miscellaneous receipts, being war contributions, &c, &c., have also figured high. The loan operations have been mostly the funding of treasury notes. The result is, that the amount in the treasury has risen to $10,198,916, subject to draft, which is the most agreeable form in which a "deficit" can exist. It suggests, however, fears in relation to the accumulation of a surplus, and therefore calls for remedy. The highest amount of duty ever received in any previous year was in 1831, when the black tariff of 1828 was in full blast. In that year the whole imports amounted to $103,191,124; of which $39,714,497 paid an average of 40 per cent. duty, amounting to $36,506,168. In the following year a long list of articles was exempted from duty, and the highest duties on other goods were modified. This went into operation in March, 1833. In the next year, the "compromise bill" exempted another long list of articles from duty, and provided for the biennial reduction of all duties until, in 1842, they should reach a uniform rate of 20 per cent. ad valorem, or one-half the average of 1831. Under the speculative fever the imports ran very high; but when the revulsion came they declined, although the taxes were lower; and in 1841, the whig extra session, in order to raise sufficient revenue, brought all those which had been exempted from duty by the compromise act under the 20 per cent. rule. This, however, only stopped the importation of free goods without enhancing the revenue. The tariff of 1842 raised the rates on all, and that of 1846 reduced them. We may take a table of the free, exclusive of specie and of the dutiable imports, with the duties collected at these several epochs:—

IMPORTS AND DUTIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

	Free.	Dutiable.	Duties.
1831	$16,150,785	$89,734,499	$36,596,118
1836	78,656,601	97,923,554	30,818,327
1841	66,019,731	61,926,446	19,919 492
1842	26,547,476	69,534,601	16,622,746
1845	18 077,618	95,206,724	30,952,416
1850	15,000,000	158,000,000	39,500,376

The returns for 1850 are estimates based on the duties and the actual returns for the port of New-York. It is now obviously just, since the articles made free by the compromise act were charged with duty in 1841, for the purpose of raising a revenue, and were subsequently, in gross violation of the spirit of this compromise, taxed still higher by the tariff of 1842, that, now that the revenue is in excess, with danger of inconvenient accumulation, they should all again be released from duty, which, for purposes of revenue, should be retained only on those articles which will yield it most readily, with least detriment to commerce and the farming interests. It is now the case that articles of luxury being more in demand, they will better bear the tax than those articles which enter more into the consumption of those of moderate means. The re-exemption of the articles taxed in 1841 should, at all events, be insisted upon. The returns show that the remaining articles at the present rate will yield a sufficient revenue.

The bulk of the importations being this year one month earlier than usual, and as all European goods are paid for before receipt, except in case of a banker's credit, the crisis of the exchange market may be supposed nearly to have passed, and the accumulation of specie in the bank vaults remains very considerable. The exports of five cities for the fiscal year, ending June 30th, are reported as follows:—

FOREIGN EXPORTS, YEAR ENDING JUNE 30TH.

	1849.	1850.	Increase.	Decrease.
New-Orleans	$37,611,667	$37,898,277	$286,610	—
Mobile	12,823,725	13,545,301	721,576	—
Philadelphia	5,344,421	4,500,712	—	843,709
New-York	41,460,127	44,546,620	3,086,493	—
Boston	8,692,073	9,142,652	450,579	—
Total, five cities	$105,932,013	$109,633,562	$3,701,549	

A considerable amount of produce has been shipped to California, the proceeds of which have gone to London on United States account, thus swelling the exports of the country beyond what is apparent from the Atlantic returns. A considerable quantity of specie, however, continues to go from New-York. From the 1st to the 20th of August, $647,147, all foreign silver coins, and $79,974, foreign gold coins, were exported from New-York, making $4,698,933 since the first of January. This is a less sum, however, than has been supplied by immigration alone; and the California gold continues to accumulate, until the amount now in the city is far beyond any previous amount, being as follows:—

SPECIE IN NEW-YORK.

	Dec., 1840.	March, 1850.	June 29.	Aug. 20.
In bank	$7,169,016	$6,861,501	$10,739,957	$9,250,000
Assistant Treasury	2,445,295	4,541,899	2,689,147	5,787,842
Total	$9,614,311	11,403,400	$13,429,104	$15,037,842

This is a larger stock of specie than was ever before held in New-York, and is now at the command of commerce, at a moment when some $2,000,000 are due from the Philadelphia mint, making $17,000,000, with the prospects of two millions per month, at least, from California, and when the fall importations are mostly paid for, and the new crops, in large quantities, at fair prices, are beginning to make their appearance. The export demand consists almost altogether in silver, and is a mere return to Europe of the quantities brought here by immigrants. The total number of aliens who arrived in this city for July was 33,374, or 1,110 per day, being an increase for the month of 3,276 over the same month last year. The specie in the banks of New-York, France and England, has increased as follows, reduced to dollars:—

	New-York.	France.	England.	Total.
January, 1849	$7,213,000	$52,500,000	$71,071,950	$130,804,950
June, 1850	13,429,104	81,472,500	81,161,494	176,063,098
Increase	$6,216,104	$28,972,500	$10,089,544	$45,258,148

This great increase at all the centres of commerce has been accompanied by so great an abundance of money at the same time, that political circumstances in Paris have induced the bank to strengthen itself by all the means in its power, and its coin has reached an extraordinary amount of silver. The accumulation in that quarter has been very expensive to French industry, the proceeds of which have been sold at very low specie prices, draining silver from all parts of the world to swell the private hoards of dealers as well as the large reservoir of the Bank, which fills from those private banks as returning confidence induces greater enterprise on the part of the leaders of industry. The California discoveries induced the government of Holland to pass laws for the substitution of silver and paper for gold in currency. This induced about £3,000,000 of gold to go out of the country, in exchange for silver. At the same time the Russian government, pursuing a similar policy, received a considerable portion of the £5,000,000 loan, taken for it in London by Baring Brothers, in silver. A Danish loan of £800,000 was, to some extent, discharged in the same metal, while a continual counter-current of gold flowed out of Russia. The silver demand for the continent was to some extent supplied from the increased yield of the mines of South America, but, as we have seen, also from the United States. The receipts of gold in the United States mints from California now amount to $23,850,000—since September 1st, 1849, $21,889,285; of which ten millions have been reported in the last three months, being at the rate of forty millions per annum. But of this, four millions have been reported in the last thirty days, being at the rate of nearly $50,000,000 per annum received directly in the United States; while the amount actually received during the year closing with the present month has been nearly twenty-two millions, the monthly receipts have been continually increasing, until that of the last three months reaches a rate which doubles the amount for the whole year. The banks and reservoirs of money are now stocked in a more abundant manner than usual in proportion to their liabilities, and the gold flowing from the mint spreads into more general circulation—thus strengthening, in an extraordinary degree, the basis of the mixed currency, and realizing that object of the administration of General Jackson, which was, to promote the circulation of the precious metals. The continued abundance of money at the centres of commerce

is to a great extent the result of the receipts from California, which begin to remunerate, to some degree, the outlay of the small adventurers from inland towns. From all these money flows down in the course of business, and accumulates in larger amounts, and in a greater number of hands than ever before.

The rate of money here cannot be called over 5 per cent., and loans on call, in important sums, continue at 4 per cent.; but money is in better supply here than at the Eastward, where, through the constant "sucking" of the Railroads, with which the rate is of less importance than the amount obtained, the price of money is 12 per cent. per annum. Thus, a New-York firm purchased a bill of goods for six months' paper—this paper the Boston house had discounted here at 6 per cent., and put the money out there at 12 per cent.—drawing out of this market for the supply of that in a profitable manner. The rate of money in England, on the other hand, is scarcely over 2½ per cent., and as bills rule at 10 a 10½, branch houses here have orders to draw at the latter rate to any amount. The money can be employed here at 5 per cent., and remitted, if necessary, by and by, at a lower rate of exchange, when crop-bills become more plenty—thus regulating not only the interest, but the exchange market, in a perfectly legitimate manner. The importations for the fall trade have now, probably, been mostly paid for, and yet the rate of bills is low, and money—although over $3,000,000 has been borrowed by the Northern and the Michigan Railroads, Rochester City, &c.—is more abundant than ever. The payments from the country, generally, are such as to swell the deposites in bank, and to enable many houses to retire their own paper to advantage. The last return of the New-York banks was at the close of June, just when the large importations of July were about to take place. The figures presented in those returns are higher than ever before attained by the banks of this state. Distinguishing the city from the country institutions, they were as follows:—

	Country Banks.	City Banks.	Total.
Loans	$38,402,626	$60,078,155	$98,480,781
Specie	913,382	10,739,957	11,653,339
Circulation	17,667,426	5,931,147	23,598,573
Deposits	10,735,916	35,955 549	46,691,465
Due Banks	397,404	11,231,167	11,628,571

This is an extraordinary high figure for the deposites to reach. Since September, 1848, the progress has been rapid;—an increase of over $3,000,000 has taken place in the capital. The loans have increased nearly 50 per cent.; the specie 150 per cent, and the deposites in a more important amount. It is to be observed, that the return for September, 1848, was immediately after the outlay for the fall trade, while that for this year was immediately preceding it. Since the last return the deposites were much reduced in laying in stocks of goods, but the subsequent payments from the country have again swelled the aggregate. The holders of sums of money seeking temporary investment, are greater in number, and more influential than ever before—against their power the banks have recently in vain sought to raise the rate of discount. It may be remarked, that the discounts of the chartered banks were never before so high as now. The law limits their discounts to twice and one-half their capitals, and this aggregate is now nearly or quite full.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

THE BERBER; OR, THE MOUNTAINEER OF THE ATLAS. A Tale of Morocco. By William Starbuck Mayo, M. D., Author of "Kaloolah," &c., &c.

THE appearance of a second work by Dr. Mayo so soon after the publication of "Kaloolah," would argue much for the prolific nature of the author's agreeable pen, and also indicate that the eminent success of the first named work had imparted an effective stimulant to the author. It would seem, however, that the new work owes much of its exciting character to its nature, illustrative of the remark, that "truth is stranger than fiction." The opportunities enjoyed by the author, through a residence in the Morocco country, to become acquainted with that strange people, their manners, customs and legends, enabled him to collect the facts which make up the leading features of the story, which illustrates, in its details of actual occurrences, the manners, customs, history and geography of the Moorish people, freed from the influence of that mental mirage which seems ever to deceive the observer of eastern customs as the traveler is misled by the illusion of the desert. The great favor with which "Kaloolah" was received on both sides of the Atlantic, led to its being printed in London by those publishers "who fill the air with their howlings about American appropriation of English works." To prevent this, we understand "the Berber" is published simultaneously in London by Bentley, and in New-York by Mr. Putnam; and should the London publishers undertake to pirate the American edition, Mr. Bentley will seek redress in the courts of law. The interest of "The Berber" is, we think, far superior to that of "Kaloolah," and well calculated to sustain the high reputation which the author has acquired.

HUNGARY AND TRANSYLVANIA: with Remarks on their Condition, Social, Political and Economical. By John Paget, Esq. Lea & Blanchard, Philadelphia.

Recent events have imparted to Hungary and her people intense interest. Her glorious struggle for liberty, the martyrdom of her noble sons, and her betrayal by a successful Arnold, elicit for her the sympathies of the world, while she has been the means of bringing the United States upon the field of European politics, through that early recognition of her rights which has called forth the protest of Austria. A fraternity is thus established between the old and new world, although but little has hitherto been known in this country of the Hungarian people. The present volume, although written in England, and therefore imbued with English notions and prejudices, contains much information as to the habits, manners, and social and political condition of the Magyars. The narrative is brought down to a late period, and pictures the country as it was on the eve of the recent outbreak. It is a book that deserves and will command general attention.

SPECTACLES: Their Uses and Abuses in Long and Short-Sightedness, and the pathological conditions resulting from their irrational employment. By J. Sichel, M. D. Translated from the French by H. W. Williams, M.D. Phillips, Sampson & Co., Boston.

That invaluable blessing, the sight, is liable in all human beings to diminish in vigor by approaching age, and too many hasten the decay of the faculty by deferring the use of spectacles when needed, or of putting them on too soon, or of too powerful a nature. As all are interested in this important matter, all ought to be possessed of this eminently scientific work upon the sight.

MONEYPENNY; OR, THE HEART OF THE WORLD. A Romance of the Present Day. By Cornelius Mathews. New-York: Dewitt & Davenport. 1850.

The range of subjects accessible to the American novelist who is desirous of confining himself to home descriptions, is limited. This country possesses few of those romantic attributes which distinguish the hoary kingdoms of the old world—memorials of early antiquity; crumbling ruins illustrating the dim history of by-gone days; traditional lore, capable of being moulded into thrilling tales of mystery; patriotic remembrances, save the—in a literary point of view—overworked revolution; and no pastoral condition presenting pictures of simplicity and repose. The voice of labor is everywhere heard—the ideal neglected—the imagination darkened by the ignoble concentration of the mind on the "eternal dollar"—and the business of life, generally speaking, a stereotyped catalogue of sombre realities. Love and crime, however, contrive to effect an entrance into the most matter-of-fact existence; and these, with the addition of the various peculiarities of society, collectively and individually exhibited, are the chief available native materials placed at the command of our novelists. This fact is nearly always overlooked by our European brethren, who ascribe to sterility of intellect that which is simply the result of a restricted sphere of action.

"Moneypenny" is a good example of what may be effected by a skilful writer, notwithstanding the limitations above alluded to. It is a genuine native romance—a picture of New-York life in all its phases, and evidently the result of long and acute observation. The characters are selected from all classes and conditions. And here, lest scrupulous readers, who imagine that the universality of the *dramatis personæ* necessarily implies the existence of questionable matter, should infer that "Moneypenny" is open to an objection of that nature, we must satisfy them as to its moral purity. The author informs us in the preface, that his endeavor was to furnish a story which would be interesting to the readers of cheap publications, and yet free from all objectionable matter. We willingly accord our testimony as to its freedom from anything that could wound the most sensitive delicacy—a merit greatly enhanced by the nature of the subject. Affluence and poverty, virtue and vice, contemptible pretence and true nobility of mind—all these are vividly delineated, not in the manner of a pompous moralist, but in that of a genial philanthropist.

The plot is strange and singular, and the author appears to have studied dramatic effect, and aimed at the perfection of isolated scenes, as much as at the just proportion of the whole. Some of the characters appear to us exaggerated. Among the latter, Sir Bluster Ruggles, a Shropshire Baronet, may be mentioned. It is very evident that the author's knowledge of the Shropshire dialect has been derived from second-hand sources; and does it not show a great ignorance of British common-sense to represent Sir Bluster as believing Mitchell's Olympic Theatre to be a place of worship, and fourteen men in uniform the standing army of America! Such credulity is not one of John Bull's attributes.

But in spite of any objections we can make, "Moneypenny" is a highly interesting work, abounding in scenes of great pathos, contrasted with passages of broad humor and laughable caricature—some of which are quite equal to the best passages of the author's English contemporary, Charles Dickens. A vein of wholesome satire runs through the work, and heightens the effect of the surrounding earnestness and benevolence of purpose. Considerable dramatic power is exhibited in many of the descriptions, particularly those of a steam-boat race on the Hudson, and a midnight fire in New-York.

THE INITIALS: A Story of Modern Life. A. Hart: (late Carey & Hart,) Philadelphia.

This is an exceedingly interesting representation of German life and manners, opening a field to the English novelist, which has been little trod, but offering a rich mine of amusement.

BILLIARDS WITHOUT A MASTER. By Michael Phelan. Illustrated with fifty fine Copper-plate Diagrams. New-York: D. D. Winant, Gold-street. 1850.

Billiards, the most scientific game extant, appears to have been invented by the French, and from them to have been introduced among the Germans, Dutch and Italians, and generally throughout Europe. It is stated that its first appearance in France was under the patronage of the Knights Templars, and that that chivalric Order probably was initiated into the secrets of the game at the Court of Commeni, at Constantinople, the seat of the Roman Empire of the East. That it was a favorite game at Rome during the consulship of Lucullus, is also hazarded by some writers; and by others, that it was the Emperor Caligula who introduced the scientific pastime into Rome. Nothing, however, definitive is known, save that its name indicates its French origin, which, however, would prove nothing more than that the French called it after *bill*, a ball—and *billard*, a mace-table, to accommodate themselves; and being more practiced in France at the time of the Third Henry, and becoming a game at the Court, spread thence, keeping its name, over the neighboring countries of Germany, Spain, Italy, and the British Isles, where it was received with favor and attention. Shakspeare seems to have believed it of Roman date, of the time of the Cæsars, and made mention of it in his play of "Anthony and Cleopatra." Webster says, according to the ancient orthography, it is *balyard*—composed of *ball* and *yard*, which means *ball-stick*.

In time it crossed the Atlantic, and at present is one of the principal games of American recreation. A people of their mechanic and scientific genius and habits, would not allow a game of its excellence to lie long unpracticed, offering, as it does, at once a pastime and an intellectual exercise. And it is owing to such a feeling of appreciation in one of the ablest representatives of the game, and the increasing interest manifesting itself towards it by the community generally, that the present interesting volume is given to the public.

To a mathematician, the plates of illustration, of which there are fifty, will be a treat as rich as an addition to Euclid—dynamics, or a *recherche* treatise on the divergence of Forces; while to a lover of the game, the book, as a manual, will possess attractions of a more than ordinary nature. Coming from the pen of Mr. Phelan, admitted by all to be one of the ablest, if not the first of professional billiard-players in the United States—with all the recommendation which the experience and knowledge such a man must have of the game—the accuracy of the diagrams—the minuteness of their explanations, and the general perspicuity of the book, makes it quite an intellectual treat. One of the designs of the author in this work, is to vindicate the game from the charges usually made against it. He has a right to be heard,—he says:

"The unprincipled conduct of many, who have been connected with it—their approval or countenance of dishonesty and chicane—their utter disregard of manhood and fair-play, doubtless, have given some color to those charges. But the faults of such men are not the faults of the game. The most innocent amusement can be abused, and the habitual gambler can gamble at anything. He (the author) hopes to defend his favorite game—to show that its abuse does not argue against its use; and if he succeeds even partially, his object will be attained; he will consider himself amply repaid for the troubles and difficulties encountered in the production of the present work."

Such a praiseworthy intention, added to the admirable advice to saloon-keepers and billiard-players, together with the excellence of the work, containing as it does every thing wherewith to make a perfect master of what its treats, will, we are sure, gain it an extensive and well-merited sale.

THE EARL'S DAUGHTER. By the author of "Amy Herbert," &c., &c. Edited by the Rev. W. Sewell, B. D. D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway.

The author of "Amy Herbert" is sufficiently known through his productions, and the present work is by no means of inferior interest. This class of religious novels has many admirers, and form, doubtless, an agreeable mode of disseminating what are conceived to be the truth of religious teaching. The typographical appearance of the volume is admirable.

THE REBELS; OR, BOSTON BEFORE THE REVOLUTION. By the author of "Hohomok." Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1850.

The author of this volume has chosen as his field of labor the illustration of that period in the history of the American Colonies, ere resistance to British oppression had actually commenced, when our fathers were indeed in heart and spirit "Rebels," but not as yet Revolutionists; and the chief interest of the work arises from the portrayal of the views and feelings of the two parties—the patriot and royalist—into which the country then first began to be divided, embellished with such scenes and incidents as usually serve to adorn the historical novel. We cannot say that the author shows much originality or novelty in the selection of these. The characters also wear a strangely familiar aspect; we seem to have met them often before; we can, therefore, with the greater confidence recommend them to the reader, as being each, and all of them, in their way, very worthy and meritorious personages.

As compared with the yellow-covered literature of the day, this novel is of quite intrinsic and superior excellence. Its tendencies are all good, patriotic and national; and there is a neatness and finish about the style, which, perhaps, we expect, almost as a matter of course, from a book published in Boston. We refer more particularly to the periods and sentences. There is, moreover, in some portions of the work a genuine pathos, and in the delineation of Grace Osborne, touches that betray no vulgar hand. Let us quote a few specimens:—

"Hers [Grace Osborne's] had always been the kind of beauty that is eloquence, though it speaks not. The love she inspired was like that we feel for some fair infant which we would fain clasp to our hearts in its guileless beauty; and when it repays our fondness with a cherub smile, its angelic influence rouses all there is of Heaven in the soul. Deep compassion was now added to these emotions; and wherever she moved, the eye of pity greeted her, as it would some wounded bird, nestling to the heart in its timid loveliness.

"Every one who knew her, felt the influence of her exceeding purity and deep pathos of character; but very few had penetrated into its recesses, and discovered its hidden treasures. Melody was there, but it was too plaintive, too delicate in its combination, to be produced by an unskilful hand. The coarsest minds felt its witching effect, though they could not define its origin;—like the servant mentioned by Addison, who drew the bow across every string of her master's violin, and then complained that she could not, for her life, find where the tune was secreted."

"Souls of this fine mould would keep the fountain of love sealed deep within its caverns; and to one only is success ever granted. Miss Osborne's affection had been tranquil on the surface, but it was deep as it was pure. It was a pool which had granted its healing influence to one, but could never repeat the miracle though an angel troubled its waters."

To our novel-reading friends we commend the volume, as affording a very quiet and innocent amusement for a summer's evening.

THE SHOULDER-KNOT: or, Sketches of the Three-fold Life of Man. A Story of the Seventeenth Century. By B. F. Teft. New-York: Harper Brothers, Publishers, 82 Cliff-street. 1850.

Perhaps we cannot, in the same number of words, convey a better idea of this work, than by quoting the author's very brief preface:

"The following work proposes to convey certain opinions to the public through the medium of an authentic story. Whether the story is correctly told, or whether the opinions are philosophical, are questions left entirely with the reader. The author will say only, that he is willing to see the manner of his production lost sight of in comparison with its meaning."

In other words, we have here an historical novel of the times of Louis XIII. of France, and James I. of England, and the scenes shift from one Court to the other. These the reader will find of sufficient interest to secure a consecutive perusal of the work. The philosophical speculations are of too high a character to be discussed in a brief notice. We propose to return to the work when time and space shall permit. Meantime we commend it to the careful perusal of earnest and inquiring minds.

EUROPE. PAST AND PRESENT: A Comprehensive Manual of European Geography and History; with separate descriptions and statistics of each state, and a copious index, facilitating reference to every essential fact in the history and present state of Europe. By Francis H. Ungewitter, LL. D. George P. Putnam, 155 Broadway.

This work is of great interest and value, comprising, as it does, a complete geographical account of the countries of Europe as they at present exist, with an historical sketch of each brought down to the present moment. The materials are drawn from official publications, and are clearly and concisely compiled with reliable accuracy.

IRVING'S WORKS. STANDARD EDITION. Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada. From the MSS. of Fray Antonio Agapida. George P. Putnam, 155 Broadway.

The great success which has attended the writings of Mr. Irving, affords evidence that the reading public are not insensible to the graces of composition which charmed in the days of Addison and Goldsmith, upon whose taste Mr. Irving is supposed to have formed his own, adopting it to the natural and original descriptions which the circumstances of this country supplied. The "Conquest of Granada" first appeared in 1829, and although of a less ornate style than the "Sketch Book" and "Bracebridge Hall," which in England are regarded as the corner-stones of his fame, has the most substantial merit of combining information not elsewhere obtained. It forms number fourteen of the Standard Edition, the sale of which has been so extensive, as it is said to have afforded some $20,000 of profit in the past year, although in its incomplete state.

INCONOGRAPHIC ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF SCIENCE, LITERATURE AND ART; systematically arranged. By G. Heck. With five hundred steel engravings, by the most distinguished artists of Germany. The text translated and edited by Spencer F. Baird, A.M., M.D., Professor of Natural Sciences in Dickinson College Carlisle, Pa. Rudolph Carrique, Publisher, No. 2 Barclay-street, Astor-House, New-York.

This great and valuable work continues regularly to make its appearance, in semi-monthly numbers. Part ten has now been issued, embracing vol. 3., 1 to 20, and letter-text pages 81 to 160, vol. 2. The style and execution of the plates wins the admiration of every observer. They have a distinctness of outline, and a finish in detail, but seldom met with. The deep lines are given with a clearness and precision, showing the most perfect specimens of printing. The whole is incredibly cheap, being but $1 for twenty of those admirable plates, accompanied with eighty pages of letter text.

THE FARMER'S GUIDE TO SCIENTIFIC AND PRACTICAL AGRICULTURE; detailing the Labors of the Farmer in all their variety, and adapting them to the Seasons of the Year as they successively occur. By Henry Stephens, F. R. S. E., author of the "Book of the Farm," &c. Assisted by John P. Norton, A. M., Professor of Scientific Agriculture in Yale College, New-Haven. 8vo., part I., pp. 64. New-York: Leonard Scott & Co.

This work has reached its fifth number, and will combine two large royal octavo volumes, including over 1,400 pages, with eighteen or twenty steel engravings, and more than 600 engravings on wood, in the highest style of the art, illustrating almost every implement of husbandry now in use by the best farmers: the best methods of ploughing, planting, haying, harvesting, &c., &c.; the various domestic animals in their highest perfection. In short, the *pictorial* feature of the book is unique, and will render it of incalculable value to the student of agriculture.

SHAKSPEARE'S DRAMATIC WORKS. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co.

The eighteenth and nineteenth parts of this splendid edition of the great dramatist, embraces the play of "Henry IV.," illustrated with a portrait of "Lady Northumberland." Both of these illustrations are in the highest style of the art, and equal to anything that has adorned the London Art-Journal. The present numbers complete the first volume of this edition, including six plays and the life of Shakspeare.

OURSELVES.

During the past six months, Mr. Theodore Augustus Foster, connected with this Review, has made a tour of the Southern and Northern sections of the States, calling personally upon all the leading democrats of each locality. In every quarter he has, without exception, met with a warm-hearted and generous response to the claims of this work upon the great Democratic Party, as the national exponent of those great principles for which it has ever contended. The confidence reposed in the course of the Review is expressed in the following paper, signed by more than two thousand democrats, of all sections. We append a portion of the names in this number, to be continued in successive numbers, with the additional names furnished by Mr. Foster, now on his Western trip.

We, the undersigned, subscribers to the United States Magazine and Democratic Review, feel deeply interested in its success, and recommend it to all our democratic friends. Its primary objects are to advocate and disseminate true Democracy, (such as was taught by Jefferson and Jackson,) and we feel confident, that such being the character of the work, all true democrats will feel the same interest that we do in the promulgation of those principles, and will be found to contribute to its support and development. We feel a national pride as well as duty in liberally supporting the only organ of the National Democratic Party in this great republican country; and we are confident in assuring our friends that if they will do their duty, that the editor and proprietors will make this organ, both as a literary and political Magazine, equal, if not superior, to any work published in this country or Europe. We would further add, that their general canvassing agent, Mr. Theodore A. Foster, is now on his Southern and Western tour, and we earnestly recommend all good democrats to avail themselves of the present opportunity of enrolling their names on the books of the Democratic Review.

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THE

UNITED STATES MAGAZINE,

AND

DEMOCRATIC REVIEW.

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LAND AND LABOR REFORM.

Among the most cheering indications of human progress, in respect of material well-being, are to be found the increased reward for labor, and the improved prices of raw products of industry, as compared with the rent of capital. The quantities of food and the articles of comfort which are brought to market annually, are increasing in proportion to the population of commercial countries, while the rent of capital, as indicated in the interest of money and the dividends of factory corporations, is on the decline. That is to say, industry is coming to enjoy a larger proportion of its own products, and capital to obtain a less considerable share of the general wealth. It is undeniably true, that all the wealth of the world is the product of industry, and that what is called capital is the mere accumulation, through economy, of a portion of that which has been produced by labor. The possessors of this accumulation have, in all ages, derived a profit by loaning it to producers, and the general tendency of legislation, as governments advanced, was to increase the proportion of the produced wealth which fell to capitalists, and, of course, to diminish the share which those who produced it might retain to their own use. When military conquerors, like the Norman bastard, divided among their followers and adherents the territory overrun by their arms, the occupants of the lands became the serfs of the landlords, and the whole wealth of the country, less the maintenance of the workers, belonged to its lords. As the feudal system fell into decay, and the corporations of towns freed the manufacturers and trades-people from servitude to barons, the number of independent cultivators increased, until, gradually, the whole people became personally free. A new system then developed itself. The personal service of tenants was no longer demanded by the lord, nor that of the latter required by the king as lord paramount; but monopolies succeeded to fiefs, and special trading and manufacturing privileges, rather than land tenures, became the means by which the government rallied to its support the magnates of the land. Instead of giving a military fol-

lower a tract of land, with the right to the produce raised upon it by its occupiers, it gave to its parliamentary supporters the exclusive right of selling to those people the supplies they must purchase with the proceeds of their labor; as the monopolists charged more than free traders, the producers were thus compelled to give up, indirectly, a portion of their labor for the support of a crown favorite. The only difference here was, that the military chief took directly from the producer a portion of that which he produced, while the crown favorite attained the same object, in the shape of a price for articles, sold to the cultivators, become free. This system was gradually refined upon, and as it became distasteful to those people who, having obtained their personal independence, wished for commercial freedom, it was called protection to industry. But, like all advantages granted by government to a class, it was at the expense of another set of persons.

Thus, in 1534, the city of Worcester, and the towns of Evesham, Droitwich, Kidderminster, and Bromsgrove, petitioned Parliament to the effect that the inhabitants of the said cities were mostly employed in the manufacture of woollen cloths, and that within a few years, "divers persons, dwelling in hamlets, thorps, and villages, make all manner of cloths, and exercise weaving, feeling and shearing, within their houses, to the great depopulation of said towns." For these cogent reasons, the wise Parliament enacted, 25 Henry VIII., that "no person within Worcestershire shall make any cloth, but the proper inhabitants of said towns and city, excepting the persons who make cloths solely for their own and family's wearing."

The town of Bretford, Dorsetshire, obtained a similar grant relative to rope-making, with the addition of compelling all hemp-growers in the county to sell said material only in that town. It was in this manner that the growing corporations obtained from a partial prince, advantages at the direct expense of the growers of the raw material. As these latter became more powerful, so as to make their voices heard in the national councils, such barefaced infringements of their rights could not be continued, and to prolong the same system, further disguise was necessary. The funding system, towards the close of the 17th century, developed its powers to the same general end; and, for more than 150 years, fundholders, landlords, manufacturers, and government officials, have conspired, under the plea of protection to home industry, to appropriate more effectually than could have been done by feudal tenures, all the proceeds of the national labor. Down to the year 1842, this protective system remained in full force, producing, as the inevitable result, a nobility and gentry of enormous wealth, dazzling the world, like the phosphoric light emitted by corrupt substances, with the gorgeousness of their display, from amidst millions of paupers, entirely destitute of any portion of that immense wealth which their industry had created. The system of indirect taxes, or taxes upon articles consumed by the industrious to the exemption of the property amassed by the few, was the instrument by which all the wealth of the country had become accumulated in a few hands. Capital had, however, obtained the largest share of the general wealth, and so little was left to those who had produced it, that the government revenues began to fail. The operation of the corn laws was eminently calculated for this end. Thus there are engaged in the cotton manufacture 2,000,000 persons; these make cloths for all the world, and receive

pay from foreign countries. They consume 1,000,000 qrs. of grain per annum. This they could buy abroad for $10,000,000; but the law said they should buy only of aristocratic landlords; these charged them $15,000,000 for the grain. Landed capital thus charged operative labor $5,000,000 per annum for no equivalent.

It is easily understood that the annual product of a nation's industry, is that which constitutes its means of expenditure; that is to say, the support of the wealthy, of the professional classes, of the paupers, and of the government. Under the system of indirect taxes, capitalists draw a larger share of the annual products, than when there are no restrictions; and the larger the share these obtain, the greater is the sum required for impoverished laborers, called "paupers," the smaller is the surplus left to producers for the purchase of supplies; and consequently, the more difficult is it for the government to procure sufficient revenue. Thus, suppose the annual revenue is 100—of which producers consume 50, capital 20, professions 10, paupers 10, and the government 10. If, now, by protective laws the share of capital is increased to 30, then labor will get but 37½, because paupers will increase by that diminution to 15, and the share of the professions will fall to 7½, while the revenues of the government falling upon 37½, instead of 50, the share of labor, will be raised with greater difficulty. They will be so diminished, ultimately, that it must turn upon capital as its only resource, and this is precisely what was done in Great Britain in 1842. The capital of the nation was not sufficiently distributed to keep its industry employed, and enlightened statesmen saw that re-action had become inevitable. That industry must thenceforth be relieved of taxation, while the expenses of government must be drawn from accumulated wealth by direct impost. These convictions were acted upon by Sir Robert Peel, on the failure of the financial scheme of Sir Francis Baring in 1841, and they were subsequently more fully carried out. The result has been a most extraordinary improvement in the condition of the many, and this improvement has been progressive in proportion to the relaxation of taxes upon industry. In 1842, the number of persons relieved in 581 unions of England and Wales was 1,429,356; in 1849, 885,737; in 1850, 829,708. Of these, adult able bodied paupers numbered 407,573 in 1842, and 128,058 in 1850, although the population had increased probably three millions. Accompanying these facts are returns, showing a great increase in the number of depositors in the Savings Banks, an increase in the number of persons receiving dividends in the public funds, under £10 each payment, with a decrease in the number of recipients of large sums. The increase of the whole property assessed to the income tax, is £35,742,602; of which £13,724,949 is between £150 and £500 per annum. Every branch of statistics that is examined shows the same general result, viz., a greater distribution of wealth, and a greater consumption of food and the necessaries of life by the people per head, under modified commercial restrictions. That the classes which, for so many centuries, have used the government as an instrument to extract from industry its products, for the benefit of non-producers, should be dissatisfied, is but natural, and we consequently find Blackwood's Magazine, and other aristocratic organs, on both sides of the Atlantic, vigorously denouncing such a course of legislation. In the United States, the people are agriculturists on their own lands, and capital is employed in corporate factories and moneyed institutions. In England the

land is monopolized, being a reverse of that state of things which exists here. In England, capital sought to charge the operative people monopoly prices for food. In the United States, capital seeks to charge land-occupiers monopoly prices for wrought fabrics.

The official returns show the following state of things in England and America:

	GREAT BRITAIN.		UNITED STATES.	
	Families.	Ratio.	Active Persons.	Ratio.
Agriculturists	961,154	28	3,719,911	78
All other occupations	2,454,000	72	1.078,919	22
Total	3,315,134	100	4,798,870	100

The agriculturists of England, for the most part, pay rent to a small number of aristocratic owners, who seek to exclude foreign food, in order that tenants may pay higher rents. In the United States, the farmers are on their own lands, paying no rent, but 30 per cent. taxes on all the goods they purchase, for the support of about 100,000 manufacturing capitalists. These latter demand, not only that four millions of their fellow-citizens shall buy only of them; but, as a consequence, that they shall sell to none else, for selling and buying are the same operation. By this means labor will be deprived of the benefit of that competition of capital which would cheapen what it buys, and also of that competition of demand, which would raise what it has to sell.

It is quite evident, that in all manufacturing operations there are three grand interests concerned, viz.: the producers of the raw material, the operatives who change those materials into wrought fabrics, and the capitalists whose means employ the one and purchase the other, therefore the value of the materials, the wages of labor, and the profits of capital, constitute the cost of the thing produced. In the sale of this article for use, the profits of the merchants and the cost of transportation are added to form the price to the consumer. Now it is a well settled natural law, that when a price is relatively high, there will be less of the article consumed, because some other thing will be substituted or the usual consumer will abstain from its use; on the other hand, when the price is relatively low, the demand for the article will be greater, and this demand will restore the price to its level or perhaps above it. In dividing the cost of an article between capital, labor, and materials, it is the constant effort of capital to obtain the largest share; to this end high prices created by legislative enactments are always sought for; a high tariff which prohibits foreign competition enables the capitalist to charge more for the goods than he could otherwise obtain. The inevitable result is, diminished consumption; a less quantity of goods being purchased, there is of course a less quantity made, which, involving a diminished demand for labor and materials, the prices of the one falls, and the wages of the other are diminished. Capital, therefore, obtains an increased share of the amount paid by consumers, while labor and raw materials get a diminished share. This effect is enhanced by the absence of foreign demand for produce, caused by the prohibition of the articles foreigners have to pay with. If we turn to the official returns of the Lowell factories, and to the report of Mr. Meredith, Secretary of the Treasury, we find ample materials to illustrate this fact. We will take at random the Suffolk mills, which manufactures drilling. The Lowell reports give the quantity of cloth made

per week, the number of hands employed, and their average wages, and the quantity of cotton used per week. The Secretary's report gives the prices at which the company sold its cloths for a number of years; and Mr. A. Lawrence, son of the minister to England, recently gave the dividends of the company for a series of years.

			1845. lbs.	cts.	Value.	lbs.		1849. Value.
Cotton used, lbs.	—	—	2,080,000	7¼	$156,000	2,496,000	$0 11	$274,560
Hands, females	360	$1 75 per week	32,760			400	2 00	41,600
" males	80	4 20 " "	17,472			100	4 80	24,960
Total labor					50,232			66,560
Cotton and labor					$206,392			$341,120
Cloth made, 5,200,000 yards, at 8¾cts. per yard					455,000	6,240,000 yds, 8cts		499,200
Surplus					$248,768			$158,080

The capital of this company is $600,000, and Mr. Lawrence shows that it divided 20 per cent. in 1845, and 5 per cent. in 1849. That is to say, for three years, 1844–'45–'46, it divided 52 per cent., or more than half its capital; and in 1847–'48–'49, 19 per cent. Now the receipts of the company in the two years were divided as follows:

	Tariff of 1842. 1845.	per cent.	Tariff of 1846. 1849.	per cent.
Raw material, cotton	156,000	34.2	274,560	55.0
Labor cash wages	50,232	11.1	66,560	13.3
Other expenses	68,768	15.1	128,000	25.7
Capital in dividends	180,000	39.6	30,000	6.0
Total sales, 5,200,000 yds., 8¾c	455,000	100.0	6,240,000 yds. at 8c 499,200	100.0

The cash wages represent the money paid per week to the hands, and this, independent of their board, for which the company pays 17 cents per day each, to feed and lodge them, and this is included under "other expenses." Now it will be observed, that while the consumers of cloth saved $15,500 in the diminution of price, the increased quantity which they took compelled the company to buy 416,000 lbs. more cotton, and employed 60 more hands to work it up; the result was, that consumers paid $15,500 less money; the producer of raw material got $118,560 more money; and labor $16,328 more wages. All these items reducing the profits of capital from 20 per cent. per annum, to the legal rate of interest in Massachusetts. This is "labor reform" and "land reform" also, because the employment of 60 more hands at better wages, at the expense of capital, created so much more demand for farm produce to feed them. It is by this process only, of making capital compete freely with capital that labor can procure its rights; and when we see men preaching up the "right to labor," and at the same time enacting laws to give a monopoly to capital, we become acquainted with the operations of pure demagogueism.

There is no more indisputable axiom than the right of man to the soil, and the principles for which land reformers contend must be considered mainly sound; but if a man has a right to a homestead and a farm on which to labor, he has also a right to a free market for the proceeds of that labor. Of what benefit is it to a man that you give him 160 acres of land on which to labor, and then enact such laws as will deprive him of the proceeds of that labor? If he raises a crop of wheat or other produce in excess of the wants of his family, he desires to sell it for furniture, books, clothing, money to pay medical bills, &c. &c.; most of these

things are procured in the neighborhood in the way of barter, constituting home trade. There will, however, remain in an agricultural locality an aggregate surplus above the wants of the producers, and the professional men, as well as of the blacksmith, tailor, wheelwright, &c. &c., all of whom want articles—tea, coffee, sugar, and various comforts which are not produced in the neighborhood, and which they can procure only by the sale of that agricultural surplus which the district has produced. A number of these surpluses go to the supply of manufacturing towns, but the aggregate production of the country ultimately exceeds the wants of all the people. This ultimate surplus bears a very small proportion to the national production, but it is that which the country has for sale to foreign nations, each one of which has products similarly situated according to its natural advantages.

In order to estimate the proportion which the foreign trade bears to the home, we may investigate official returns. Professor Tucker, of Virginia, (a protectionist,) estimated, on the basis of the census of 1840, that the annual productions of the United States amounted to $965,413,650. The Commissioner of Patents last year made the amount $2,330,000,000. We may take the figures of Professor Tucker as the smallest, and we will also take from official tables, the proportion exported to Great Britain, and the rest of the world:

Annual Production and Exportation of the United States.

Products, &c.	Annual product per Tucker, 1840.	Annual product per Commissioner of Patents, 1848.	Export to Great Britain, 1849.	Total Exports, 1849.
Agriculture	$654,387,597	$1,467,233,417	$73,495,549	$111,059,378
Manufactures	239,836,224	550,000,000	511,540	11,809,501
Mining	42,358,761	75,000,000	194	375,154
Forest	16,835,060	59,250,000	1,649 869	5,917,994
Fisheries	11,996,008	17,581,339	843,053	2,547,654
Total	$965,413,650	$2,169,564,756	$76,530,205	$131,710,081

Now, according to the estimate of Mr. Tucker, one-seventh of the annual production is exported; according to that of the Commissioner of Patents, one-nineteenth only is exported. The imports of manufactures, according to the first estimate for 1840, are 20 per cent. of those manufactured at home; according to the estimate of the Commissioner for 1848, and they have much increased since 1840, they are 10 per cent., certainly not a very ruinous proportion. The British returns give the annual value of the production of Great Britain at £247,000,000, a very low figure compared with the United States production, and the export to the United States at £9,564,902. By reducing these to dollars, we arrive at a comparison of the mutual consumption of the goods of each country:

	Great Britain.	United States.
Annual production	$1,185,600,000	$965,413,650
" total exports	187,200,000	131,710,081
British exports to United States	45,949,926	—
United States to Great Britain	—	76,530,205

If, now, we assume the population of the British islands at 31,000,000, and of the United States 20,000,000, we find the consumption of domestic and imported goods as follows per head:

British Consumption.		United States Consumption.	
Home Goods	$30 13	Home goods	$41 73
United States goods	2 50	British goods	2 25
Total	$32 63		$43 98

It appears, then, of United States consumption 5 per cent. is British goods, and of English consumption 8 per cent. is United States produce, and these fractions constitute the ultimate surplus production in each country.

It is the interchange of these ultimate surpluses that constitutes foreign trade, and it is evident, on a very little reflection, that it is to the last degree necessary to the national industry that that surplus should be disposed of. In the United States, land is the chief capital. In the densely populated countries of the old world, labor is the chief capital of the people. It follows very clearly, that the products of land will constitute the surplus which the United States have to sell, and the products of labor that which the countries of Europe can best spare. If the occupiers and cultivators of American land are prohibited from taking in payment for their surplus, the products of the cheap labor of Europe, under the pretence of encouraging domestic labor, one of two things must happen, viz.: they must take far less of the product of factory labor for the produce of their land labor, or domestic factory labor must compete with foreign in supplying goods to land labor. The theory of the protectionist is, that after a short period of protection, home labor will furnish products as cheap as foreign labor; that is to say, the reward of American labor will be so diminished that it will not exceed that of the European laborer, and therefore the land cultivators can trade with them to as good advantage as with the "pauper laborers" of Europe. This will no doubt be the case, because, as the world has seen in the example of England, and which we have illustrated above, the tendency of the protective system is to impoverish labor and enrich capital; but in the mean time the market of the cultivator has been destroyed. A law which shall prohibit the taking in payment the surplus production of those who would buy our surplus produce, operates as a prohibition upon the sale of the latter. The direct effect of retaining the surplus in the country, is to sink the exchangeable value of the whole production, a circumstance which confines the sales to the farms most contiguous to market, and utterly deprives the distant cultivator of his market, and as effectually deprives him of the means of living as if his land were taken from him. This is the same object sought now indirectly by manufacturers as that obtained directly through the enactments of Henry VIII. above quoted, viz.: to compel producers to sell only to certain manufacturers who give what they please.

It is the contiguity to market which makes land in one section worth $100 per acre, while better land at a distance is worth but $1. Means of transportation, by overcoming the difficulty, equalize the value. But if, when means of transportation are furnished, legal difficulties are interposed in the shape of duties, the value of the land again falls. The supply of food in the United States this year is abundant for all its wants, but there will be sold this year 2,000,000 acres of fresh land to settlers for $2,500,000. This will furnish 9,000,000 bushels additional of grain. If the foreign demand will so raise prices as to pay the expense of transportation, that grain will be worth 50cts. per bushel, say $4,500,000, or $2,000,000 *more than the whole value of the land.* If by changing the tariff the foreign market is cut off, the grain will not sell at all; an operation which takes $4,500,000 out of the pockets of the settlers. It would seem to be better to sell the land to the settler, and let him have a market

for its produce, than to give him the land and deprive him of his market. Still better to give him the land and the market also.

That which is necessary in the United States is not so much the right of settlers to free lands, important, though that may be as a market for the produce of the land already settled. Those who suppose that the mere fact of free lands will be a remedy for the poverty which now exists in our cities, cannot bear in mind all the facts. Without alluding to the operation of preëmptive laws by which the settlers have occupied and stripped valuable lands of their timber without paying anything for them, we may reflect upon the operation of the military bounty law. The soldiers who enlisted for the Mexican war were certainly a most enterprising set of men, and not possessed of much capital. Some 90,000 warrants were issued to them for 160 acres each, giving nearly 16,000,000 acres of land to landless men, very few of whom accepted the land. The warrants were worth $200 each, at the government price, or $1,25 per acre, but these have uniformly been sold at from $100 to $115, the present prices, and purchased by immigrants, who thus get their lands at 70 cents per acre, so that the question of free lands is a mere nominal matter. There are very few men who desire to plunge into the wilderness and cultivate new land for the mere purpose of food for themselves and their families, even if the lands were free, and they should be, as has been proposed by some land reformers, provided by government both with the means of getting to it and with stock to work it on their arrival. On the other hand, if a market should be built up of much magnitude, as would afford a profitable return for the produce raised, the price of the land would be comparatively of no consequence.

The necessity of a market for the products of land seem to be admitted even by protectionists, who do not generally admit any rights upon the part of the people, except that to labor; but they roundly assert that protection builds up a home market for produce, which is better than a foreign market, as if the latter is incompatible with the former. In order to estimate in what this building up of a home market for produce by stopping the foreign trade is likely to result, we may first reflect, that according to M'Culloch's statistics, which are considered the best authority, the area of England is 31,000,000 acres, of which 11,591,000 are under tillage. This feeds 20,000,000 people. In the United States there are, east of the Rocky Mountains, 636,438,400 acres of unoccupied land, and west of the mountains 555,226,240 acres of unoccupied land, reaching together 1,191,664,640 acres, equal to 40 countries like England; and the returns of the land commissioner show that a tract equal to the whole surface of England is sold to settlers every ten years by the federal government, in addition to large quantities sold by States. It may be safely estimated that a tract of land superior in fertility to any in the world, and equal in size to the cultivatable surface of England, is sold to settlers in the United States every five years; and protectionists talk of taxing the consumers of goods until a market for the produce of such a tract is built up locally.

The number of families employed in agriculture in Great Britain in 1831 was 961,134, occupying an area of 14,080,725 acres under tillage, or about 15 acres per family. These furnished food for 2,454,000 families, besides the cultivators. To furnish a home market here requires, then, that 2,454,000 families, manufacturers and tradesmen, with skill and

$2,000,000,000 of capital, should be supplied every five years in addition to the land settlers, to keep pace with this progress of territory.

Bottling off the Bay, in order to ensure a continuous high tide, as has sometimes been proposed, appears to be a feasible operation in comparison with the creation of this home market by taxing settlers on land. But it is declared frequently that mills and manufactories fail through the consequences of foreign competition, and that, as a necessary consequence, the farmers in the neighborhood of that failure lose their market for produce. That failures take place is doubtless true, but probably no failure ever occurred in which more active and direct causes than mere foreign competition might not be pointed out. Many failures have of late been trumpeted abroad as the result of the present *low* tariff of 30 per ct. duty; but the general result of the markets show that a greater weight of raw material has been purchased this year by manufacturers, at higher prices than ever before; that more cloth has been made and sold to consumers at fair prices than in any year in our history, and this operation has been progressing in the last four years. The quantity of cotton delivered at the ports this year has been 2,096,706 against 2,728,596 bales last year; but the quantity taken by the factories south and west has diminished these receipts, as also the apparent quantity taken by manufacturers. In the four years ending with 1850, which comprise the working of the present tariff, the production and consumption of cotton and wool, with their value, has been, as compared with the four previous years, which embraced the tariff of 1842, as follows:—

	Cotton.			Wool.		
	Production. Bales.	United States. Consumption.	Consumption. Per cent. of crop.	Delivered.	Value.	Ave. price.
1843–46	8,904,324	1,843,474	16-6	48,091,634	14,908,416	31
1847–50	9,294,788	2,318,147	24-3	65,964,713	22,428,091	34
Increase	389,763	474,573	8-2	17,973,079	7,519,575	3

The consumption of cotton in the United States has increased more than the production, by nearly 100,000 bales, in these four years of the reduced tariff; and the price has been maintained at a higher rate than for a great many years—affording evidence that the agricultural prosperity resulting from the large exports has reacted upon the home manufacturers in an extraordinary degree; and they are now buying more raw material, and employing more hands, paying better prices and better wages, than they ever did before, while they are selling cloths for less money than under the tariff of 1842. The difference comes out of the exorbitant profits they formerly made.

The deliveries of wool in the above table, are those on the New-York and Pennsylvania canals, including those per Erie Railroad, which are nearly 1,000,000 lbs. for four years, with the average value as given in the reports of the New-York Comptroller. The result is an increase of 33 per cent. in quantity, and 50 per cent. in value, and the deliveries are now larger than last year, with an active demand from manufacturers, at improving prices—fleece bringing 45 cents in New-York. These general results show, that so far from a stoppage of factories, and a consequent loss of market to farmers by reason of the operation of the low tariff, that the demand for both raw materials and labor, is greater than ever. That, so far from there being a diminished demand for food consequent upon closing factories—and some of them have undoubtedly closed in the northern states—in consequence not of a low tariff on foreign goods, but

from their inability to contend with new southern and western factories, at present high prices of raw cotton—the home demand for food is larger at higher prices than ever before. Of this fact, the estimates of the commissioners of patents, and the official export tables, afford evidence.

The commissioners of patents, for a series of years, have given an estimate of the wheat crop. The official returns show the quantity exported as flour and wheat, and the average price. The export year ends in June; consequently, the exports of any year are of the crop of the preceding year. Mr. Ellsworth, the whig commissioner, in 1844, made the crop 95,607,000 bushels, and the business has progressed as follows:

	Crops. Bushels.	Flour and Wheat. Exported, bushels.	Average price. Flour.	Average price. Wheat.	Value of crop at ave'ge exp't price.
1845	95,607,000	6,365,860	$4 80	$0 82	$87,375,360
1846	106,548,000	13,061,175	5 10	1 04	121,890,912
1847	117,202,800	26,312,431	5 85	1 40	159,743,700
1848	114,245,500	13,631,669	6 20	1 30	164,272,980
1849	126,364,600	12,167,599	5 40	1 15	148,028,000

This does not look like forced sales of grain which a starving people could not buy at home. The home supply in 1845, deducting the export, was 89,200,000 bushels, worth $72,000,000; in 1849, it was 114,200,000 bushels, worth $131,300.000: that is to say, the home demand had increased 25,000,000 bushels, at 40 per cent. higher price; or, in other words, wheat-growers sold in the home market in 1849, $59,000,000 more wheat than in 1845, or in that proportion for the surplus which they did not themselves consume. This is very far from shipping food because people could not buy it at home. It was the active English demands which raised the money value of the whole production. The effect of this was to compel other customers for flour to pay more. Thus the Brazils buy much flour of the United States and western Europe. When England imports largely, she absorbs the European supply, and compels the Brazils to come to the United States for that which she requires. The operation is seen in the following table of the exports of flour from the United States:

	1845. Barrels.	1845. Value. Dollars.	1845. Price. Dollars.	1847. Barrels.	1847. Value. Dollars.	1847. Price. Dollars.
To Great Britain	19,436	84,815	4 35	2,457,076	15,104,574	6 14
To Brazils	205,849	1,083,318	5 00	254,300	1,562,971	6 00
To other countries	612,193	2,594,940	4 25	1,671,120	9,466,265	5 66

Thus, in consequence of the rise in price under the English demand, Brazil and other countries were required to pay $1 25 per barrel more for what they required, and also to buy more of the United States. The United States got from Brazil 2,000,000 lbs. more coffee than in 1845 for the same quantity of flour. At the same time, the English people got United States flour for less than their own landlords demanded for it. If capitalists in the United States made less profits, operatives made larger wages—a fact which enabled the growers of wheat to sell 25,000,000 bushels more wheat in the home market, at 40 per cent. advance in price.*

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* The returns of the Massachusetts Savings Banks in 1846, the last year of the tariff of 1846, show, as compared with 1849, as follows:

	No. deposites.	Amount deposited.
1846	62,800	10,680,933
1849	71,629	12,111,553

The factory lord buys no more food because his profits are large. The honorable A. Lawrence and family are vieing with the royal circle at the Court of London, in splendor of attire, on the profits which the protective system gave capital; the thousands of operatives who created that property are still toiling for their daily bread. The sytem which will raise the profits of operatives is that which is required, even although a few diamonds less may sparkle on the brows of capitalists.

The demand for commodities in any country is equivalent to supply; that is to say, no man produces any article but because he wants that article, or something also which he can procure for it. The articles which he produces beyond what he himself consumes, constitute a stock which he may give in exchange for other commodities. If he desires one thing and produces another, it is only because the thing which he desires can be obtained by means of the thing which he produces, and better so obtained than if he had endeavored to produce it himself. Every man wishes for the comforts and necessaries of life, viz., house, food, clothing, &c.; and after, all the multifarious productions of industry which are familiar to civilized life. This wish for commodities, accompanied by equivalents to give for them, constitutes demand. If a man is possessed of equivalents, but has no wish for other commodities, there is no demand; so also if he has the wish, but is without equivalents, the demand fails. The wish for the commodities prompts the desire to produce equivalents. For this purpose capital of some sort is indispensable. In this country, which is the place of refuge for the poor of all nations, comparatively speaking, no capital but land exists. The labor of the individual, applied to this land, soon places him in possession of equivalents, and the demand is complete, but necessarily "supply," which is demand for his equivalent, must come from others than land cultivators, because they do not demand his commodities, which are the same as their own. The supply then must come from capital and labor, and in order that the struggling cultivator may profit most by his means, he should exchange with that capital and labor which is most abundant, or which will give the most of the commodities he seeks in exchange for what he has produced. They demand his produce and he demands their goods, and each supplies the other; demand and supply being exchangeable terms. The cheaper is the labor with which he exchanges, the more rapidly will he profit by the trade, and his wants will increase with his success. To interpose laws among a community of cultivators, which shall compel one portion to give such enormous prices for the commodities they desire, as to induce some of their number to abandon cultivation and undertake to manufacture the desired articles, is to render the abandoned land valueless, and to deprive the cultivators of the balance of a portion of that which they might have obtained for their labor. Land in the United States is very abundant, and very cheap; the mode of making it available is to exchange its products with those countries where land is dear and labor cheap. The effect of such exchange is to enrich the land occupiers, and to accumulate capital in the country, which must and will find employment. The wish for other things to which this capital will give effect, constitutes the demand on which manufacturing prosperity will be built up surely and permanently. The large majority of the people of the United States are cultivators, and it is from their demand for goods that manufacturers are to look for a market for their wares. Now, as we have seen, the demand for wares is a combination of wish and equivalents. These latter are food and raw materials

and where a large majority of the people are producers of them, considerable quantities above the wants of all the people in the country will exist, and as far as that surplus goes the demand for goods will cease unless it can be disposed of out of the country. To prevent such a disposition of it by prohibiting a return of equivalents, is not only to destroy the foreign trade, but also to crush the demand for manufactures, because the land had much better have remained untouched than to have yielded a stock of produce perishable in its nature, and useless because in excess of the wants of the inhabitants. The men who produced that surplus stock were disappointed of the object for which they labored. They desired other commodities, but had no other means of procuring them than the application of their labor to cheap land. The results of that labor were useless, because the whole population is supplied with those commodities, and the law prevents him from exchanging them with the cheap labor of Europe. It is but a few years since, that in parts of the western country, hogs and cattle were turned into standing grain because the latter would not pay the trouble of harvesting, while skilled laborers in England and France were starving to death. All these countries forbade the interchange of industrial products for food, in order to "protect home industry!"

It is not alone in the improved condition of the people that the advantages of the commercial freedom manifest themselves, but in what is of far more importance to despotic rulers, viz., in the improved condition of the government finances. Instead of an annual deficit, as was the case for ten years prior to 1842, England derives an annual surplus from her changed system of taxation; as she removed duties upon labor, her direct tax upon property became more prolific. This lesson has not been lost on the debt-covered and bankrupt countries of Europe. We find Austria, in particular, repudiating the policy of Joseph II., and becoming the determined champion of free trade, not from any liberal political ideas, but because she recognizes in the example of England the practical workings of the great truth, "that all wealth is the result of industry;" and if she expects to draw revenue from that industry, she must not bind it hand and foot, and deliver it over to the tender mercies of capital, under pretence of protecting it. Soon after the peace of 1815, the King of Prussia, with much sagacity, conceived the idea of bringing northern Germany into a union, of which he should be the head. The bond of this union is internal free trade, and was effected by abandoning internal duties, and uniting the external customs into a common fund, of which, each state should have its *pro rata* share. Although in the adjustment of the shares, Prussia received less than her own customs revenue had yielded before, the aggregate revenues of all the states of the Zoll Verein have, under the genial effect of modified restriction, been much improved; and Prussia now seeks, by restoring the protective system externally, to consolidate capital to her support, as the head of Germany, at the expense of the people. Austria is seeking a similar union with southern Europe on free trade principles, and the singular spectacle is presented of democratic northern Germany clinging to antiquated commercial oppressions, while the most ferocious and detestable of despotisms, with more sagacity, is become the champion of free trade in southern Europe.

It seems to be the case that, when a country, that is to say the majority of the people, has become impoverished, as was the case with Prussia after the devastations of the French wars, with England, in 1842, after a century

and a half of protection, and with Austria now, from a similar cause, the necessity of relaxing "protective" laws so as to allow industry to recuperate, becomes too pressing to be resisted. The capitalists having accumulated into their hands the property of the country, the government finds increasing difficulties in extracting from industry, by indirect taxes, a revenue sufficient for its own expenditure, and a resort to taxés upon the property amassed by the few is necessary to supply its wants. The release of industry from the oppression of protection is soon followed by such manifestations of prosperity as encourages capital to renew its efforts for a return to "protection." Thus we see the capital of northern Germany under the Prussian policy, striving again to shackle industry for its benefit. In England, the capitalists and landed aristocracy were never more clamorous than now for taxes upon industry, in order to release capital; and in the United States, the moneyed power is striving insidiously and desperately for a revival of those laws which placed enormous wealth in the hands of a few capitalists at the expense of the producers. These efforts are the more dangerous, that they are mixed up with pretended labor reform. It is a part of the tactics of a Spanish bull-fight for the matador to amuse the noble animal by the display of a red mantle, thus fixing his attention, while his death-blow is dealt him by his insidious foe. It is in this manner that capital is now attempting to deal with industry in this country. Capitalists and the money power are always exceedingly anxious to have people work. They are very solicitous to have industry promoted, and production facilitated. They are ready to supply to the utmost the means by which the national wealth may be increased by the labor of the many, but above all, are they solicitous that the produce of that industry, and the larger share of that wealth, shall, by adroit legislation, be turned into the coffers of the few. The great principles of "labor reform," "land reform," "homestead exemption," "post office reform," &c., &c., are advocated by the moneyed aristocrats, because all these measures are calculated to increase the industry and wealth of the country. They are the dazzling colors held out to the public with one hand, while the other grasps the system of protection and special privilege, which is to deprive the stimulated industry of its reward.

The government lands yield $2,500,000 per annum, and the postage about $5,000,000 per annum. To make these free would be to require $7,500,000 more to be raised by duties upon consumable imports at the expense of the consumer. That is to say, by giving to an individual a piece of land free, he is to raise from it the means of paying not only his proportion of the $2,500,000 to the government, but also a sum ten times larger, which goes into the pockets of the capitalists in the shape of advanced prices on articles they supply, caused by the tax on the foreign one. The postages are now mostly paid by the capitalists of the eastern cities; to relieve them from the charge, and raise the amount from customs, is to relieve the millionaires from the charge on their business letters, and to raise it from a tax on the shirts of the farmers, a matter which we do not consider "a reform"—change though it may be. If the amount of money which it would be required for these items should be raised by a direct tax upon property, we would admit that it is a reform. The enormous wealth of the Atlantic cities should be made to bear a portion of that burden which has hitherto been borne by the agriculturists of the West and South. It is not the mere tax which is derived from

duties upon the goods consumed that constitutes the greatest burden, but it is the obstruction to trade, the lessening of the sale of the surplus agricultural products of the country, which is the great grievance. The interposing of a parchment wall between buyer and seller, when enterprise has just opened means of a communication, is a singular anomaly. As we have shown, England having continually legislated for capital, until labor was exhausted, has been compelled to retrace her steps and remove barriers to trade.

In the United States, it is coming to be understood that the multiplication of means of transport at the expense of capital, benefits the latter indirectly, through the enhanced industry growing out of the extended sale of produce thus promoted, and the removal of legal restraints upon external intercourse, is equivalent to new means of transportation. If capital taxes itself for the creation of the latter, the same policy should prompt it to assume taxes for government support, and relieve labor and trade altogether from duties.

The substitution of direct taxes for the pernicious duties upon exchangeable products, is one of the most efficient modes of promoting labor reform, and of preserving a just distribution of the actual wealth of the country among those who produce it. The whole wealth of the country being the product of labor, it is to the interest of all parties that labor should be encouraged, by removing every obstacle to the realization of the object of its wishes. The more continuous and efficient are its operations, the greater will be the aggregate wealth, and this created wealth is that which should bear the public burdens. When, therefore, the government proceeds upon the plan of encouraging the employment of created wealth, by taxing its creators for its benefit, it paralyzes the arm of labor, diminishes its reward, and breaks down the springs of industry. It is not wealth which requires to be encouraged, it is the production of it, and also the enjoyment of it by those who produce it. The great majority of the people of the United States being land occupiers, their interests require an adequate market for what that land produces. The more extensive is the market, the greater becomes their profits, and the more rapid the accumulation of surplus moneyed capital applicable to manufacturing employments. The capital so earned, by being applied locally to the construction of means of transportation, and ultimately to manufacturing purposes, under free competition, not only promotes the general prosperity, but insures a continued distribution of wealth.

England was an exporter of food down to the close of the last century, and it was by that means that she obtained capital to prosecute manufactures. New-England earned her capital in free trade commerce with the world, and then applied it to manufacturing. The great west and south now require a more extensive market for food, and this is to be found only in throwing down the barriers between European demand and American supply; in removing altogether the taxes upon imported goods, and levying upon the property of the country taxes for the support of its government. The 40 millions derived this year by the federal government from customs, have been, to that extent, a burden upon the sale of farm produce. Had it been assessed upon the several states as a direct tax upon property, the sales of raw produce would have been promoted to an extent that, probably, would have added three times the amount to the reward of labor. The great reform which labor demands is release from taxes, and from restrictions upon its market.

EDMUND BURKE.

At the close of the reign of George the Second "England was the first country in the world;" William Pitt was at the head of the administration. His policy had been completely successful. France was humbled. Her fleets, one after another, had been destroyed, and her armies everywhere defeated. In Europe, in America and India, the result was the same. Clive had conquered at Chandernagore, Wolfe upon the Heights of Abraham, and the battle of Minden had preserved Hanover to the British crown.

Victorious abroad, she was prosperous at home. Commerce thrived,—wealth was diffused among all classes. Parties were extinct. The whole nation united in applauding the vigor and sagacity of Pitt. Parliament met, it would seem, merely to vote thanks and supplies.

In this condition of affairs, on the 25th Oct., 1760, George the Second died, and was succeeded by his grandson, George the Third, then twenty-two years old. No prince ever commenced his reign under more auspicious circumstances. He was regarded by the nation with peculiar feelings of loyalty and affection. He was the only one of his family born in England, since the establishment of the Hanoverian succession. Though but little known to his subjects, from the secluded manner in which he had been brought up, every thing was presumed in his favor.

Never did king excite greater expectations, nor more signally disappoint them. The reason is obvious. The character of George the Third had been totally misconceived. When he came to the throne he was ignorant of affairs and of the world. His nature was arbitrary,—his notions of the king's prerogative were the notions of Charles the First. He was governed by prejudices—he was signally obstinate. He had received from nature an understanding neither vigorous nor acute, and it had not been improved by education. The Princess Dowager had kept him from society in order to preserve his morals, as she affirmed, or rather to preserve unimpaired her influence over him, as her enemies alleged. Whatever the motive, the result was the same. It is well known that during the first years of his reign, her influence, and the influence of her favored lover, Earl Bute, did control his political conduct.

It is also known that that unfortunate influence was employed, in the first instance, against William Pitt. Pitt had engrossed and performed nearly all the functions of the other ministers. He had compelled them, by the force of his over-mastering will, to follow implicitly wherever he chose to lead. They dared not murmur at this sort of dictation, supported, as Pitt was, by the King and the nation. But they soon discovered that he was not to have things in his own way as heretofore. An influence was at work against him. The King's speech to Parliament, the Parliament that first met after his accession, when submitted to the ministers, contained a passage indirectly censuring his conduct. Pitt, with that promptness and directness that ever distinguished him, demanded that the obnoxious passage should be expunged. The King with reluctance consented. His colleagues in office perceived that the Court was secretly against him, and they were emboldened to utter complaints they had heretofore suppressed, and to cavil at his policy, which they had here-

tofore approved. They admitted he had gained victories, but they murmured at the debt he had entailed upon the nation. Besides when, in the moment of victory, he had the power to dictate the terms of peace,—he had preferred the glory and triumphs of war.

And it must be confessed that there was justice in these criminations. Pitt was a bad financier. He paid no sort of regard to economy. He lavished the national treasures with an unsparing hand. He openly avowed, that "to push expense, in time of war, was the best economy." Besides, he had prolonged hostilities, when he might advantageously and honorably have ended them. He had, too, treated his colleagues more as inferiors and clerks, than as equals and colleagues. Their liberation from this sort of thraldom was near at hand.

Peace was demanded by the King and Cabinet. War against France and Spain was demanded by Pitt. He had obtained information of a secret treaty between those powers, by which Spain bound herself to declare war against England. She forbore hostilities until her ships, freighted with the wealth of America, were safely anchored in her harbors.

Pitt, with his usual vehemence, insisted that Spain should be anticipated —that without delay her fleet should be intercepted and her exposed possessions seized. "Now is the time," he exclaimed, at a cabinet meeting, "to humble the house of Bourbon for ever." The discussion was warm. Pitt's tone was that of a master. "I was called," said he, "to the administration of public affairs by the voice of the people; *to them I have always considered myself as accountable for my conduct*—and therefore cannot remain *in a situation which makes me responsible for measures I am no longer allowed to guide.*"

Grenville, who was at the head of the Treasury, and who had long been jealous of the popularity of Pitt, and of his over-powering superiority in the Council Chamber, coldly replied, "The gentleman I find is determined to leave us, and I cannot say I am sorry for it, as he otherwise would have compelled us to leave him—for if he is determined to assume solely the right of advising his Majesty, and directing the operations of war, to what purpose are *we* here assembled?"

Pitt was over-ruled. The Cabinet, with the exception of Lord Temple, were for peace. The King and Earl Bute were for peace. Pitt resigned. The nation applauded his views, and were indignant at the authors of his resignation. Addresses poured in from all quarters of the kingdom; the multitude followed him with acclamations; the press teemed with his praise; he was the idol of the nation. His lofty character, his great success, his splendid talents, would have made him the idol of any people. A more commanding orator never lived. He was a sagacious and vigorous minister. His plans were wise, his execution of them decisive. He was a true patriot. He loved his country, and served her with untiring devotion. In the midst of corruption, no man was more disinterested. Every mean and dishonest practice in the management of affairs, he utterly scorned.

But with great virtues he had the faults that are akin to greatness. He was proud and resentful; and pride and resentment frequently hurried him to extreme and inconsistent conduct. "But these defects were more than redeemed by high and rare gifts; by a strange power of inspiring great masses of men with confidence and affection; by an eloquence which not only delighted the ear, but stirred the blood, and

brought tears into the eyes; by originality in devising plans, and by vigor in executing them."

Pitt withdrawn, Bute became prime minister. He became, at the same time, odious to the nation. He had supplanted the nation's favorite, and that was a mortal offence. He was supposed to be the court favorite, and that was a mortal offence. He was a Scotchman, and that was a mortal offence. His whole conduct was a subject of mortal offence. The Earl of Bute was not so bad a man as he was represented to be; nor yet was he a very good or great one. His attainments in polite learning were respectable. His attainments of a solid character were meagre indeed. He had some acuteness of intellect, but no enlarged and liberal views. "His chief talent was expertness in intrigue." "He is the very man," said Prince Frederick, "to be envoy at some small proud German court, where there is nothing to do."

It was the avowed and settled policy of Bute to put an end to the war, but he soon discovered that Pitt was right, that Spain had united with France, and that England must encounter both. Pitt's plan of operations was now adopted. But it was too late to intercept the Spanish fleet; that rich prize, by delaying the blow, was lost. The war, however, was prosecuted with vigor and success. The colonial possessions of Spain were one after another captured. Peace could now be obtained, and upon such terms as ministers might deign to prescribe. The Duke of Bedford was sent to Paris. A treaty was negotiated, advantageous to England, and honorable to her in all its features. She gave up a part of her conquests, and received equivalents by cessions of territory in America. Louisiana, that part on this side the Mississippi, exclusive of New-Orleans and Florida, were both guarantied to her; Canada, to its utmost extent, was given up to her, together with St. John's and Cape Breton. But no sooner were the character and conditions of the treaty disclosed, than England rung with denunciations. The Duke of Bedford was nearly torn to pieces in the streets of London. Bute was assailed by the mob whenever he appeared. Junius made the treaty the subject of an attack upon the Duke of Bedford, unequalled for venom. We will give a single extract. "Belleisle, Goree, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, Martinique, the Fishery and the Havana, are glorious monuments of your grace's talents for negotiation. My lord, we are too well acquainted with your pecuniary character to think it possible that so many public sacrifices should have been made without some private compensations." But the treaty was not the only subject of clamor. Bute was anxious to conciliate all parties. He was a Tory, and the Tories had, under the House of Brunswick, enjoyed but little of official emolument. They were the descendants of the Jacobites, and they drank "to the king over the water." They never had manifested any great liking to the reigning house. The main strength of this party was found in Scotland. Bute determined to secure their loyalty and affection by conferring on them office and favors. But the public offices were already filled with Whigs. To make room for the Tories, the Whigs were removed. This proscriptive policy occasioned a violent outcry. The press teemed with the most abusive attacks of Bute. The whole artillery of wit and sarcasm, of invective and indignation, was opened upon him and his countrymen. Churchill in poetry, and Wilkes in prose, roused the attention and rage of all England against the invidious honors he was bestowing. "The

cry was, that the public offices, the army, and the navy, were filled with high cheeked Drummonds and Erskines, Macdonalds and Macgillivrays, who could not talk a Christian tongue, and some of whom had but lately begun to wear Christian breeches."

In this condition of the public mind, Bute justly dreaded the assembling of Parliament; he was not sure of a majority. He was alarmed at the clamor against the peace; he feared it would not be approved. If it was condemned, he was ruined. In this extremity, Bute forgot his frequent declarations that he would not countenance bribery and corruption, and should rest for support upon the unbought and unbiassed judgment of Parliament. He determined to adopt the worst feature of Walpole's administration, and bribe to an extent of which Walpole had no conception. It is one of the most humiliating pages of English history that records the shameless transactions of that day. Judgment and conscience were completely dethroned. Members, with the price of venality in their pockets, voted for measures which both judgment and conscience condemned.

By this shameless and indecent prostitution on the one hand, and infamy on both, a majority approved the peace. The public, however, were neither satisfied nor pacified; they clamored more violently than ever. Another measure of the ministry, pressed to a vote at this time, increased the outcry.

Bute proposed to revive the hated system of excise. This mode of taxation was approved by a bribed and venal majority. The announcement was received with such a storm of opposition, that Bute was fairly frightened from his post. He resigned the seals of office. George Grenville succeeded him;—a name that Americans will never forget as long as Americans exist. He first proposed to tax the colonies. He was the unconscious author of our Independence. Grenville was the brother-in-law of Pitt. He was educated for the bar; he early distinguished himself as a man of business; he possessed no lofty traits of character, but many admirable qualities for the inferior duties of statesmanship. He was laborious and untiring in all he attempted to do; his industry was amazing; his pertinacity was equal to his industry; his will was inflexible and his temper obstinate; his deportment was cold, melancholy and repulsive; his views, within the range of his vision, were clear and perspicuous, but at the same time narrow and confined. Although a professed Whig, his notions of prerogative would have done honor to a Tory in the time of the Stuarts. He was nearly as unpopular with the nation as Bute, and was exceedingly disliked by the King. He was *particeps criminis* in the measures that led to the resignation of Pitt; he was identified with Bute's proscriptive policy; he had sanctioned the peace, so odious to the nation; he was now to identify his name with measures, in comparison with which all his previous political conduct was worthy of admiration and applause.

When Grenville was called to the head of affairs, John Wilkes, through the columns of the "North Briton," was assailing the administration with great acrimony and bitterness. Bute had wisely refrained from molesting him. His moral character was so generally known and abhorred, that it counteracted the influence of his writings. Nothing but persecution could render him dangerous. Grenville determined to persecute him. He had him arrested on a charge of libel, under a general warrant, and imprisoned in the Tower. At the same time his private papers were

seized. The language of the warrant was, "To make strict and diligent search for the authors and printers of a certain seditious and treasonable paper, entitled, No. 45 of the 'North Briton,' and them or any of them being so found, to apprehend and secure, together with their papers, and to bring them in safe custody to be examined and further dealt with according to law." No names were mentioned in the warrant, no specification of the language or sentiments of the publication that were regarded as seditious and treasonable; and as if conscious that nothing in the publication would bear that construction, the private papers of the supposed authors and printers were ordered to be seized. Here was a manifest and enormous violation of law in two instances, a substitution of arbitrary power in the place of legal right.

The officer was to arrest, not persons named, but persons unnamed. Any person under such a warrant was liable to arrest. The officer was not to know infallibly the authors and printers, his duty compelled him to arrest those whom he or his employers supposed to be the authors and printers. He was to arrest for no specified cause. The publication was termed treasonable and seditious, but wherein treasonable and seditious did not appear.

He was to search for evidence of their criminality among their private papers. Their thoughts, expressed in unpublished writings,—writings secluded from the eye of the world, were to be seized, in order to furnish evidence of constructive treason.

On such evidence Sidney had been consigned to the block. No wonder that such invasion of the liberty of the subject roused the indignation of the virtuous Chief Justice Pratt:—

"To enter a man's house," he exclaimed, "by virtue of a nameless warrant, in order to procure evidence, is worse than the Spanish Inquisition, a law under which no Englishman would wish to live an hour. It is a daring public attack upon the liberty of the subject, and in violation of the 29th chapter of Magna Charta, (*Nullus liber homo, &c.*,) which is directly pointed against that arbitrary power."

Wilkes was discharged. The under-Secretary of State was prosecuted for the seizure of his papers, and, by the verdict of a jury, condemned to pay a thousand pounds damages.

But Grenville was implacable. He did not pause in the pursuit of his object. He was determined to crush Wilkes, and Wilkes unconsciously placed the means in his hands. He had written a parody upon Pope's "Essay on Man," entitled an "Essay on Woman." It is allowed that the book was obscene and profligate; but it was never intended for publication. Only a few copies had been printed, and those for his particular friends. These friends, in point of moral elevation, were on an equality with Wilkes. Their morals were in little danger of being injured by his writings, when they had participated in all the ribaldry, obscenity and profanity of his conversation. One of the printers, by bribery, had given a copy of the book to a retainer of Grenville's. It was produced in Parliament. Wilkes dreaded the result, and fled. He was censured,—he was expelled from the House of Commons,—he was convicted in the King's Bench, and was outlawed. From these proceedings, as we shall hereafter see, arose one of the most fierce and exciting contests known to the political annals of England; a contest which resulted in defining the powers of Parliament, and the rights of the people.

Grenville now turned his attention from individuals to communities, —from a contest with Wilkes to a contest with the American colonies.

He proposed to increase the revenue by taxing them. This proposition met with instant and powerful opposition; but he prevailed, and the stamp-act passed. It was received in the colonies with indignation, and a determination to resist it. Excitement and alarm were everywhere felt. From Massachusetts to Georgia the law was defied. It could not be enforced. The officers of the crown were awed into silence, and dared not act. Grenville had made a blunder. The opposition to his policy was universal in America,—it was accumulating force in England. He had, however, the support of the King, but he was now to deprive himself of that. Grenville disliked Bute,—he disliked the Princess mother. He had now an opportunity to exhibit it. The King was threatened with deprivation of his reason. To provide for that catastrophe, a regency bill was prepared, and the name of the Princess mother was omitted from the names among which the Regent might be selected. When the bill was presented to Parliament, it inserted the name of the Princess mother which the ministry had excluded. The King was in a rage—his ministers had deceived him. They had treated him worse than ever monarch was treated. They had induced him to consent to see his mother branded, under the pretence that Parliament never would consent to the possibility of her being Regent. Parliament, by its own act, had fixed upon them the deception. The result was obvious. The ministry were dismissed.

The Marquis of Rockingham was placed at the head of affairs. And here we pause for awhile from the narration of the events of the Rockingham administration, to narrate the prominent events of the life of confessedly the ablest supporter of that administration. The career of Edmund Burke is interwoven with the history of his country from the dismissal of the Grenville administration down to the explosion of the French revolution.

All through that eventful period, his genius, and talents, and wisdom, were impressing themselves in the legislation of his country, or improving the hearts and understandings of his countrymen. He was the youngest son of Richard Burke, an Irish attorney, and born at his father's residence in Dublin, on the first day of January, 1730.

His health during his youth was delicate, and that circumstance prevented his being sent to school at the usual age. It is said that the first instruction he received in the rudiments of knowledge, was from an elderly lady of the neighborhood, who took great pleasure in forming his infant mind. In the twelfth year of his age he was sent to Ballitore to study the classics. That celebrated school was under the superintendence of Abraham Shackelton, a Quaker and man of learning. He had the penetration to discover in his young pupil the germ of that greatness he afterwards attained. He treated him with great kindness, and Burke retained the recollection of it to his death. He never visited Ireland without visiting the Shackelton's. He remained at Ballitore three years. He left "with a large and miscellaneous stock of learning for his years," and entered at Trinity College, Dublin.

Dr. Pellissier, who was at the head of that Institution, had the good sense to advise his pupil not to confine his attention to any particular branch of study, but to acquire every variety of knowledge in his power. Upon this advice, as well from inclination as from a sense of its propriety, Burke acted.

He was not ambitious of excelling in particular recitations, nor did he labor upon set lessons. But he pursued, with unabating ardor, a course of reading which embraced history, philosophy, metaphysics, and general literature.

Burke early turned his attention to politics, and during the last year of his college life he wrote a series of letters in reply to the political tenets of a Dr. Lucas.

Lucas ran a career in Ireland in many particulars similar to the subsequent career of Wilkes in England. He commenced by an attack on the party in power. He was persecuted. The people came to his rescue. He was elected member of the Irish Parliament, for Dublin. His statue was set up in the Royal Exchange. He was the popular idol. But his politics were entirely too extravagant, and it was the object of Burke to render them harmless, by exhibiting their folly and dangerous character. Soon after this performance Burke took his degree, and left Ireland. For all purposes of residence it was a final leave. He never again returned except as a visitor, or in obedience to official commands.

He arrived in London in the year 1750, and enrolled his name at the Middle Temple.

But the law proved an uncongenial pursuit. Themis received but little devotion from him. He continued, as hitherto, to devote his attention to literature and science. There is no evidence that his legal studies ever advanced beyond an investigation of the political branch of the profession, and certain it is that he was never called to the bar. At this period, Burke was in a great measure dependent upon his pen for support. He was at times in great pecuniary distress, and was now and then compelled to part with his books to relieve his necessities. He found the rewards of literary labor insignificant indeed, and his letters of this period make frequent complaint on that score.

To his college friend, Matthew Smith, he writes soon after his arrival in London; and as the letter exhibits the felicity and exuberance of his style, as well as a hint of his literary prospects, we are tempted to give an extract from it.

"As to the state of learning in this city, you know I have not been long enough in it to form a proper judgment of that subject. I don't think, however, there is as much respect paid to a man of letters on this side of the water as you imagine. I don't find that genius, the "soft primrose which, forsaken, dies," is patronized by any of the nobility, so that writers of the first talents are left to the capricious patronage of the public. Notwithstanding this discouragement, literature is cultivated in a high degree. Poetry raises her enchanting voice to Heaven. History arrests the wings of Time in his flight to the gulf of oblivion. Philosophy, the queen of Arts and the daughter of Heaven, is daily extending her intellectual empire. Fancy sports on airy wings like a meteor on the bosom of a summer cloud, and even Metaphysics spins her cobwebs and catches some flies.

"The House of Commons not unfrequently exhibits explosions of eloquence that rise superior to those of Greece and Rome, even in their proudest days. Yet, after all, a man will make more by the figures of arithmetic than the figures of rhetoric, unless he can get into the trade-wind, and then he may sail secure over Pactolean sands."

Burke pursued literature with so much zeal that his health was impaired, and an affection of the chest made frequent excursions into the country indispensable.

We find him at one time writing to his friends from some rural retreat in England, at another from some favorite spot in Ireland. Whether it was ambition or want, the desire of distinction, or the desire of independence, or both, Burke, after being in London two years, applied for a vacant professorship of logic in the University of Glasgow. He applied in vain. The University, with signal penetration and judgment, conferred the honor upon one James Clow, who was before unknown, and has since been forgotten.

To compensate for this disappointment, Burke now made an excursion to France. He examined every thing he saw, and we are told that "pictures and statues, a farm-yard, a mine or a manufactory, were equally objects of investigation."

On his return to London, he renewed his devotion to literature and politics. Notwithstanding the depth and brilliancy of his native genius, he was emphatically a plodder. His maxim was, "that genius, unpropped by knowledge, may serve to amuse, but will rarely be useful in the more important concerns of mankind."

During his residence at the Middle Temple, Burke relieved the tedium of study by social intercourse, and by attendance upon the theatre.

He had formed the acquaintance of Garrick, and at his table was introduced to many of the leading men of the day. He was on intimate terms with the celebrated Mrs. Woffington, the actress, to whom he was indebted for many kind offices. He was confessedly the leading spirit at the Grecian Coffee-House, where the Middle Temple Society held their meetings. He was becoming generally known and appreciated. His prospects were brightening every day. He looked forward to political promotion. Already an admirable writer, he was ambitious to be an orator. He joined Macklin's debating club, and at the age of twenty-four made his first speech. It is well known that subsequent to this period, just before he entered Parliament, he became a member of the "Robin Hood,"—was a leading debater of the club—and so much did he benefit from the practice, that he always advised his friends not to appear on the public stage without previous practice. Of the published writings of Burke during the first years of his residence in London, little is known. None of them have been preserved. They were mostly upon ephemeral subjects. A few biographical sketches, one or two translations from the Latin classics, are all of which we have any information, and that information is confined to the fact merely of their publication. It was not until 1756 that he attracted notice as an author. In that year appeared his "Vindication of Natural Society." The object of the work was a confutation of Bolingbroke's attack upon religion, by showing that the application of the same process of reasoning would bear with equal force against all civilized institutions, as against Christianity. Government itself might be subverted by the same specious reasoning. He argues, with great ingenuity, and in the peculiar view of Bolingbroke, against the monarchic, the aristocratic and democratic forms of government. He shows their inconveniences—he dwells upon the wars, and evils, and violence, that have marked the history of them all,—and then demands, "What slave so passive, what bigot so blind, what enthusiast so headlong, what politician so hardened, as to stand up in defence of a system calculated for a curse to mankind?"

The inference from his argument is irresistible, that if religion is to be overthrown, because in its name wars have been waged, mankind arrayed

in hostile sects, persecution let loose, and the earth drenched in the blood of martyrs—if, for these abuses, or crimes rather, religion must be struck down, then government, which has been guilty of like enormities, must be swept away, and the original state of nature take its place.

In the same year appeared another and more elaborate work from his pen, entitled, "A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful."

It met with the highest commendation from the critics of the time, at the head of whom confessedly stood Dr. Johnson, and their judgment has not been reversed.

The publication of these works had given Burke reputation,—they had extended his acquaintance, and in quarters where acquaintance was valuable. He was now to receive some substantial proof of this. In 1761 Lord Halifax was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Gerard Hamilton, who had six years before, in the House of Commons, made several speeches, one particularly of great power, and which gave him the nick-name of *Single Speech*, and who carefully abstained thereafter from opening his lips, in order not to jeopard the reputation he then acquired, was appointed chief secretary. Burke accepted the position of private secretary to Hamilton.

He repaired to Dublin and entered upon his duties. We may presume that these duties were not very onerous, as we are told that Hamilton was more desirous of his company than of his services. Hamilton was looking forward to promotion, and it is said was anxious to attach to his fortunes a person who was so happily rising in the public esteem as Burke. In two years, in 1763, we find Burke again in London, residing in Queen Ann street, enjoying a pension of £300 per annum, which his friend Hamilton had induced the ministry to settle upon him. The acceptance of this pension has been severely condemned. Burke had rendered no important services to the State—he had just appeared above the political horizon—was just setting out on his course of public duty and honor—what had he done deserving a pension? or why should he sacrifice his independence at the start, and receive the price of his fealty? These reflections at once suggest themselves to us; but we should not forget that in England at that period the bestowal of a pension was regarded as a mark of honor and distinction, not exclusively the reward of services; and Burke certainly did not feel that the pension bound him to an indiscriminate support of the authors of it. On the contrary, in a little more than a year after it was settled upon him, he indignantly resigned it, upon being reminded that it was regarded as a claim upon his gratitude. Of Burke's pursuits or course of life for some little time after his return from Ireland, we have no authentic accounts. He was now married, and his family demanded a good deal of his attention. Parliament was in session, and he was an attendant upon the debates. He was not an idle spectator of contemporary events, and several political papers of the period are ascribed to his pen.

The year subsequent to his return from Dublin, was founded the Literary Club, which became so famous, and which numbered among its leading members Dr. Johnson, Reynolds, Burke, Goldsmith, and Sir John Hawkins. Confessedly the two best talkers of the Club were Johnson and Burke. While Johnson doubtless excelled in short, dry logic, Burke surpassed him in extent and variety of knowledge. Their encounters

were frequent. Johnson's admiration of Burke dated from their first acquaintance, when they met at the table of Garrick, and continued until the great lexicographer's death. Submitting to contradiction from no one else, he submitted to contradiction from Burke. Regarding him at that early period as one of the most remarkable men of the time, he declared that "no one of sense could meet him by accident under a gateway to avoid a shower, without being convinced that he was the first man in England." Differing as they did in politics, Johnson being a bigoted and intemperate Tory, that circumstance did not interfere with their private friendship.

Burke already enjoyed the honors of literary reputation; he was now to enter upon an arena where his great abilities were to achieve for him a fame which should be as lasting as the history of his country.

We have already related the events that led to the dismissal of the Grenville administration, and the accession of the ministry, at the head of which was the Marquis of Rockingham. The career of Burke from this period will now be interwoven with the political history of his country. He was appointed private Secretary to the Marquis of Rockingham, and by that nobleman brought into Parliament as member for Wendover. It must be confessed that the country had but very little confidence in this administration. They had but little hope of its success. The Marquis of Rockingham was neither a vigorous reasoner nor an able orator. The Duke of Newcastle, who was at the head of the Treasury Department, was more remarkable for the love of office and a knowledge of the arts, to secure and preserve it, than for those talents which command confidence and make official life dignified and respectable. The other members of the Cabinet were little known to fame, and in fact did not possess the abilities which secure it. It was predicted that this ministry would end in failure and disgrace. It was said they had no capable man to advocate their measures in Parliament, to repel attacks, and defend their policy. But the Rockingham administration had a pillar of strength in the member for Wendover. The administration found in him "an ally who to eloquence surpassing the eloquence of Pitt, and to industry which shamed the ministry of Grenville, united an amplitude of comprehension to which neither Pitt nor Grenville could lay claim." One of the first subjects that demanded the attention of the ministry and Parliament was the alarming discontents in America. The stamp act had roused all classes in the colonies, and this feature of legislation had determined them to resist even to the hazard of civil war. 'Tis true, taxes in the shape of duties had been imposed, and the colonies had submitted to their payment, both in the reign of Charles the Second and in the reign of King William. No alarm was felt, and no question was made of their legality. They were paid without murmur and without complaint. But a long period had now elapsed—many changes of relative position between the mother country and the colonies had taken place. The latter had grown in population and strength. Aside from restrictions upon their trade, by which England had monopolized it, they had enjoyed in fact all the rights and privileges of free and independent communities.

They had enjoyed the privilege of electing most of their magistrates. They had their own legislative assemblies. They imposed their own taxes and supported their own governments. During the continuance of the French and Indian wars, they freely poured out their blood

and treasure, contracted debts, laid new and extraordinary taxes, did everything that loyal and submissive colonies could do to sustain the cause of Britain. And now, when in addition to these burdens which they had voluntarily assumed, it was proposed to add additional ones, by innovating upon the ancient legislation of Parliament, alarm and the spirit of resistance manifested themselves at once. The colonies began to inquire into the constitutionality of these new and extraordinary acts of legislation, which might be pushed in after times to the extent of their ruin and impoverishment. They became convinced that the Parliament had no power of taxation where there was an absence of representation. The colonies were not represented, and consequently were not subject to taxation. That was the argument.

We believe, and always have believed, that this doctrine of our ancestors is more ingenious than sound. We know it met the approval and support of many of the leading jurists and statesmen of England. Pitt declared the stamp act unconstitutional and a nullity. He argued with a force peculiarly his own, that it was no more vital and valid than the writ of ship money issued by Charles the First.

The Earl of Camden denounced the whole doctrine that Parliament had the power to tax the colonies.

"I will," said he, "maintain it to my latest hour, taxation and representation are inseparable. This position is founded in the laws of nature. It is more; it is itself an eternal law of nature, for whatever is a man's own is absolutely his own; no man has a right to take it from him without his consent, either expressed by himself or his representative. Whoever attempts to do it attempts an injury; whoever does it commits a robbery; he throws down and destroys the distinction between liberty and slavery."

Now we will very readily admit the Earl of Camden's position that taxation and representation are inseparable—that it is founded no less in the laws of nature than in the principles of the British constitution. But the British constitution had now existed for a long period—for many centuries, indeed—and no principle of the British constitution was more clearly defined than this, that the Commons were the representatives of the whole British people everywhere. No matter by what particular constituencies elected, when elected they were empowered to vote taxes or withhold taxes, and they were to speak on that subject the authentic will of every Englishman, no matter where found, whether in England or in the colonies. That was a leading principle of the constitution. Every Englishman was presumed to be represented in the Parliament, and the Earl of Camden was compelled to justify the imposition of taxes upon unrepresented districts in England upon precisely that principle.

If the inhabitants of Manchester then could be legally taxed, when they had no immediate representative in the Commons, how did it happen that the people of Manchester could not be taxed, when they thought it proper to remove to America. Did a change of *venue* change the nature of the constitution? Did Parliament cease to have power, when the subjects upon which it was to be exercised had removed from one part of the British dominions to another? We think not. "The stamp act then was indispensable, not because it was beyond the constitutional competency of Parliament, but because it was an unjust and impolitic stretch of power, and fertile of discontents."

These opinions were entertained by the Rockingham administration. They proposed to repeal the stamp act, but at the same time to proclaim the power of the three estates—King, Lords, and Commons—"to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever" to the fullest extent. Upon the question of the repeal Burke made his first speech. It was warmly applauded. It met the praise and approval of Pitt—and the praise and approval of Pitt, great abilities only could command. He always felt, and did not fail to express contempt of ordinary men. "The young member," said Mr. Pitt, "has proved a very able advocate; he had intended himself to enter at length into the details, but he had been anticipated with so much ingenuity and eloquence, that there was little left for him to say; he congratulated him upon his success, and his friends upon the value of the acquisition they had made." No one was more gratified at his success, no one took more pains to express that gratification, than that literary mastiff, Dr. Johnson. When the Club next met after his speech, some one of the members (Sir John Hawkins, who had a personal dislike to Burke) expressed surprise at his signal success. "There is no wonder at all," growled Johnson; "we who know Mr. Burke, know that he will be one of the first men in England."

Whatever ability was displayed, we conceive that Burke did not in this effort exhibit the wisdom that he manifested several years after in discussing the same question. He was for the repeal of the stamp act, but he was at the same time for an assertion of the right of Parliament to tax the colonies. He was for the removal of the fact, but for the preservation of the principle. How this policy could have met the approval of the colonies, and produce such joy and rejoicing as it did produce, is remarkable.

They denied the power of Parliament to tax, and Parliament declared its power to tax. Parliament removed the causes of complaint in this particular instance, but avowed its competency to renew that cause in all future instances. The satisfaction of the colonies at the repeal of the stamp act, accompanied as that repeal was by the declaratory act, may be found in the fact, that many of the ablest of the jurists and statesmen of England denied the power of Parliament to tax, with the presumption that hereafter their opinions would become general, and that no future Parliament would dare to tax. But when in one or two years after, in spite of all warnings or resistance, the principle of the declaratory act was carried out, and Parliament did proceed to tax, then the cords that bound the colonies to England began one after another to snap. Then it was that Mr. Burke perceived the folly and impolicy of all declaratory acts, of all assertion of strict right and constitutional power.

In his greatest speech upon the subject of American taxation, he held the following language:

"Again and again revert to your old principles, seek peace and ensure it; leave America, if she has taxable matter in her, to tax herself. I am not going into the distinctions of rights, nor attempting to mark their boundaries. I do not enter into these metaphysical distinctions. I hate the very sound of them. Leave the Americans as they anciently stood, and these distinctions, born of our unhappy contest, will die along with it. They and we, and their and our ancestors have been happy under that system. Let the memory of all actions, in contradiction to that good old mode, on both sides be extinguished forever. Be content to bind America

by laws of trade. You have always done it. Let this be your reason for binding their trade. Do not burthen them by taxes; you were not used to do so from the beginning. Let this be your reason for not taxing. These are the arguments of states and kingdoms. Leave the rest to the schools, for there only they may be discussed with safety. But if intemperately, unwisely, fatally, you sophisticate and poison the very source of government, by urging subtle distinctions and consequences odious to those you govern, from the unlimited and illimitable nature of supreme sovereignty, you will teach them by these means to call that sovereignty itself in question. When you drive him hard the boar will turn upon the hunters. If that sovereignty and their freedom cannot be reconciled, which will they take? They will cast your sovereignty in your face. No body of men will be argued into slavery. Sir, let the gentlemen on the other side call forth all their ability; let the best of them get up and tell me, what one character of liberty the Americans have, and what one brand of slavery they are from, if they are bound in their property and industry by all the restraint you can imagine on commerce, and at the same time are made pack-horses of every tax you choose to impose without the least share in granting them—when they bear the burthens of unlimited monopoly, will you bring them to bear the burthens of unlimited revenue too? The Englishman in America will feel that this is slavery—that it is *legal* slavery will be no compensation either to his feelings or his understanding."

It was unfortunate indeed for the mother country that the spirit of this advice was not heeded. It was unfortunate indeed that the temper of the times did not permit the administration of Lord Rockingham to carry them out, for we do not doubt that these opinions were held by Mr. Burke and his friends from the start. But they had an important task to accomplish—that is to say, the restoration of peace and harmony in America. The first step was the repeal of the stamp-act, and that repeal could only be obtained by a general assertion of the right to enact it. The principle conceded, we shall soon see that an infatuated ministry did not hesitate to apply it.

The next measure that Lord Rockingham introduced and carried through Parliament was a repeal of the cider tax, which had been imposed by the Bute and Grenville administrations, and which had been productive of great discontent, manifesting itself almost in open rebellion.

But the leading measures, the measures most intimately connected with the liberty and security of the British people, were the resolutions against general warrants and the seizure of papers, resolutions by which "the personal liberty of the subject was confirmed, and the lawful secrets of business and friendship were rendered inviolable.' 'Tis true, both these acts had been pronounced unlawful by one of the ablest judges that ever sat upon the bench; 'tis true, that Chief Justice Pratt had set the seal of judicial reprobation upon them; but what was to prevent other judges in other times from disregarding prior decisions and declaring adverse opinions? What was to preserve the liberty and security of the subject when a Jeffries might hereafter be enrobed in the judicial ermine! Nothing but an authoritative law—nothing but a legislative condemnation of a practice,—violation of the fundamental rights of the citizen,—and destructive of the sanctity of his house, and the security of his person.

These great and beneficent measures will remain forever a monument to the wisdom and the love of liberty of the Rockingham administration.

They were enacted in the face of a powerful opposition,—an opposition rendered more powerful by the treachery and desertion of many of the adherents of the administration. Soon after Parliament was prorogued, the ministry was dismissed. It was well understood at the time, and it stands a prominent part of history, that the King took the Rockingham administration as a *dernier resort.* He took it, in order to get rid of Grenville. He did not approve its principles. Every leading measure that they proposed he condemned. He was opposed to the repeal of the stamp act, and of excise duties. He was in favor of general warrants and the seizure of papers. All these measures commended themselves to his arbitrary nature. But he was willing, at almost any sacrifice, to be relieved of the thraldom, in which he had been kept by the last administration. Upon the accession of Rockingham, the King pursued a peculiar and anomalous course. He determined to make the court the fountain of favor and influence,—and by means of favor and influence, to build up a party which should carry out the measures and wishes of the court.

"The first part of this plan was to draw a line which should separate the court from the ministry. Hitherto these names had been synonymous, but for the future, court and administration were to be considered as things totally distinct. By this operation two systems of administration were to be formed,—one, which should be in the real secret and confidence, the other merely ostensible to perform the official and executory duties of government. The latter were alone to be responsible, whilst the real advisers, who engaged all the power, were effectually removed from all the danger.

"Secondly. A party under these leaders was to be formed in favor of the court against the ministry,—this party was to have a large share in the emoluments of government, and to hold it totally separate from, and independent of ostensible administration.

"The third point, and that on which the success of the whole ultimately depended, was to bring Parliament to an acquiescence in this project."

It was the policy of the King to lessen the weight and influence of the ministry, because the ministry were in opposition to his policy—and the state of parties was such that he could not directly appoint a ministry, whose views were in unison with his own.

It was very soon discovered by the under-secretaries and placemen, that the tenure of their offices would be more secure by carrying out, so far as they might, the private wishes of the King, rather than obey the behests of the ministry. They voted against almost every capital measure proposed by the Rockingham administration. They voted against the repeal of the stamp act,—voted against the repeal of the cider tax,—voted against the resolutions condemnatory of general warrants, and the seizure of papers—and the King upheld them in this course. Indeed, they were only carrying out his wishes. Rockingham complained and remonstrated. The King played a double part. He feigned to regard the conduct of his friends as most extraordinary, and worthy of condemnation—yet it was well known that he applauded and approved their course. The whole conduct of George the Third, throughout the continuance of the Rockingham administration, was duplex and treacherous.

The result was obvious. The king had formed the ministry to be rid of Grenville. He was now to form an administration which should relieve him of both.

William Pitt, enfeebled by gout, soured by repeated rejection of his counsels, and rendered querulous by age, was invited to take the lead of affairs. Rockingham and his friends retired from office. Burke was offered a position in the Treasury, but he declined it. He chose the fortunes of his friends and adhered to them against all inducements. Burke had heretofore been obliged to struggle with the difficulties attending narrow means. He was now to be relieved, for a time at least, of that embarrassing situation. On the retirement of the Rockingham administration, or soon after its retirement, he purchased the estate of Gregories, at Beaconsfield, for £20,000. It is well known that the Marquis of Rockingham furnished the greater part of this large sum. It is known, too, that Mr. Burke regarded the aid of the Marquis in the light of a loan, but it is equally well known that the Marquis never made any demand of payment, and that Mr. Burke never, at any time during his life, could make *payment.* It is doubtless true that the Marquis did conceal, and intended to conceal, a gift under the pretext of a loan. Many of the enemies of Mr. Burke, while living, did not scruple to assert that this transaction was tainted with corruption—that Mr. Burke's advocacy of the principles of Lord Rockingham was the *quid pro quo* of the purchase of the Beaconsfield estate. The statement of the facts defeats the calumny.

We have now rapidly and briefly indeed surveyed the prominent events that precedes the advent of Edmund Burke upon the theatre of affairs. We have traced his history from his childhood to the close of the Rockingham administration. We have seen that, emerging from obscurity, his genius had placed him conspicuously before the world. His position among the statesmen of England was in the first rank. We have seen his sun mount to the meridian, and there we pause in the narration. We reserve the story of its decline and setting to another occasion.

THE STARS.

WHENCE came ye glorious stars of even,
When spring to life your living beams,
Ye radiant sentinels of Heaven,
Soft mirrored on our crystal streams?

Whence came ye, with your myriad rays,
Of amber-hued and dazzling light,
Ye burning gems whose lustre plays
Forever on the brow of night?

Whence came ye, and why were ye set
In yonder Heaven's imperial dome,
Why in high glory have ye met,
And why so brightly have ye shone?

Whence came ye?—I have ever deemed
That ye were near the fount of light,
That ye were gems which ever beamed
Around His Throne of boundless might.

Or, that ye were the far off homes
Of some freed spirits of the blest,
Which through the azure archway roams,
Yet finds with thee their place of rest.

And I have dream'd ye were the smiles
Of angel friends sent back from Heaven,
To light the dim earth's lonely isles.
And woo our hearts to be forgiven.

But your clear rays which ever burn,
Oh! come they not from realms on high,
Whose favored inmates never learn
That lesson—"Man was born to die!"

Whence came ye? When creation woke
For joy, together then ye sang.
And your undying radiance broke
Night's shadows when your anthem rang.

Whence came ye? To your quenchless rays
I feel some purpose high was given,
Known but to His mysterious ways—
Ye glorious blazonry of Heaven.

TOWANDA, *Penn.*

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW—LORD JEFFREY.

During the past summer Great Britain has lost two of her most distinguished public men. Though moving in somewhat different spheres, each had exerted a wide influence over his countrymen, and made his name celebrated on both sides of the Atlantic. For a long series of years, while one swayed the Senates of the most enlightened and powerful kingdom in Europe with consummate skill, the other ruled one of the most important and rich departments of letters, with regal majesty. The former, though not clad in the robes of office at the period of his death, saw his policy moulding the measures of his own and other nations. The latter, though he had long since descended from the critic's throne, saw the influence of his pen upon the current literature of every people speaking the English language. The statesman had not been merely a politician, but had cultivated a taste for letters, was a scholar of no mean attainments, and had been the official and private patron and friend of genius. The writer was not merely a literary critic, but had mingled in all the political conflicts of his times, and was known as an eminent lawyer and a steady advocate of liberal principles. Though Sir Robert Peel and Lord Jeffrey—for, of course, it is to them that we refer—were, during some thirty years, arrayed on different sides of almost every public question;—yet the mutations of the times, and the gradual loosening of party ties, had, for the last three or four years of their lives, made the number of political issues on which they agreed, greater, probably, than of those about which they differed. This substantial identity of position was caused not so much by the retreat of the Scotch liberalist, as by the advance of the English conservative.

Peel commenced his public career an illiberal Tory. After rendering distinguished services to that party, being, next to Pitt and Canning, its most illustrious leader, he gradually softened his asperities, discarded his prejudices, and ultimately came to occupy a position not very remote from that which the antagonist party held when he began his career. His name is identified with three of the most important measures of relief that mark his times: The amelioration of the criminal code—the emancipation of the Catholics—and the repeal of the corn-laws. Unforeseen events gave him the power to engraft each of these reforms upon the policy of the country, while a rare combination of circumstances pressed him to exercise that power. Each of these measures had, for long years, roused the fiercest opposition of his party. But, of all the statesmen that had ever guided the affairs of England, he was one of the most sagacious in foreseeing when resistance to the popular demands ceased to be either wise or profitable; and no political chief could yield with more grace to the inevitable tendencies of things, or more intuitively seize the right moment to throw himself into the current and guide its course. By his magic skill he was able to carry with him, in each of the instances we have specified, a majority of his followers, and to bend to his purposes the most inflexible of Tories, the Duke of Wellington. In these crises, his well-earned and much cherished popularity with his party, received a shock; and in the last, it was rude and severe; nor had he recovered from its

effects at the time of his death. But then, as in both the previous trials, what he lost with bigoted partizans, he more than gained among the body of the people.

On the other hand, Jeffrey commenced life an ultra-liberal. One of the founders and chief conductors of the Edinburgh Review, he and the brilliant *coterie* who made that celebrated journal their organ, were denounced as Jacobins, levellers, agrarians, and incendiaries. But he lived to see public sentiment gradually advance towards, and ultimately reach, the ground occupied by them, when they declared war on the leading statesmen of their times, so that the ultraism of the dawn of the century became almost the conservatism of the middle of that century. He also saw considerable portions of the party with which he was identified, advance their standard beyond the spot where he had aided to plant it. This will account in part for the middle ground he undoubtedly occupied at the time of his death. In his youth, he took a position far in advance of the great majority of his contemporaries, and beckoned them forward to his stand-point. About the time public sentiment reached this point, he left the gladiatorial arena of the forum for the calm seclusion of the bench, and during his evening years maintained a dignified *statu-quo;* while the ever-restless tide of progress carried many of his old associates to a position somewhat beyond that at which he left political life. Hence it is, that through the influence of the causes we have suggested, we find the ultra-Tory and the ultra-Whig, of the days of Pitt and Fox, holding the same opinions, at the close of their eminent careers, on many of the leading questions that now agitate the councils of Great Britain. The lesson which this fact teaches, is obvious and simple. He who early takes a stand in advance of his age, has, *if his advance be in the right direction,* only to "labor and wait," and he shall have his reward.

We have lost sight of the main object we had in view when we commenced this article. It was not to compare the public career of Sir Robert Peel with that of Lord Jeffrey, but to briefly notice the journal of which the latter was one of the founders, and with which, as its able and brilliant editor for nearly thirty years, his name and fame are so closely identified.

The advent of the Edinburgh Review was an era in English literature. Previous to its establishment, the best literary periodicals of that country hardly occupied as commanding a position as the first class of weekly newspapers in our day. Nobody looked to them for the elucidation of grave questions in science and philosophy; for elaborate and brilliant reviews of the works of celebrated authors; for masterly disquisitions on public affairs; for acute and profound essays on law and government; nor for graphic sketches of important events and eminent individuals. They were merely miscellaneous repositories of the current news; of meagre items relating to the fine arts; of gossip concerning theatres, actors and playwrights; of sentimental or shocking tales about love or murder; of scraps of poetry and bits of biography; and of tedious extracts from old or new books, strung together with a slender thread of jejune criticism.

Into the midst of this wide sea of insipidity and inanity the Edinburgh Review was suddenly launched, fully officered and manned, her decks cleared for action, and the red flag flying at the mast-head. Her first broadside thundered in the ears of puling literature, corrupt politics, and

bigoted prelatism,—the war-cry, "No quarter asked for ourselves, or given to our foes." The conductors of the new journal proclaimed their object to be, to secure a purer taste and a more vigorous and natural style in literature, by subjecting the works of authors to a loftier standard of criticism; and to test the value of public men and measures by the teachings of philosophy, the demands of truth, and the aspirations of humanity. The difficulties that environed the accomplishment of these ends, were fully equalled by the novelty of the undertaking. Three young Scotch advocates without clients, and one young English curate without parishioners, had raised the standard of rebellion in the empire of British letters and law. Totally destitute of professional reputation, with names wholly unknown to literature, and with purses so lean that they were compelled to print the first number of their journal on credit, these nameless and penniless men aimed at nothing short of revolutionizing the literary productions, the political policy, and the ecclesiastical establishments of the most enlightened, powerful and intolerant nation of Europe. The result of the enterprise is among the most extraordinary phenomena of this remarkable century. The founders of the Review saw the objects they avowed in the dawn of the century substantially attained ere its noon, while they enjoyed the gratifying consciousness of knowing that their periodical had essentially contributed to this result. And not only had its authors aided in swelling the tide, but, unlike most originators of great enterprises, they themselves were borne forward on the topmost wave. They all rose to eminent stations. They all became lords except one, and he might have been created a right reverend prelate, and sat among nobles in the House of Peers, had he not been so fond of displaying his rather irreverent wit on the platforms of meetings to promote Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary reform. If Smith had been more respectful to metropolitan ecclesiastics, and cracked fewer jokes about Mrs. Partington, he might have put on the lawn of a bishop. But he never disguised his contempt for all sorts of starched flummery, and so had to put up with the humbler vestments of a canon of St. Paul's. Jeffrey, having won golden honors at the bar, and shed new lustre upon the robes of the Lord-Advocate of Scotland, became Lord-Justice of its highest court. Murray, the least conspicuous of his literary associates, filled the same stations. Brougham, having sent his fame as a barrister and parliamentarian over the world, took the great seal and ascended the wool-sack.

For a quarter of a century, Jeffrey, Smith and Brougham were the great lights of the Review. Around them early clustered a galaxy of writers, whose productions adorned its pages, while its increasing celebrity enhanced their fame. When its firmly established reputation had secured it a wide circle of readers, who admired and applauded, or hated and denounced, it was eagerly sought by writers of the first class as their medium of communication with the public. Scott, Playfair, Stewart, Macintosh, Hallam, Horner, Romilly, Leslie, Brewster, Brown, Hazlitt, and the productions of other equally eminent pens, so enhanced its celebrity, that the fame of the author of a standard work grew pale before that of the writer who reviewed him in the Edinburgh.

The advent of the Edinburgh Review was speedily followed by a revolution in the tone of criticism. It led the van in an exterminating war on the tribe of literary scavengers that burrowed in Grub-street. It

made short work with the race of neuter gender versifiers, cracking them like vermin. The lavender school of Rosa Matilda novels, which had diluted the public taste till "romance" and "insipidity" had become convertible terms, it speedily evaporated with the scorching rays of its sarcasm. Clergymen, who, not content to preach dull sermons, must needs print them, soon saw their homilies taking refuge from the satirical lash of the Reverend Sydney Smith at the grocers and tallow-chandlers. But, in some influential quarters, the new journal was feared rather than admired, and in others was admired rather than loved. Its success excited envy. The severity of many of its criticisms, and the rank injustice of some, stimulated a thirst for retaliation in the objects of its hostility. Its bold, contemptuous tone towards those who questioned the infallibility of its decrees, were sufficient to convert the timidity of despair into defiant courage. It could laugh its enemies to scorn so long as they were made up of penny-a-line poets, sentimental story-tellers, and dull divines. But when it launched its glittering shafts at Byron, Wordsworth, Southey, Coleridge and Montgomery, it roused foemen worthy of its steel. The harsh judgments it pronounced on writers, whose works were destined to become the brightest jewels in the casket of English literature, impaired the confidence of impartial observers in the integrity of its critical tribunal, and even shook the faith of many of its friends in the correctness of its critical standards. The best proof that it was wrong, is furnished by the fact, that in making selections from its pages for publication in separate volumes, Jeffrey and Smith, in their mature years, omitted some of those articles. But, in the time of which we speak, it disregarded all remonstrances and defied all threats. It had erected its own standard of excellence, and authors must endure the test or be impaled. As to premeditated injustice towards those whom it criticised, why, if the friends of the wounded thought thus, let them take reprisals or declare open war—it was ready for the fray. The very temerity of the Review excited the admiration of spectators, awed its enemies, and drew more closely around it its friends. Notwithstanding its literary provocations, it is more than probable that its courage and tact would have enabled it to have overthrown any opposition springing from this cause, had not its political transgressions come to the timely aid of its opponents.

From the commencement, its politics had been anti-Tory. It did not disguise the fact, that it preferred the policy of Fox and Grey to that of Pitt and Perceval—that it aimed to effect radical reforms in church and state—that it regarded the French revolution, and the wars that followed in its train, as the necessary consequence of undue restrictions upon the rights and privileges of the people;—that in respect to the contests then raging on the continent, the true position of England was that of an armed neutral, and that, so long as it was a conflict among Kings, she ought to stand aloof, reserving her interference till the people requested it, and even then, assisting no ruler to maintain or regain his throne, till he was pledged to grant reasonable reforms to his subjects. These enlightened principles, so worthy of the disciples of Fox, were advocated by the Review, in the face of wide-spread clamor, with great profundity of reasoning, singular brilliancy of illustration, and the most vigorous and polished diction. For some years, the liberal doctrines and radical tendencies of its political articles were overlooked or forgiven, in view of the splendor of its literary disquisitions. But the eyes of keen-sighted

Tories could not always be so dazzled by the fancy of Jeffrey and the wit of Smith, as not to see that the bold essays of the pupils of Adam Smith, Charles James Fox and Jeremy Bentham, were the more dangerous to the mitre and the coronet for being mingled with lively criticisms on the Lake poets, Archdeacon Nares' sermons, Dr. Parr's wig, and Dugald Stewart's metaphysics. At length, after this wild-boar of the Highlands had gored a crowd of poets, novelists, divines and politicians south of the Tweed, they and their friends resolved to hunt him home to his native north. The occasion they seized for declaring hostilities was Brougham's dashing article, in the twenty-sixth number of the Review, entitled, "Don Cevallas on the Usurpation of Spain." Scott pronounced it "rash, radical and revolutionary," and ordered the publishers to erase his name from the list of subscribers. Soon after, the "Quarterly Review" appeared, edited by Gifford, assisted by Scott, Southey, Ellis, and other men of kindred sympathies. One need but to compare the article on Don Cevallas with current political writing, to be assured, that the England of 1808 was not the England of 1850. True, it contains some pretty radical notions for those days about the inherent right in the people of self-government. Yet, though it created a great sensation at the time, Scott lived to see its principles assert their supremacy over the legislation of his country in the passage of the Reform Bill, and the "Quarterly" still lives to combat doctrines, which are rapidly becoming household words from John O'Groat's to Land's End. The establishment of the "Quarterly" increased rather than diminished the celebrity of the "Edinburgh," nor did it circumscribe either its literary or political influence. The rivalry of its London antagonist stimulated its friends to impart even greater variety, ability and brilliancy to its pages.

While the "Review" continued under the control of Mr. Jeffrey, it undoubtedly stood at the head of critical periodicals. The charm which he threw around his essays was so bewitching, that, though one might dispute his premises, or resist his conclusions, it was impossible to deny that the plausible and lucid terms in which the former were stated, made it easier to dispute than to disprove their soundness; and that the latter were defended, enforced, and illuminated by a pen which united the acutest powers of the dialectician with the graces of the rhetorician and the beauties of the poet. Jeffrey reigned supreme, for more than a quarter of a century, over the empire of criticism which he had founded. Though in the promulgation of his literary decrees, he was sometimes more plausible than profound, more brilliant than philosophical, and betrayed animosity and prejudice where he should have exhibited charity and impartiality; yet all must admit that the weapons of logic, diction, wit, and fancy, were ever at his command, whether defending his own position or assailing that of others, excoriating pedantic mediocrity, or encouraging modest merit—damning with faint praise a work whose author he did not like, or eulogizing beyond all reason the production of a favorite and friend. Some of the general doctrines he promulgated have, since he left the editorial chair, been exploded, and some of the judgments he pronounced on particular works and authors have been reversed; but, upon the whole, he was not unworthy the title he so gracefully wore, of "The Prince of Critics." He is entitled to all the honors for the services he rendered to letters, in so elevating the tone of criticism and the profession of the critic, that men have almost ceased to read works till

they have passed the ordeal of some standard Review; and for so improving the character of periodical literature, that the best writers embrace this mode of communicating with the public, and the ripest thinkers resort thither for instruction. When forgetting the wounds it inflicted on particular writings and persons, and the occasional prejudices it betrayed towards other countries, candor must admit, that during the first twenty-five years of its existence, the "Edinburgh Review" did more to accomplish the objects we have named, than any, and perhaps all other journals. Whoever disputes this must not forget, that the many similar publications, both English and American, which arose during the first twenty years of the "Edinburgh," and aided in advancing this great reform, were either stimulated into being by a desire to rival its celebrity and influence, or were encouraged to venture upon an experiment which its success had rendered no longer doubtful; while all have, to a large extent, made the general plan on which it was conducted the model of their own. In the characteristics we are now contemplating, and in what may be called its literary and critical departments, the "Edinburgh" was the offspring of the accomplished man who was so long its editor. To him, therefore, belong the honors of leadership in this noble reform.

The writers in this world-read journal have discussed through its pages almost every branch of literature, science, art, trade, manufacture, commerce, philosophy, ethics, theology, education, politics and law; have followed travelers and navigators round the earth, and warriors and statesmen into camps and courts; have given chapters of history and biography; making its contents as varied as those of an encyclopœdia. Yet, from the outset, its conductors have kept in view some half dozen points of attack, towards which they have steadily directed their main forces, employing occasional side-assaults on other objects to diversify and relieve the tedium of the main campaign. Besides what we have called literary reform, and of which we have already spoken, the chief points it has aimed to secure are law reform, ecclesiastical reform, parliamentary reform, educational reform, and commercial reform, as subsequently exemplified in the amelioration of the criminal code, the partial revision of the statutes, and the simplification of the code of procedure; in the repeal of the test act and the emancipation of the Catholics; in the overthrow of the rotten borough system, and the extension of the electoral suffrage; in the removal of some obstacles in the way of admitting dissenters to the Universities, and the wider diffusion of popular education; and in the repeal of the corn-laws and the navigation laws. It may be stated in a general way, and subject to many qualifications, that during the earlier years of the "Review," the acute and brilliant pen of Jeffrey controlled the literary and critical departments. The bold and versatile pen of Brougham managed the legal, the parliamentary and the commercial departments; the liberal and witty pen of Smith superintended the ecclesiastical and educational departments. Each had powerful auxiliaries, and each made excursions into the field more specially assigned to his colleagues. For example, the philosophic and classic pen of Macintosh appeared in the literary and legal departments; the erudite and logical pen of Horner was employed in the commercial; while Playfair, Leslie, Brewster, Stewart, and other accomplished writers, cultivated the fields of science and philosophy; Brougham all the while coursing over the whole ground, and discussing all questions, from the Holy Alliance and the

Court of Chancery, down to Old Sarum and the Penny Magazine. One striking evidence of the ability of the leading articles which appeared in the "Edinburgh" is found in the fact, that several of its writers have collected their essays into independent volumes, which, in their turn, have been made the subjects of elaborate reviews in the ablest periodicals of England and America. Some of these volumes are justly entitled to the dignified name of "works."

We have barely alluded to the occasional prejudices which this eminent periodical displayed toward other countries. The treatment which this country received at its hands, while it was conducted by Lord Jeffrey, caused a good deal of acrimonious ink to be shed on both sides. In looking back at this controversy, one cannot but think there was no sufficient cause for the display of so much bad temper and angry writing. The principal sinner was that old offender against gravity, the Momus of the editorial fraternity, Sydney Smith. Now, this modern Dean Swift, who possessed equal wit and a great deal more humanity than his prototype, always saw everything in a ludicrous light. He never looked upon the Lord Chancellor's wig without remembering that it had once adorned a horse's tail, nor upon the Archbishop's robe without thinking of starch and the mangle. He could not help laughing at some of the oddities noted by English travelers in American manners and customs; and his tendency to moralize in the midst of his humor, led him to say some severe things about us; and it was he that asked the nettling question, "Who reads an American book?" But the very article that contains this never to be forgotten or forgiven interrogatory, institutes frequent comparisons between Great Britain and the United States, and awards superiority to the latter in almost every instance; and it also contains that graphic and oft-cited sketch of the remorseless and omnipresent character of British taxation. If Smith had ever shielded the follies and crimes of his own country from his satirical lash, we might, with more justice, denounce him for saying a good many sharp things about us. He never spared bores in literature, charlatans in the state, nor oppressors in the church, because they were Englishmen. In 1819, Mr. Robert Walsh published his very able and very bitter "Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain, respecting the United States of America." The elaborate review of this work by Mr. Jeffrey, is marked with great candor and liberality. Alluding to Mr. Walsh's strictures upon his journal, Mr. J. says: "In point of fact, we have spoken far more good of America than ill. In nine instances out of ten, where we have mentioned her, it has been for praise; and in almost all that is essential or of serious importance, we have spoken *nothing but good*, while our censures have been wholly confined to matters of inferior note, and generally accompanied with an apology for their existence, and a prediction of their speedy disappearance." A pretty extensive perusal of the Edinburgh during the period of which he speaks, enables us to say that we believe he utters the truth. Far different is the treatment which this country has received from the Tory Quarterly and Blackwood; and we may add, that too many of the attacks of Americans upon the public men and institutions of England, which are justifiable in their objects, fail to do execution, because they are not discriminating in their aim. They overlook the fact that there are two parties in that country, widely differing in their opinions concerning vital political questions—the principles and policy of the one

being liberal and tolerant, and those of the other illiberal and intolerant; and that while the former claims the right to satirize our follies, it admires our republican system and rejoices in our progress, and has long struggled in the face of difficulties of which we have not the faintest conception, to engraft the essential elements of our freedom upon the institutions of its own country. No right-minded American will ever forget, that the Edinburgh Review was the organ of the heroic band that never deserted the liberal cause during the thirty years that its brilliant leaders were excluded from the favor of the Court, and denounced as Jacobins and incendiaries, while its more humble members were tried for sedition and treason, thrown into dungeons and pinned to the pillory, and shot down by soldiery or banished beyond the seas. These are tests of fidelity, from which sunshine declaimers about "the rights of man," whose grandfathers achieved independence for them, might well pray to be delivered.

We have limited our remarks concerning this distinguished periodical chiefly to the period when it was conducted by Lord Jeffrey. He retired from its editorial chair and ceased to be a contributor in 1829. From that day it received a check from which it has never recovered. Macaulay and Carlyle were enrolled about that time among its regular contributors, and Brougham and Smith often appeared on its pages. Though Macaulay has done much to maintain its brilliant reputation, yet the charm is wound up, the spell broken. This was occasioned, not so much by the retirement of Jeffrey, as by a concurrence of circumstances. A number of able rivals disputed with it the field of supremacy. The Quarterly divided with it the empire of elevated criticism. Blackwood was more elastic and racy in the lighter and more imaginative departments of literature. The Westminster was more radical and progressive in its politics. It had triumphed in the work of securing great reforms in literature, law, education and toleration. The long-waged conflict for changing the constitution of Parliament was just terminating in victory. On the passage of the Reform Bill, its influence reached its culminating point. The Corn Law controversy was adjourned. Its old founders and friends had won honors and places, and were busy in erecting substitutes for the systems they had displaced. Its management fell into new hands, who found the task of conducting the oracle of a party anxious to build up, very different from that of being the organ of a party eager to tear down. When it began to speak for a responsible ministry, its tone was more timid than when it uttered the war-cry of an irresponsible Opposition. In becoming the champion of the government, it ceased to be the herald of the people. In a word, it learned the lesson which the history of all parties teaches, that it is easier to take exception to the mode in which our opponents administer affairs, than to so manage them ourselves as to escape censure. The best tribute we can render to the memory of him whose lamented death suggested this article, is to tender the thanks of American republicanism to the Edinburgh Review, for the many and splendid services it rendered the cause of civil and religious freedom while it was under his control.

THE USURY LAWS.

(Concluded.)

WHY has not an individual, who digs a quantity of gold or silver from the earth, as absolute a right to it as if it were copper or iron? All that is essential to it as money—*its value—is his*—the product of *his industry*, and he can convey to another all the right to it which he has himself. What right can be more absolute than the right of the miner to the mineral he lawfully obtains from the bowels of the earth? Mr. Whipple will, perhaps, admit his absolute right to the metal in bullion, but claim that, in carrying it to the mint and getting it coined, his right becomes qualified—that he has then no right to prevent the object of its creation. The only kind of creation the government has bestowed upon it, is, the coining of it. The *object* of this kind of creation is simply to facilitate its minute and accurate *apportionment* in exchanging it for other things—and this is the precise object which he has no right to pervert. Grant it, and how *can* he pervert this object? Certainly not by loaning it, at what Mr. Whipple, or any one else, might deem a high rate of interest; for that has no connection with the facilities for apportioning it. The only conceivable means by which he could pervert this object would be, to reduce the coin again to bullion. This would certainly *defeat* the object of coining it. It might be shown, if it were necessary, that no motives can exist for defeating the object of coining, but such, and to such extent, as are justifiable upon sound principles of economy.

"4th. That money differs from all merchandise, in the *power* which is inseparable from it. That this power was conferred upon it by government,—and that it is the right and duty of the government to see that a power, imparted for the general good, shall not be perverted to the injury of the public."

How this mysterious *power*, which the author attributes to money, can be inseparable from it, and yet be the effect of legislation *conferring* that power, he does not inform us. The only power which the government can be suspected of having conferred on money, arises from the law of tender—which makes gold and silver the *kind* in which debts shall be paid, if demanded, by either party; and this is the very kind in which debts would be paid,—about as uniformly as now,—if there were no law on the subject; because it is, as a general rule, the kind in which every man wishes to pay, and be paid. Paper money is not a legal tender; and yet we see no marked difference between the paper and metallic portions of the currency, in respect to the power they possess. The only important power which money possesses, is a *purchasing* power. This is an inherent power, which "is inseparable from it"—but the government has had no agency in giving it that power—and has absolutely no control over it. Its purchasing power, in the hands of any one man, is just equal to its exchange value—and that value is not the creation of the government at all. Its *general* purchasing power is equal to its exchange value, multiplied by the rapidity of its circulation. The power, then, of a particular sum of money, is simply to purchase its equivalent in something else, and

that something else has the same power to purchase that sum of money. The same money may go on from hand to hand, exerting its power in repeated acts of exchange. But in respect to any one of these acts, the money has no more power over the thing for which it is exchanged than that thing has over the money—and, consequently, money has no more power in the hands of any one man than an equal value in anything else. Mr. Whipple has a confused apprehension of a real power existing somewhere. That power is nothing more nor less than the power of *wealth*,—and this power is wholly independent of the particular form in which the wealth may chance to exist. Human nature is subject to numerous temporal wants which wealth has the power to supply. *Money* is never an *ultimate* object of want, but the thing for which the money is exchanged; and hence the power of wealth to supply human wants resides, primarily, in the ultimate objects of those wants, rather than in the medium through which those objects are ordinarily exchanged. Whatever influence the possession of those objects may give one man over another, who possesses them not,—it is difficult to conceive how the possessions of the one can operate to the injury of the other. Would any man be better off if his rich neighbor were as poor as himself?

"5th. That this power is the necessary consequence of the character imposed upon it by government,—money being the only instrument of exchange, and therefore indispensable to the business of all."

Had Mr. Whipple stated, definitely, in what this "*character*"—which he says the government has imposed upon money—consists, the reader would have been better prepared to judge for himself of the probable consequences of that character. If he means, as intimated, that its character consists in being a medium of exchange, he is mistaken, as I have shown, in supposing that it has derived its character from the government. On page thirteenth, the author says of money: "It is sent out as an *instrument* to represent the value of all other articles. * * * It was never intended as an article of trade,—as an article possessing an inherent value of itself, any further than as a representative, or test of the value of all other articles."

Perhaps by these, and similar assertions, by which he "darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge," the writer would have us infer this mysterious character which the government has imposed on money. If so, I must insist on an explanation of terms. What does the author mean when he calls money a *representative* and a *test* of the value of all other articles? And, especially, what does he mean when he asserts that money has no value of its own? I am aware that in speaking of money, the phrases "representative of value,"—"measure of value"—"standard of value"—and "no value of itself," are upon almost every man's tongue; but I have never yet found a man who could tell what he meant by them. How can a piece of money *represent* any value but its own? How can a piece of money be the test of the value of any other thing? If we say that the value of a yard of cloth is tested by a dollar when a dollar is given in exchange for it, we may say with equal certainty that the value of a dollar is tested when the yard of cloth is given for it, and the one is as much a test of value as the other—but neither is any test at all. The value of each is determined by its utility, cost of production, and the supply and demand. All that is determined by the trade is, that the dollar, and the yard of cloth, are supposed to be of equal value. The

idea of representing *value* by *no value*, is precisely equivalent to representing *something* by *nothing*. If money has value, it represents its own value, and nothing more. If it has no value, it represents none. Probably the unmeaning phrases I have quoted, have originated from the simple fact, that money being constantly exchanged for other things, its relative value is better understood than that of any other article; and so has become the commodity in which the value of other things is *estimated* and *expressed*.

Mr. Whipple is further in error, when he says, "that money is the only medium of exchange." Mr. Leatham, of England, has shown that, from 1832 to 1839, inclusive, the average amount of bills of exchange in circulation in the kingdom, was £107,000,000—while the average circulation of the Bank of England was only £35,000,000. And the same thing is true, to a greater or less extent, in every civilized country. In addition to this medium of exchange, a large amount of exchanges are effected by barter. I allude to these facts, to show the looseness of the writer's statements, and not because the question whether money is, or is not, the only medium of exchange, has any bearing upon the rate of interest,—for men do not borrow money to effect an exchange of a commodity on hand, but usually because they have nothing to exchange for the money they need.

"6th. That money being generally in the hands of the few, the facilities for creating an artificial scarcity are greater than for creating an artificial scarcity of merchandise."

It is not true that the money is in the hands of the few—not half as true, as it is of merchandise, or any other item of wealth; neither is it true, as the author asserts, that money is "*concentrative* in its nature." Money, more strictly than any other thing, is in the hands of the *many*, and is pre-eminently *diffusive* in its nature, or it would not be a currency. The average proportion of the possessions of those in moderate circumstances,—which exists in the form of money,—is always greater than that of the wealthy. The reason is this: Money, as such, is unproductive property. He who keeps any portion of it on hand, loses the productive use of so much value so long as he keeps it in that form; and hence the law of self-interest does not allow him to keep more of it by him than his immediate wants require, and the wants of the poorer classes absorb a greater proportion of their income than those of the wealthier classes. The average proportion of each man's wealth which exists in the form of money, varies with his circumstances and business,—but the same regulating principle everywhere prevails. In the case of each individual, (except the miser,) by some law of necessity which operates in his case—this proportion is brought up to a certain point, where it is met by the law of self-interest, and there held between these two opposing forces, with a firmness equal to their own inflexibility.

In the light of these truths, we may be able to judge of the possibility of an artificial scarcity being produced by capitalists. Suppose they address themselves to the work. In order to produce a scarcity, they must go to buying the currency, and hoarding it up. In order to buy it, they must sell their property. Property bears a price in proportion to the currency in circulation. So soon as they have bought enough to affect the currency at all, the effect tells upon the price of the property which they must still sell, and they must sell at a reduced price. If they attempt to buy more, they must buy at

a sacrifice. If they keep what they have, they lose its productive use; and if they put it in the market, the scarcity ceases. Pursue the scheme as far as they may, or stop where they will, they can gain nothing but the wisdom—never to repeat the experiment.

The only possible way in which an artificial scarcity of money can be produced, is, by the expansion and contraction of bank issues,—and seasons of scarcity thus produced, the Usury Laws have not prevented.

We are now prepared for the consideration of Mr. Whipple's second question, to wit:—

"Do the parties in general meet on equal terms, and are the bargains, in the absence of the Usury Laws, as fair as bargains usually are in relation to merchandise?"

The author takes the negative upon both branches of the question. One of the supposable grounds of argument considered by Mr. Bentham, was: "Protection of indigence against extortion." Mr. Whipple regarded this as one of the "cob-houses" of Mr. Bentham's imagination, and admitted that he had demolished it. Mr. Whipple's second question is but a reconstruction of this same "cob-house,"—and should it be disposed of as summarily as he has disposed of Mr. Bentham, he could not justly complain of any unfairness. Upon further reflection, the author seems to have concluded that the protection of the needy against extortion, is, after all, one of the main objects and uses of the Usury Laws; and he proceeds to defend them upon that ground. The author lays down his premises in the form of interrogatories, which he seems to suppose do not admit of negative answers; and some of them will be quoted, and such answers given, as may appear consistent with truth.

"They (the Usury Laws,) proceed upon the principle, that money possesses a power which no other article ever did, or ever can possess. Is not *that* true, in point of fact?"

If this assertion be true, then they proceed upon a *false* principle,—for money, as has been shown, possesses no such power.

"That the avarice of the lender will urge him on to exact all he can get. Is not that true, in point of fact?"

It is no more true in regard to money than in regard to anything else. People commonly get all they can for whatever they have to dispose of; and, as a general rule, it is right that they should.

"That the wants of the lender are in general so great, that in nine times out of ten he must have the money, at all events. Is not that true, in point of fact?"

It is true, all but the *nine*. About nine times out of ten there is no such necessity in the case.

"That the parties do not stand on equal ground, any more than a prisoner contracting with his creditor? Is not that true?"

Not at all. They stand upon much the same ground as they would in any other *credit* transaction.

"That in dealing for all other articles, men do stand on equal grounds. That no man can deny."

I deny it. A man whose credit is good, can purchase articles upon credit on better terms than one whose credit is poor,—and he who pays down, can purchase cheaper than either of the others; and a man will loan money just as readily as he will sell goods on credit,—with the same

security,—provided he can make as much nett profit by it; for his goods cost him money, and his only object in buying and selling is, to get gain.

"The advocates of the free-trade system (says Mr. Whipple,) must be driven to take their ground. They must admit that the borrower *is*, in general, a slave to the lender, and under a *necessity* of complying with the terms dictated, and still contend that the law ought to permit such a bargain to stand, or they must *deny* the *fact*. I give them their choice. They must take one or the other."

With Mr. Whipple's leave, I will take *both*.

Sometimes the necessities of the borrower are such as to urge him to give an exorbitant rate of interest, and sometimes they are not. Sometimes the state of the loan market is such as to enable the lender to take advantage of this necessity, and sometimes it is not. Borrowers, then, may be divided into two classes;—first, those who borrow to secure gain, and second, those who borrow to avoid loss. And in discussing the bearings of the Usury Laws upon individual borrowers, I propose:—

I. To consider them with reference to the first class.

II. To examine the causes which enable the lender to take advantage of the necessities of the second class.

III. To inquire whether, even if the causes which enable the lender to take advantage of those necessities cannot be wholly avoided, the restriction contended for can afford either protection or relief, under those circumstances.

I. In respect to the first class, whatever may be its comparative numbers, it must be admitted that there is no necessity pressing upon them to induce them to pay a greater rate of interest than they can afford, or *think* they can afford to pay. Their object being simply gain, their necessities must, at the farthest, be limited by the necessity for increasing their gains; and when the rate of interest is so high as to defeat this object, the motive for borrowing is removed; and so long as the rate is below the neutralizing point, however high that may be, no harm can result to the borrower. I assume, that this class is much more numerous than the other, and absorbs by far the greater proportion of loans; and to sustain this assumption, the nature of the case affords no other means than to appeal to every man's experience and observation in business affairs. Almost every man in the community is, to some extent, a borrower, not excepting the lenders themselves,—and to say that every man who borrows money is in circumstances of distress, would be to assert that which but few would be willing to believe concerning their neighbors generally.

Capital and labor are co-agents in the production of wealth, and neither can accomplish much without the other. Wealthy persons, in many instances, wish to pursue their ease and pleasure upon the nett income of their property. They have the capital, but do not wish to put forth the industry necessary to make it productive, but prefer to connect it,—in some way,—with the industry of others; and here originates the chief *supply* of loans. Others again, have the industry and business talent, but have not the capital to make that industry and talent productive to the full extent of their joint capacity; and here originates the chief *demand* for loans. In all such cases the rate of interest will be limited by the motive which prompts the demand.

If Mr. Whipple claims that this class of borrowers are liable to be deceived in regard to the rate of interest they can afford to pay, and that they need the Usury Laws to repress their temerity, or to guard their simplicity,—he will be found re-building another of Mr. Bentham's "cob-houses."

That persons may err as to the rate of interest they can afford to pay in particular cases, is undoubtedly true; but they are no more liable to err here, than in respect to any other business transaction. In some cases the borrower can better afford to pay ten or fifteen, or even twenty-five per cent., than in others to pay six or seven per cent.;—and the borrower is just as likely to err in one case as another. It often happens that one man is ruined by paying seven per cent. for money, while another pays ten or twelve per cent. and gets rich. The rate of interest which the borrower can afford to pay, depends upon the nett profit which can be realized from the capital at the particular time and place, and under the peculiar circumstances which may exist, as well as the talent with which the capital may be managed. The only question seems to be, whether the government, or the individual, is best qualified to determine what is for his interest in each particular case. Mr. Bentham's remark upon this point is as just as it is caustic. He says: "I think I am by this time entitled to observe, that no simplicity short of absolute idiotism can cause the individual to make a more groundless judgment than the legislature." To say nothing of the bungling attempts of legislation at a general supervision of business affairs, it will suffice to remark that, for the legislature to graduate the rates of interest to the endless variations of nett profits, is clearly impossible.

Among the effects of fixing a uniform rate of interest, so far as it falls below what the borrower can afford to pay, are the following:—

1st. It cuts off supplies from the loan market. Before any one can retire from business and live upon the nett income of his capital, he must accumulate such an amount that the nett income will supply all his wants. If the borrower can afford to pay a higher rate of interest, it will enable capitalists to retire with smaller fortunes, and put their capital in the loan market earlier than they otherwise could. By the restriction, the industry of the borrower is crippled for want of the capital which he could obtain and advantageously employ, but for the interference of the law; and he is compelled to remain poor until his rich neighbor shall have become richer.

2d. The restriction tends to prevent the diffusion, and to promote the concentration of wealth. This proposition has been partially established, from what has been remarked upon the preceding one. So essential is the use of capital to the production of wealth, that without it no man ever did, or ever can, become very wealthy.

Ask the wealthy men of our country how they acquired their wealth, and four-fifths of them will tell us that they started with borrowed capital,—and, that, without it, they must have remained comparatively poor. And where Usury Laws have existed and been enforced, they have not usually obtained the use of capital in the form of money at the legal rates, but in the form of credits of various kinds, and upon which they have paid much more in the form of extra profits to their creditors than the legal rate of interest, and in many instances, the legal interest

on the debt besides. Every man engaged in mercantile pursuits knows, that when he goes to an Eastern city to buy goods, he can buy from five to fifteen per cent. lower for cash than he can upon a credit of six months. One of the oldest and most successful business men in Wisconsin—who never had a note protested in his life—informed me that he could purchase a stock of goods in New-York ten per cent. cheaper for cash than he could on six month's time with his credit, and that the very lowest average difference between cash payments and six months credit was eight per cent.; and the statement has been corroborated by every business man with whom I have conversed on the subject. This is equivalent to paying sixteen per cent. per annum for money, to the extent of all the mercantile credits in the land. Yet men pay this per cent. for the use of others' capital in the form of credits, and become wealthy by it, while they could not become wealthy without it. In many other pursuits, this method of obtaining the use of capital is not available. From the nature of the case, the loan must be made in money, or not at all; and, while but for the restriction, a credit could be obtained upon money as readily as upon merchandise, and with the same beneficial results—impertinent legislation steps in, and prevents the loan, by limiting the interest to a per cent. which destroys the motive for furnishing the supply. The enterprise may be quite feasible, and the borrower may be well qualified to conduct it, and it may promise a rich reward; but the loving-kindness of the legislature will not allow him to obtain the necessary capital, for fear he may ruin himself, or the capitalist get more than his share of the profits; and he must plod along in his poverty, while the capital which might have led him on to a fortune, is doomed, by force of law, to remain half employed, and slowly to accumulate in the hands of its owner.

As Mr. Whipple expresses so much veneration for *facts*, I have a mind to refer him to a few. I know of many men in Wisconsin, now worth their thousands, who would this day have been penniless, had they not been able, twelve or fifteen years ago, to borrow money at twenty-five per cent. When the eastern portion of Wisconsin came into market, it was extensively settled by "*squatters*," who had not the means to pay for their lands. Fortunately for them, the sales were attended by heavy capitalists, who offered to buy the claims of these poor people, and give them bonds for deeds, upon the payment of double the amount, in from two to four years. This method was adopted to avoid the Usury Laws, then in force in the Territory. A large portion of the sales were made with this arrangement, between the purchaser and the occupant. Many predicted, that at the end of the terms specified, these poor settlers would be robbed of their improvements, and driven from their homes.

A few were unable to meet their engagements, but even these were able to "*sell their shares*" for enough to make a fair beginning elsewhere. The majority of them paid up, and received their deeds; and many of those same tracts of land are now worth, even in their wild state, from fifty to eighty dollars per acre. Similar rates of interest were paid, either directly or indirectly, to secure investments in city and village property, (subsequent to the period of speculation,) and with similar results. As settlements progressed over the Territory, the same operations were repeated over and over again, and with the same results.

From twenty to fifty per cent. has usually been paid to secure govern-

ment lands and town lots; and hundreds, nay, thousands, have improved their condition by it, and very many have risen from poverty to affluence; and, in some instances, have got their heads quite above those whose capital they employed. Abiding all these transactions, until quite recently, Wisconsin has had her Usury Laws, robed in all their majesty, but exerting no more influence upon the rate of loans than the croakings of a prairie-cock. Sometimes a little pains has been taken to evade them, and sometimes not; and even the seeming evasions have been resorted to more for the purpose of securing a shorter method of collection than for any other purpose. There have been instances, without number, in which notes have been given at thirty per cent. or more, and faithfully paid up. Whether the "Badgers" are more shrewd than common people, it is not for me to say; but they usually find no difficulty in discriminating between cases which will justify their paying a higher rate of interest and those which will not; and I cannot but believe, that other people would very soon become equally wise, if they were left to exercise their own wits in the premises. Although they often pay twelve or fifteen per cent., yet they seldom go as high as twenty-five or thirty, in carrying on their ordinary business. Facts, therefore, as they exist in Wisconsin, agree with the theory, that freedom in respect to rates of interest tend to the diffusion of wealth, while restrictions have the opposite tendency. It might be demonstrated that the restriction in question retards the general increase of wealth, by preventing the free circulation of capital through those channels in which it would be most productive; but I must be content with a bare statement of this important truth.

II. To take more interest in extreme cases of necessity than would be required under other circumstances, is not to take advantage of such necessity; for extreme necessity is usually the effect of the embarrassed state of the individual's pecuniary affairs, and an additional risk is to be incurred. Even if the security is the same, and the applicant's honesty above suspicion, still there is an additional risk of the trouble and expense of a suit, or a foreclosure; and to charge an additional sum sufficient to cover the additional risk, is no extortion, but just what is demanded in the way of profits, before a prudent man will invest his money in any kind of business which is attended with extraordinary risk. The risk may be the borrower's misfortune, but it is not the lender's fault. *Generosity* may prompt a disregard of it, but *justice* cannot demand it. To go beyond the demands of this additional risk, is extortion. But the borrower's necessity, however pressing it may be, is not the only circumstance, nor the chief one, which enables the lender to practice extortion upon him. A man may be greatly in need of a barrel of flour, and if the quantity in market is small, or in the hands of two or three individuals, they may easily practice extortion upon the consumer, however rich he may be. But if the market is flush, and the article in the hands of many dealers, such extortion would be impossible, however poor the customer might be; for, although he might be obliged to purchase on credit, and consequently to pay more than the cash price, yet the competition would enable him to buy at such additional price as the credit and risk might be worth. We see then, that in order to the practice of extortion in the provision market, there must be an urgent demand on the one hand, and on the other a scarcity and monopoly of the thing demanded; and that, whatever tends to produce a scarcity in the market, facilitates monopoly, and enables the monopolist to practice

extortion. Just so it is in the loan market. Whatever tends to produce a scarcity there, facilitates a monopoly of the market, and enables the money lender to practice extortion upon those whose necessities compel them to submit to it. We have seen, that so far as the Usury Laws attempt to confine the rate of interest to a point below the nett profit on capital, under circumstances similar to those under which the loans are demanded, just so far the law is either disregarded, or capital leaves the loan market for a more profitable field of investment. The consequence is, that the extremely necessitous, who, at the very best state of the loan market, would be obliged to pay more than the ordinary rate of interest, are left to shirk in a lean market, and drive such bargains as they can with the few who are willing to violate an absurd law, if they can be paid for this risk also.

On the other hand, if perfect freedom were enjoyed, there is no reason within the compass of thought, why money could not be obtained upon credit, as readily as anything else, upon the same terms. It is idle for Mr. Whipple to repeat his assertion, that "it was never before pretended that Usury Laws lessened the quantity of money, or prevented any one from borrowing." True, they do not lessen the quantity of money in circulation, but as certainly as that there is any power in the motives which govern mankind, so certain it is that they lessen the quantity of money in the loan market, and diminish the chances for borrowing. As has already been remarked, it is *capital* which is loaned, and sufficiently to supply all the demands of the loan market, at the natural rate of interest. Capital can assume the form of money as readily as it can assume the form of merchandise. In all cases in which the nett profit is the object of the capitalist, the motive which induces him to prefer an investment in productive property, by placing it in the loan market, (the security, &c., being the same) is, the difference in the profits to be derived from the two sources. Destroy this difference, and we take away the motive which determines the choice. Let the rates of interest rise a little above other profits, and the motive will instantly preponderate in favor of the loan market until the equilibrium is restored. Remove all restrictions in regard to rates of interest, and in the language of Mr. Mill, they will be such, "that exactly as much as some people are inclined to borrow at those rates, others shall be willing to lend." Usury Laws, so far as they have any effect in keeping down the rate of interest, destroy the equation of supply and demand,—produce a scarcity in the loan market by cutting off supplies, and thus facilitate monopoly and extortion. Mr. Whipple may discard these principles as mere theories, but they are as certain in operation as any law, either of mind or matter. I do not wish to conceal the fact, that with the utmost freedom in respect to money bargains, the lender may have occasions presented to him for practicing extortion, by the operation of temporary causes which cannot be avoided, just as is the case in all the departments of trade; and this leads me to inquire,

III. Whether the Usury Laws can afford either protection or relief to the borrower, under those circumstances? The advocates of the restrictive system lay great stress upon the necessities of the borrower. Mr. Whipple says, "that the wants of the borrower are, in general, so great, that in nine times out of ten he must have the money,—at all events" he must have it, "or he *must be ruined.*" This is not true in more than one case in ten, even in respect to the second class of borrowers. They wish to borrow, sometimes to avoid a sacrifice of credit, and sometimes to avoid

a sacrifice of property; and in all cases, the urgency of their wants is limited by the extent of the sacrifice of credit or property, which must ensue, if they fail of obtaining the desired loan. The lender can take advantage of no greater necessity than exists. To say that any and every degree of sacrifice must involve the individual in ruin, is an extravagance which should not be indulged in by a man who depends so much upon mere assertion to establish his points, as does Mr. Whipple. The extent of the loss to be avoided, varies, as every man knows, from a small per cent. of the individual's estate, to the whole of it. But, whatever may be the extent of the impending loss, the principle is much the same; and in order to test the efficacy of Usury Laws in alleviating the distress, we will take Mr. Whipple's extreme case—one in which the man must have the money at all events, or he is ruined. It is admitted that the elements of ruin are already about him in consequence of his own follies or misfortunes. There is but one possible means of extricating himself from his embarrassments, and that is to borrow money. Will the Usury Laws enable him to *obtain* the money "at all events?" Not at all; but exactly the contrary. The avowed object of those laws is, to keep down the rate of *interest* below the common level of *profits*. This, as we have seen, has a contracting influence upon the loan market, and increases the difficulties of obtaining loans under *any* circumstances. His circumstances are such, that the lender must incur an extraordinary risk, and for this the Usury Laws make no allowance. There are but three courses for the lender to pursue. *First*, to lend at the legal rates; *second*, to violate the law, and take more; or *third*, to send the applicant away empty. The first he will not do, for he can find plenty of safer customers. If he adopts the second course, the Usury Laws fail of their object; and if the third, the man is ruined "at all events;" but as the money lender has had no agency in the matter, nobody cares.

In the absence of any restriction, this man might have found some one willing to risk his capital upon his precarious circumstances, for an adequate, or something more than an adequate compensation for the risk; and though the rate of interest might have been beyond what was morally justifiable under the circumstances, yet he might have paid it, and saved his estate from the *total* ruin which must have come upon it under the restrictive system. Twenty-five or thirty per cent. seems like a high rate of interest, and so it is, in ordinary cases; but what is it compared with the forced sale of an estate under executions, and foreclosures in chancery? The collection laws not only *allow* a man, but will *compel* him to sell his property at a sacrifice of fifty or seventy-five per cent., while the Usury Laws will not allow him to make the tenth part of that sacrifice in the form of interest, to save the other nine-tenths!

But suppose this last resort of the sinking man fails of recovering him from embarrassment—he is no more than ruined, and ruined he would have been if he had not borrowed at all. Although he meets his ruin in the hands of the lender instead of the hands of his original creditors, yet it is not the loan which has caused his failure, but the embarrassments which made the loan necessary.

The cases alluded to in the letter of Judge *Wick*, published in the introductory pages of the pamphlet under review, were undoubtedly of this latter class. By a little attention to dates, it will be seen that the period alluded to by Judge Wick, was that which immediately succeeded

the great speculation of 1835 to 1837, when the same wreck of fortunes was witnessed in every state and territory of the Union. Multitudes, not only in Indiana, but throughout the republic, had, under the influence of the speculating mania of that memorable period, become hopelessly involved in debt. The absence of Usury Laws in Indiana enabled this class of persons, in that state, to avail themselves of this last resort to retrieve their circumstances. Some borrowed at high rates to buy real estate, and some to pay for what they had already bought at the insane prices then paid; and in either case, it was the *principal* and not the *interest* which ruined them,—and they would have been about as effectually ruined if they could have borrowed without interest. In Indiana, the destruction previously contracted came upon them in the form of notes, bonds and mortgages, for borrowed money; while in other states, it came upon them with equally desolating force, in the form of similar securities given for real estate. At that time nine-tenths of all the states had their Usury Laws, and facts every way similar to those related by Judge Wick, were common in each of them; and, if worth anything to the argument, they are about ten times as conclusive against Usury Laws, as they are in favor of them; but as those facts had their origin in causes entirely remote from those laws, they authorize no conclusion whatever respecting them.

A man's circumstances become embarrassed—so much so, that he must borrow money at such rates as his circumstances will compel him to pay, or he must fail. This is the only avenue by which he can possibly escape ruin. But because some have fallen and perished in this avenue, legislative wisdom must needs step in and close it up, determining that, perish where else he may, he shall not perish there. Such appears to be the precise philosophy of the Usury Laws, in their bearing upon cases of extreme necessity.

To the mass of men who are not engaged in extensive business operations, a failure to pay a debt at the precise time it falls due, is attended with no very serious consequences to the little credit they possess. But, to men extensively engaged in mercantile pursuits, the case is far otherwise. The preservation of their credit is of the utmost importance to them; and in order to preserve it untarnished, they sometimes must make extraordinary drafts upon the loan market, and at times when money lenders cannot supply all their wants without endangering their own credit, to say nothing of the additional risk indicated by the extraordinary demand, more than the ordinary rate of interest must be paid, or the risk will not be incurred. The merchant may smart, for a time, under an exaction of two or three per cent. a month, but he regards this as nothing compared with the loss of his credit. The free principle has proved so essential, and restrictions so futile, in commercial intercourse, that in England, and to a great extent in this country, mercantile paper has been exempted from the operation of Usury Laws. Why should merchants be allowed this privilege, more than others, if it be really a dangerous one? I can think of no reason for the distinction, except that *this* class of persons are supposed to know better what is for their interest, in particular emergencies, than the legislature, while others do not. In all cases of borrowing to avoid loss, an impending loss is supposed, which can only be averted by a loan. Now, suppose the loan itself cannot be effected without a severe sacrifice, but with the freedom to make that sacrifice, it can be obtained. Then the worst feature of the free principle is, that it leaves the borrower the choice

between two losses,—both of which cannot be avoided; and the best that the Usury Laws can do for him is, to deprive him of that choice, and leave him to suffer the threatened loss, whatever it may be. In the most extreme case of necessity, therefore, the borrower being most exposed to extortion, the question is simply this:—whether the legislature is better qualified than himself to choose between the two evils of paying an exorbitant rate of interest, for a time, or submitting to the more permanent sacrifices of a forced sale, or a ruined credit? What we are accustomed to call *common sense*, I understand to be that degree of judgment and discretion which mankind in general possess.

Those who are most familiar with the developments of legislative wisdom, will agree that a fair average of common sense is the utmost that can be predicated of legislative bodies generally; and hence, with the same means of information respecting the peculiar circumstances of each particular case, the chances between the legislature and the individual, for forming a correct judgment, would be about equal. But when we consider that the data upon which alone a correct judgment can be founded, are all with the individual—that he knows the nature and extent of his necessity—can estimate the impending loss, and compare it with the terms upon which it can be averted, and strike the balance—that he knows what resources he has in prospect with which to meet his liabilities, and when those resources are to become matured, and how much he can save if he can anticipate them by a few weeks or months; and that these are matters of which the legislature knows absolutely nothing. I say, when we consider all these facts, we cannot but agree with Mr. Bentham, that "no simplicity short of absolute idiotism, can cause the individual to make a more groundless judgment than the legislature;" and that whenever the capacity of the individual, to judge in the matter, falls below that of the legislature, he should be provided with a private guardian, or a place in a lunatic asylum.

The objections to the Usury Laws may be summed up as follows:—

1st. The only criterion by which the equitable rate of interest can be determined, is, the nett profit on the capital otherwise employed.

2d. This nett profit is different at different times, at different places, and under different circumstances; and that the equitable rate of interest must be as variable as the criterion by which it is determined.

3d. In the absence of Usury Laws, there is no danger that the rates of interest will permanently rise above nett profits, because the avidity with which capital seeks the most profitable employment, will keep down the rates to those points.

4th. The only effect Usury Laws can have upon the rates of interest, is, to reduce them below equitable rates.

5th. The effect of confining the rates of interest below the rates of nett profits on capital otherwise invested, is to exclude capital from the loan market.

6th. The consequence of thus excluding capital from the loan market, in its bearing upon those who borrow to secure gain, is, to deprive them of the means to make their industry as productive as it might otherwise be.

7th. It retards the general increase of wealth, by forcing capital away from those channels in which it would be most productive.

8th. Usury Laws deprive those who wish to borrow to avoid loss, of the privilege of choosing between the two evils, one of which is inevitable, while the individual is far better qualified to choose for himself than the legislature is to choose for him.

SKETCHES OF LALLY'S CAMPAIGN IN MEXICO.

(Continued.)

At the same moment, Lieut. Sears pushing through the fire of the enemy in front, arrived upon the spot, and called for volunteers, for the purpose of bringing up the disabled guns. Two parties immediately assumed the duty. Lieut. Cantwell, of the 12th regiment, had the honor of commanding the first. They were composed of the bystanders, and principally of his own platoon, some fifteen in number. By them, the gun which we had seen lying disabled in the road at the foot of the hill, was again placed upon its wheels, and dragged to the head of the train. Under cover of this gun,—the fire from which was directed by Russell, of the 4th Infantry,—the Baron, with his men, advanced upon the castle, and had the satisfaction to witness its evacuation upon his approach.

Lieut. Waters, of the Louisiana Volunteers, who had gone for the other piece of artillery, now returned, without the loss of a man. This piece was, by order of the commander-in-chief, dragged to the summit of a hill commanding the Mexican lines, by one hundred men, under Lieutenant Ridgely, and under the direction of Sears, told with terrible effect upon the masses of the enemy there posted.

In about one hour after the action had been thus skilfully resumed, the Mexicans abandoned the entire field. The whole affair lasted six hours. Victory was saddened by the loss of many brave and accomplished men. Among them, none created more universal regret than that of Mr. George E. Twiggs, a nephew of the general of that name, who acted during the day as volunteer aid to Major Lally. He was killed while assisting the first party in bringing off a gun from the field, and died cheering his comrades, with the drag-rope in his hands, and a smile upon his lips. His body was afterwards brought off the field, by his friends, Cantwell and Sears. So much had his generous character and chivalric deportment won their esteem, that they gladly incurred danger, in the hope of preserving his life.

The loss of the Americans in this action, was in killed eleven, and forty wounded, of whom several afterwards died.

The great error, with due respect let it be said, committed by General Scott at this place, under equally palliating circumstances, and no more, was again repeated by Major Lally. On the 14th of August, two days after the battle, the "Puerte del Rey" was completely evacuated. The last of the Americans had scarcely disappeared from the castle, before it was again occupied by the enemy, who fired therefrom upon the retreating column; and a day or two after actually succeeded in dispersing a large reinforcement under Wells, of the 12th Infantry, at this very place, with dreadful slaughter. They also captured his entire train, with an important mail, and many valuable public despatches, etc.

The casualties incident to the two actions at Ovejas and the National Bridge together with others which occurred from minor attacks at other points along the march, had now reached about seventy-five. In addition, the sick roll began rapidly to increase. The constant exposure to the weather

and climate, the want of food and camp equipage, added many valuable men to the hospital list. Seven officers, including three captains, had already been either wounded or killed, in the space of six days; and of the remainder, many kept the field, whom a proper regard for health should have confined to the hospital or the wagons. Too much credit cannot, in this connection, be awarded to Surgeon Howard, of the 12th Infantry. His professional cares were largely tasked, but he was fully equal to them all. He accompanied the advance on the 12th, and when, in consequence of the almost terrific fire of the enemy, nearly one-third his comrades on the bridge had occasion for his services, he passed from one to the other, with much coolness, extracting the balls and binding their wounds, in the midst of the fray.

The situation of the troops demanded despatch in reaching Jalapa, and circumstances at the same time prevented it. Many of the mules had died, or been killed, and it became necessary to condense the train. Experience had demonstrated, that it was easier to defend a compact body of wagons, well teamed and harnessed, than to extend the lines of defence to those which had been crippled and rendered burdensome in the late attacks. It was a point of honor, too, with the American commander, that not a single wagon should fall into the hands of the enemy. Orders were accordingly issued, and several wagons, containing a large quantity of quarter-master's stores, and nearly all the camp equipage, were committed to the flames.

On the evening of the 14th, the column reached the place called *Rio del Plan.* The stone bridge which here crosses the river, had been blown up by the enemy, and was impassable. The imperturbable Lally, plunging his horse in the stream, reached in safety the other side. The infantry, carrying their muskets above their heads, soon followed, and in a very little while, the whole train had reached the opposite bank, and were encamped around the Church at Del Plan, which building was immediately converted into an hospital for the sick and wounded. While at this place, two men, the one a soldier of the 12th Infantry, named Hamlin, and another, Mr. H. H. Johnston, a traveling daguerreotypist, disappeared, and are supposed to have been captured and killed, while incautiously straying in the vicinity of the encampment—so necessary had it become to keep within sight of the pickets. The men held only the ground upon which they trod, and that by an uncertain tenure.

On the next morning, (15th of August,) Doctor Cooper, of the army, who had made his way across the National Bridge, and through the enemy in the rear, arrived at head-quarters with an escort of thirteen men, and announced the approach of Captain Wells, of the 12th Infantry, and a reinforcement from Vera Cruz. Captain Besançon, with fifty men, were immediately despatched to communicate with him. The captain found the bridge still in possession of the enemy, and rightly concluding that the reinforcement of Wells had been driven back, he returned to camp. Dr. Cooper made known a circumstance upon his arrival, which filled every heart with indignation. In his rapid flight across the bridge, he had recognized the body of the lamented Twiggs, lying in the road. He had been exhumed by the Mexicans, and brutally mutilated.

The same day, the train being still parked at Rio del Place, where there was an abundance of grazing for the animals, the body of the force, consisting of every able bodied man in the camp, moved forward to *Cerro*

Gordo, some four or five miles distant, whither it was supposed the enemy had again entrenched themselves. The sick and wounded only were left to guard the train.

The pass of Cerro Gordo has been minutely described by General Scott, and others, and their description must be familiar to all. The *tierra-caliente*, or low level, terminates at Rio del Place; from this point, the road immediately commences to ascend the mountains, cutting its way circuitously along the bases of a number of lofty hills. About the middle of the pass, the road turns to the left, and is flanked on the right by a long hill. On the other side there are several fortified eminences, known as Nos. 1, 2 and 3, extending to the river, and inaccessible from that side. In the rear of the whole, and on the right side of the road, is the famous stronghold of Cerro Gordo proper—a lofty mountain, crowned at the top by a stone-work, commanding the approaches in all directions, and considered by military men, in proper hands, as impregnable.

On ascending into this spot, already famous for prodigies of American valor, and yet fresh with the marks of a recent bloody struggle, Lally's men could not restrain an involuntary and retrospective glance upon the splendor of the prospect. In their rear, and on the right, a boundless waste of green impervious chaparral, whose dense foliage, swayed under the influence of the wind, like the billows of the sea, stretched far away beneath the eye, until arrested only by the blue line of the distant gulf; there were distinctly visible to them, steamers, and the bellying sails of ships, in which their comrades were already hastening to their relief. It was, indeed, to many, a novel and strikingly beautiful scene. Nothing in the view seemed to interrupt "the boundless contiguity" of green, save the roads and trails, which here and there crossing each other, meandered like rivers through the plain. This was Cerro Gordo! In such a place, already nigh the stars, it might be anticipated that men would act heroic parts, and by valor, win a place in Heaven.

The column, preceded by the artillery and horse, advanced in good order up the pass; on either side and in the road, the souvenirs of the battle-field surrounded them. Passing the trail which designates the route of Pillow's Brigade, on the 18th April, they reached the middle of the pass, where (a little beyond, what is known as Twiggs' corner) the road is flanked on both sides by almost impenetrable hills. A rapid firing immediately commenced from a hill directly in front, and on the right of the column. It was also ascertained by a number of shots—which reached it from the side towards the river—that the enemy's lines covered the whole field, occupied by them when opposing the passage of Gen. Scott. Dispositions of attack were immediately made, in conformity with these suppositions. The force was divided: Three companies of infantry, under Lieuts. Lear and Clutz, (the latter acting as guide, having taken part in the former action here,) and several non-commissioned officers of uncommon merit, among them, Henry F. Carter, Sergeant in command of K. Company, 4th Infantry,—in all, one hundred and thirty men, were placed under the orders of Lieut. Ridgely, with instructions to storm the forts, and carry them in rapid succession, and dislodge the enemy. Three companies of the 12th and 15th Infantry, and one of Voltigeurs, respectively under Lieuts. Wilkins, Cantwell, Waddell and Leigh, were despatched through the chaparral on the right, to charge the enemy and occupy the hill. This movement was confided to Captain Hornsby. After a delay of more than

an hour, during which the men of this division had gained the crest of the hill, and advanced in perfect silence through the bushes to within pistol shot of the enemy, and upon the repeated orders of Lally, they were again put in motion, and marched, left in front, and in single file, round by Twiggs' Road, to the rear of the position occupied by the enemy. The trail was narrow, and but one could conveniently march in it at a time; but finally, those who were in advance came upon the Mexicans, and completely surprised them. An irregular charge was made; the Mexicans stood for a moment, but fled before the bayonet reached them. Numbers were slain, the remainder retreated, and made good their escape by the Jalapa Road.

In the mean time Ridgely, who had, by a judicious reconnoissance, conducted by himself, Lt. Clutz and Sergt. Low of the 4th Infantry, pushed up to the enemy's works, and been satisfied of the most assailable point upon the left of the road, moved his men through the chaparral in rear of Fort No. 1, and passing that hill, charged upon No. 2, with unequaled spirit and impetuosity. They were met by a heavy fire of grape and galling musketry, but succeeded in their design upon No. 2, and immediately turned its fire upon Nos. 1 and 3. The whole line was speedily abandoned. This movement was executed in a highly skilful and successful manner. Among the non-commissioned officers, Sergts. Tolbut and Carter received the warmest commendations for their conduct during the day.

The loss of the Americans in this affair, was three killed and ten wounded. The loss of the Mexicans was not correctly ascertained. They acknowledged a loss of ten men killed upon the hill on the right. Lt. Ridgely reported twenty-one killed and wounded in the forts. A much larger number doubtless fell on the Mexican side. Besides four prisoners, there fell into the hands of the victors two nine pounders, a quantity of grape and canister, and 9,000 rounds of ball cartridge.

At midnight, Leigh of the Voltigeurs removed a barricade which had been erected across the pass, at the foot of Monte Gordo. It was defended by a large brass piece charged with grape and canister. Early in the morning troops were pushed forward, to the extreme hills, and Monte Gordo occupied.

The entire pass being now in possession of our troops, on the morning of the 17th the train was brought up from Rio del Place, and the march resumed. The night of the 18th was passed at Encero, and the adjacent buildings. Here there was an abundant supply of good fresh water, of which the men were much in need. During the 18th, several small skirmishes occurred in the rear, and one or two of the Americans were killed. During one of these attacks, the sick in the centre of the train were organized by Dr. Howard, and responded to the escopetas of the enemy, until relieved by an adequate force.

On the afternoon of the 19th, the train having reached a place called *Los Animas*, a mile and a half from Jalapa, they were again attacked by the Mexican troops, who, on this occasion, had, notwithstanding the failure of their repeated attempts, summoned the whole population of Jalapa to witness the defeat of "*Los Norte Americanos.*" They formed an ambush behind a stone fence at the base of a hill, on the left of the road. By a judicious movement of infantry on the right flank, the enemy were routed with considerable loss. The action lasted only some fifteen or twenty

minutes. In this affair there were two Americans killed and six wounded. Among the latter Major Lally himself. He received an escopeta ball in the neck, which for some time suspended him from the command. By nightfall the column had reached the suburbs of the city. Lieut. Russell, with four or five dragoons, was despatched with a message to the authorities. He was accompanied by Baron Von Gion. In returning, Russell was fired upon, and attacked by a party of Lancers, who wounded one of the men. Von Gion was detained a prisoner, but set at large upon the appearance of the Americans.

At day-break, on the morning of the 20th August, the day of the battle of Contreras, the column entered the city of Jalapa, and occupied the main plaza and the public buildings without further opposition. Among the other casualties of the road, not enumerated previous to entering Jalapa, there were besides, four killed and four wounded.

The city of Jalapa is, according to Mr. Waddy Thompson, only seventy miles from Vera Cruz, as the road runs. In a direct line it is about one-third of that distance. The difficulties of the march we have just described, may be conceived, when it is seen that it occupied fourteen days, and besides the constant skirmishing, was four times hotly opposed. "I do not know," says Mr. Thompson, in his Recollections, "that I have ever seen a more beautiful spot than the city of Jalapa. The atmosphere is so clear that you may see the shipping in the harbor of Vera Cruz with an ordinary spy-glass, and the white caps of the waves with the naked eye. The elevation of Jalapa is about four thousand feet above the sea. It is situated on a shelf of the mountain, the summit of which at Perote, a distance in a direct line of about twenty miles, is still 4,500 feet higher than at Jalapa. The whole horizon, except in the direction of Vera Cruz, is bounded by mountains; among them Orizata, which is distant from Jalapa about twenty-five miles. But, from the remarkable clearness of the atmosphere, and the sun shining upon the snow, with which it is always covered, it does not seem to be five miles. All the tropical fruits grow there, and are cultivated with great care and taste. It is not exaggeration to say, that it is impossible for one who has not been in the table land of Mexico, to conceive a climate so Elysian. There is not a day, and scarcely an hour in the year, when one could say, I wish it were a little warmer, or a little colder. It is never warm enough to pull off your coat, and rarely cold enough to be without it."

Here, in this lovely spot, one of the most magnificent of nature's residences, the command halted for over one month. One-tenth and more of the column which had left Vera Cruz a few days before, had either lost their lives in battle, or were wounded, and in addition to the incessant fatigues, sickness, and other causes of frequent occurrence among raw and undisciplined troops, the novelty of their situation, and the absence of proper discipline, had so effectually relaxed all control, that the troops were almost disorganized. For forty-eight hours after the arrival at Jalapa, no rations had been issued. Much discontent and insubordination prevailed, and many desertions (among them one or two valuable non-commissioned officers and privates) took place. Three or four together went off at one time. The majority of the mounted Louisiana Volunteers returned, without orders, to Vera Cruz, and were afterwards followed by their captain and the remainder. The loss of these men in particular was severely felt. The population of the city became more

unfriendly and hostile every day. It was impossible to venture with safety into the back streets of the city. Night alarms and murders of the soldiers became frequent. On being roused at midnight, on one occasion, it was discovered that the alarm proceeded from the firing of rockets, (a religious ceremony,) not *escopetas*, as was at first supposed. Under the very eyes of our troops too, presuming, as is supposed, upon their ignorance of the language, the "boletins," (which in that country appear to supply the place of our newspaper extras, upon extraordinary occasions,) conveyed to the population intelligence of the progress of the war. These were the only mediums through which the Americans learned the successes of Scott, and the progress of the war. Little reliance could of course be placed upon them, but enough was gathered to assure all that a crisis had arrived in the history of the war, if it had not already passed. The ultimate result, no one doubted, would be honorable to our arms; but the anxiety and avidity with which each new item was circulated, can be conceived only by those who have found themselves in an enemy's country, completely surrounded, and cut off in front and rear from home on the one hand, and comrades on the other. The interest of the occasion was also heightened by the universal conviction, that the defeat of Scott and his brave army involved the entire destruction of this already weakened detachment.

In the meantime Jalapa was no Cannæ to Lally. By vigorous and constant efforts he atoned for the want of experience, and soon had the satisfaction to witness a corresponding improvement in the *morale* of his troops. Orders were issued that nothing should be taken from the Mexicans without compensation. The men were encouraged to attend Divine service in the churches, and to pay every mark of respect to the ecclesiastics. Every honorable and consistent effort was made to conciliate popular esteem and confidence, and, judging from the remarks made by the "Boletins," with considerable effect. Every day the troops were drilled in the public square, surrounded by crowds of the admiring population. In proportion as the number of officers and men fit for duty were increased from the hospital list, the rules of discipline were reinforced and established.

The facility with which a handful of Americans could thus keep in subjection the most extensive cities of Mexico, filled with a hostile and alien population, is one of the most surprising features in the history of the late war. Here were a body of men, in the state in which they have been described, at no time numbering over 700 effective, enforcing respect and obedience in a city of perhaps 20,000 inhabitants! It must be admitted, however, in explanation, that every security was taken against surprise. No confidence whatever was placed in the amicable professions of the populace. The only place in the city which admitted of the assemblage of a large body of men, was the Plaza. Here the chief portion of the force was disposed, and occupied three sides of the public buildings with which it was enclosed. The artillery, loaded and shotted, with matches burning day and night, opposite the cathedral, commanded the principal approaches. The National College, the largest building in the vicinity, was converted into an hospital. Sentries were constantly on the roof, from which a fine view could be had of the adjoining country. Perhaps there is no place in all Mexico which presents a more lovely landscape.

The city is situated in the midst of a valley, like a rich jewel in its set.

Beyond, the magnificent panorama is bounded by the snow-covered peaks of Orizaba and its lofty chain; in the interval the eye is gratified by a succession of gentle hills and declivities, covered to their tops with the richest verdure, and hung in lavish luxuriance with all the tropical fruits. From the windows of the hospital, the hand could almost grasp the ripe orange, the citron, and the lime, while beneath the eye there stretched far away almost boundless fields of the same rich fruits, interspersed with the banana, the plantain, the pine-apple, and others equally rare.

Within a few yards of the city, on a small stream which coursed meanderingly through rich groves of orange, an English company had erected a factory, which, notwithstanding the disordered state of the country, was still in active operation.

Surrounded by these scenes, and in so genial a clime, Lally's men were rapidly recovering.

More than a month had elapsed in this manner, when to the surprise of all, among others a young gentleman of the city, who it also appeared was an officer of rank in the Mexican army, was arrested and committed upon the charge of seducing the men from their colours, and sowing disaffection in the American camp. About the same time, several of the men lost their arms: one was stolen with surprising dexterity from a sentry while on his post. It was also brought to the notice of the commander-in-chief that high prices were offered for arms and equipments. The enemy were recruiting their scattered cohorts in the very camp of the American invader. A severe example was judged necessary, and the prisoners would undoubtedly have been sacrificed, had not a message been received from Santa Anna, proposing an exchange, which was accepted. By this arrangement, a valuable officer, Lieut. Whipple of the 9th Infantry, who had been taken at Vera Cruz, was restored, and brought with him much valuable intelligence of the progress of the war and the movements and situation of the enemy.

A night or two after, the sentries on the road to Puebla were startled by the appearance of a body of American horse, commanded by the gallant Walker, the celebrated Texan, who, after various adventures, had succeeded in cutting his way thus far from Perote. He brought the intelligence that Colonel Childs, with a feeble garrison, was surrounded at Puebla by 8,000 men. For thirteen days they had been on half rations. They had been driven to the heights surrounding the city, and were desperately maintaining their position.

Lally was immediately about to take measures for proceeding to their relief, notwithstanding the difficulties of the enterprise and his inadequate force, when the arrival of General Lane, from Vera Cruz, with three or four thousand men, dispersed all hesitation, and infused life and energy into every heart. A new atmosphere seemed at once to have surrounded the city. Instead of the listlessness and quiet of the past two months, every thing gave token of activity and bustle. Lane heard the news brought by Walker, the day before, and though he had contemplated a stay of a couple of days at Jalapa, for the purpose of visiting the town of Orizaba, then supposed to contain a number of the enemy, he ordered the line of march to be taken next morning for Puebla. Every man, able or not able, was ordered to march. The sick and wounded were promised quarters at Perote—but no delay was to be had in reaching Puebla. Several preferred all the risks of remaining; among them, was Lieut.

Adams, of the marine corps, wounded at the National Bridge, whose wound would not permit his removal. He took lodgings with one of the families of the city, and upon the departure of the Americans, and the re-occupation of Jalapa by the Mexican troops, was treated with much kindness and courtesy.

Pushing rapidly forward, Lane's division, in which was now included Major Lally's whole force, arrived at the Castle of Perote in a few days' march. Here he was again reinforced by several companies of cavalry, the command of which was given to Captain Samuel H. Walker, and by a company of artillery, and one or two companies of Wynkoop's Pennsylvania Regiment. That gallant officer himself, then Governor of Perote, also joined the command.

The Castle of Perote is situated in the middle of a vast plain, and near a town of the same name. It is a large stone edifice, surrounded by a deep moat, which can be readily filled with water. Entrance is had over a bridge, formidably defended, and perhaps, on occasion, impassable for infantry. The place is large enough to contain many thousand men, and has also accommodations for a large number of horses. A whole division might, it is supposed, parade with convenience upon the main square, which adorns the centre. Here, in the chapel, are still to be seen the coffin which contains the bones of the first President of the Mexican Republic; and between two of the bastions, the crucifix upon which criminals were suspended during the discharges of grape, by which their sufferings were prolonged. The ground around bore traces of an execution of the kind. It is a vast building—a curious prison-house, almost impregnable except to artillery, in front; in the rear, it is quite another affair, reminding one very forcibly of the ostrich of the desert, who fancies that if her head be safe from the enemy, the other parts will be in no danger, if exposed. The castle seems to be regarded by the Mexicans with the feeling which, we presume, obtained in France towards the Bastile. A few rounds of shot would soon level it as low as its predecessor.

When Lane arrived at Perote, it was still the residence of the Generals Carrera and La Vega, prisoners to the American army, on parol. The former of these gentlemen is a man of much suavity of manners and conversation; and who has never suffered the strange vicissitudes of his active life to interrupt his hospitality to strangers, and politeness to all.

Lane made no delay at Perote. At various points, however, rumors had reached him, that a large force under Santa Anna was collecting at some place on the road, with the intention to dispute his progress.

The pass of *La Hoya*, a formidable place, considered by some as even better calculated for defence than Cerro Gordo—situated midway between Perote and Puebla, was regarded as the probable scene of conflict. Upon arriving there, however, it was understood that the enemy had retired thence,—the heights were found fortified, but unoccupied. No molestation occurred until, at the hacienda of San Antonio de Tamaris, reliable information fixed the position of the crafty Mexican at or near the city of *Huamantla*, ten miles distant. His force was estimated at 4,000 men, and it was reported six pieces of artillery. Lane immediately resolved to attack him.

[To be continued.]

POLITICAL PORTRAITS WITH PEN AND PENCIL.

ROBERT RANTOUL, JR., OF MASSACHUSETTS.

As there are tares to be found in the best fields of wheat, so are there drawbacks to the best of political systems—to our own as well as to those of other countries. Among these, is that regulation by which a state can be represented in the national legislature only by one of its own citizens; whereby, if there chance to be a dearth of able men in one state, and an abundance of them in the one that adjoins it, no advantage can arise to the community from the existence of such men, because they happened to have their birth in Massachusetts or Rhode Island, rather than in some other member of the confederacy. We are not pleading for a change in our system, but merely mentioning a fact, for the purpose of showing that the excellent form of government we enjoy is attained at the expense of some sacrifices. The character of our national legislature would certainly stand higher than it does, for intellect, were it permissible for the people to select their representatives from the whole country. No one cause has had so much to do with giving to the Parliament of England that mighty name which it has among the nations, as the extreme latitude enjoyed by the constituencies in selecting their members. It naturally tended to the return of eminent men to the Commons' House, and made the Chapel of St. Stephana an intellectual gladiatorial arena, in which great men discussed great principles and decided the fate of great questions. It enabled the first of Irishmen to represent an English trading town; and, when the illiberal prejudices of men who could not rise above the narrow commercial feelings of their age led him to cease to be *worthy* to sit as one of the members for Bristol, it also enabled him to be once more the nominee of a liberal and enlightened statesman, whose opinions were more advanced than those of people who had more to hope for the establishment of radical measures.* It also enabled the first of Englishmen to be returned from a Scotch town, when, through the mendacity of faction, his return from Westminster was delayed. It requires all the undoubted and most important advantages that have flowed from our system, to prevent us from regretting that a state of things which gave to England the use of such minds as were possessed by Fox and Burke, has no existence among ourselves.

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* Fox, when his return for Westminster, at the election that followed the dissolution of the Coalition Parliament, was prevented by a sort of "broad seal" swindle, was, nevertheless, enabled to secure a seat in the succeeding Parliament. Through the influence of Sir Thomas Dundas, he was chosen one of the Scotch representatives, for an association of burghs, among which was Kirkwall, in the Orkneys; which gave occasion to his rival, Pitt, to reproach him with having been banished to the extremity of civilization, the *Ultima Thule* of ancient geography. When Burke had offended the citizens of Bristol by his liberal course toward Ireland, he resigned the place of one of their members, and was returned again for the borough of Malton, under the influence of the Marquis of Rockingham, the noblest of aristocrats, and, like Burke himself, a warm and consistent friend of America.

The Democratic party, in some few of our states, is placed in a most unfavorable position, its members being cut off, not merely from all hope of political elevation, but also from social consideration. This observation holds good, in a very especial manner, of the ancient Commonwealth of Massachusetts. In what are commonly called "old party times," the Democratic party often were in the ascendant in Massachusetts; but since the re-organization of the national democracy, after the elevation of the late Mr. John Q. Adams to the Presidential Chair, with the exception of one or two worse than barren victories, it has not been the fortune of that party to have its career cheered by a solitary gleam of that success, without the occurrence of which, to some extent, all effort must finally cease. The consequence has been, that, though the Massachusetts democracy have among their number as many men of ability as can be found in any other member of this Union, yet their voice is never heard in the national councils, and has almost ceased to be of consequence even in the legislative halls of their own state. In fact, so far as talent goes, the democracy of Massachusetts are at this time, notwithstanding their depressed condition, more favorably situated than are their old opponents. The names of Banks, Boutwell, Cushing, Greene, Hallett, Henshaw, Knowlton, Merrick, Rantoul, and a host of others, have become well known to the country, though their bearers have, in most cases, never filled any of those stations which have the effect of bringing prominently before the nation the names, and acts, and characters of those by whom they are occupied. Not the least of the gentlemen named is he of whose career we now propose to give a sketch.

Robert Rantoul, Jr., is a native of Beverley, a town in Essex county, Massachusetts, where he was born on the 13th of August, 1805. He is, unlike most of our public men, of pure Celtic origin, and traces his ancestry back to Scotland in the sixteenth century, when David Rantoul was Minister of the High Church of Elgin, and one of the boldest of the followers of the Scotch Calvin, John Knox. The name is derived from the two Gaelic words *Rhynn* and *Tuyl*, which mean *Mountain Cavern*.

Mr. Rantoul early commenced preparing for a university education, at Phillips' Academy, in Andover. He entered Harvard University at the age of eighteen, and was graduated at the Commencement of 1826, when he had just completed his majority. Among other evidences of his high collegiate standing, is the fact of his having delivered the Valedictory Poem to his class-mates.

Having resolved to enter the legal profession, Mr. Rantoul became a student of law in the office of Mr. John Pickering, a gentleman of great learning, not only as a lawyer, but also in many branches of literature and science, which are too often neglected by legal gentlemen. It is probable that his early association with a gentleman so remarkable for the extent, and depth, and various character of his acquirements, was one cause of the great range that he has taken in his own studies. Mr. Pickering having removed to Boston, Mr. Rantoul continued his studies in the office of Mr. Leverett Saltonstall, a lawyer of high repute, and for several years a member of the United States House of Representatives from the Essex South District. He was admitted to the bar in 1829.

In 1833 Mr. Rantoul became a resident of the town of Gloucester, which he was afterwards to usefully represent in the State Legislature. He accepted the invitation of the Mechanics' Association to deliver an

oration before them on the Fourth of July, being the first of that series of brilliant public discourses which he has delivered, at intervals, during the last seventeen years, and which have won for him so high a place among the first orators of America. This oration was mainly devoted to the circumstances and position of Europe during the forty years and upwards that had elapsed since the commencement of the first French Revolution; and it is one of the most eloquent productions of the kind that is known to us.

It is too often the case with American writers on European politics, that they deem it necessary to heap maledictions on the heads of prominent liberals of the Old World, because the latter have not seen everything from a peculiar point of view; a point, we may add, that nothing short of a miracle could have enabled them to take. Into this error Mr. Rantoul did not fall. In an especial manner did he do justice to Napoleon, looking upon him as a great man, but necessarily under the control and guidance of circumstances. His observations on the closing period of Napoleon's career are very fine. "The greatest Captain of the age," he says, "when he found it impossible to reach the common asylum of the unfortunate in this home of liberty, threw himself upon the magnanimity of England, and was consigned to a barren volcanic rock of the Atlantic, swept by the perpetual trade winds, and alternately drenched by torrents of rain, or scorched by the fierce rays of the tropical sun. On this inhospitable isle he lingered out the sad remnant of his days; and that he preserved to the last his characteristic traits, is witnessed by the fact, that in the hour of his dissolution the dress of his battles covered him; the field-bed of Austerlitz supported his sinking frame; and the sword of Marengo lay beneath his pillow. He is now resting in the bosom of that rock of the ocean; the stone of his prison-palace is laid over his ashes; the Roman cement covers him who tamed the Roman eagle. His fame will flourish in perennial youth, and like the Phœnix, rise freshly from his tomb as often as successive revolutions shall convulse the world."

The orator's view of the Revolution of July was also a just one, and his observations on the results of that event were marked by great sagacity. "On the whole," he says, "it may be pronounced, that this experiment is conclusive of the fact, that either branch of the House of Bourbon is equally incapable of ruling an enlightened nation in a liberal spirit: and although we cannot expect such an event immediately, still we are waiting for the occurrence of another more effectual revolution, to be accomplished by moral means, and to finish the work of the last." This was said in less than three years after the overthrow of Charles X., and while much was yet hoped from Louis Philippe. Recent events have clearly demonstrated the prophetic accuracy of another remark: "Austria," he says, "is the hammer with which Russia rivets the fetters of Europe. That these two powers could not exert a deadening influence on the liberal spirit of the continent, nor exclude it from their own dominions, if the military element did not enter largely into the constitution of their governments, is too obvious for proof." The manner in which Russia has lately acted in Europe, shows that this view of her policy is literally correct. She acted for Austria *nominally*, for herself *really*, in the recent intervention against the Hungarians. She wished to preserve the military government of the house of Hapsburgh-Lorraine, as far as it could be preserved from destruction, for her own future purposes. Her masses of troops pre-

vented the dissolution of the Austrian monarchy, and taught, to the conservative party throughout Europe, that she alone is equal to maintaining things as they are—that her barbarian legions are the *revolution-quellers* of Christendom. Austria is now only a place of arms to Russia, from which she can look out upon Southern and Western Europe, and prepare the way for the establishment of her power in the old homes of civilization and the arts.

Mr. Rantoul's political sympathies threw him, at a very early period of his life, into the ranks of the Democratic party, though at the time he left the University there was scarcely a skeleton battalion of democrats in Massachusetts: old party relations having become entirely broken up during the second term of Mr. Monroe's Presidency; and it was not until some years later that the reorganization of the Massachusetts democracy was commenced. His first political labors were performed where almost every American who distinguishes himself must commence them,—in writing for the press; in general meetings, caucuses, &c. The liberality of his views, and the vigor with which he supported them, commended him to attention, at a period when the radical action of Andrew Jackson had stirred up the American mind, and caused men to entertain great hopes of reform; hopes destined to be not altogether disappointed. His first public address was made at a meeting in South Reading, in support of General Jackson's veto of the bill rechartering the United States Bank. This was in 1832; since which time Mr. Rantoul has been one of the regularly recognized leaders of the democracy of Massachusetts.

In 1834, Mr. Rantoul was elected a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, from Gloucester, and immediately entered on a brilliant legislative career, in the course of which he distinguished himself by the advocacy of every important measure that was discussed in the General Court, and by the vigor with which he opposed those measures of the whigs that were calculated to lessen the enjoyment of popular rights. He supported the cause of universal education, the reform of the criminal code, and the construction of the Western Railway; while he opposed those financial schemes of the whigs which had for their object a far greater inflation of the currency than had ever before been known in New-England. In the winter of 1836, and but little more than a twelvemonth before the suspension of cash payments by all the banks of the Union, a proposition was brought before the Massachusetts House of Representatives, to incorporate a mammoth bank, with a capital of ten millions. It was supported by the whigs of Boston, who always have exercised a controlling influence over their party; and, as the whig majority in the legislature was large, but little doubt, if any, was entertained of the success of the measure. This confidence was the better founded, because of the mania that then existed on the subject of paper money, which had blinded the eyes and bewildered the minds of no small number of the children of Mammon. The belief was common enough, at that time, that paper money was wealth, though it is altogether probable that the shrewder class knew that its great merit, as they held it to be, was to be found in the ability which its abundance would give to themselves to obtain possession of the property of the uninitiated. But, whatever were the motives that actuated the leaders in the design of establishing what was named in advance "The Ten Million Bank," it is certain that they came before the legislature confident of success, expecting, as is

the custom with Massachusetts capitalists on all occasions of the kind, to find that body ready to register their decrees. But they had not allowed sufficient for either the talents of the opposition, or for the effect of powerful and eloquent arguments on the minds of disinterested men of their own party. From the outset, the demand for the charter encountered in the House of Representatives an opposition that astonished the applicants, and carried dismay into the ranks of the dominant party. No legislative contest of our age was fought with more transcendant ability; and it is no disparagement to other gentlemen who took part in it, to say, that its chief honors were won by Mr. Rantoul, though he was the youngest and least experienced of the intellectual gladiators. He brought to the work which he had been called upon to perform, immense acquirements on the subject of the currency; and, what was perhaps of as much consequence, this knowledge was so well arranged in his mind as to be available on the instant, as many of the whig sophists learned to their cost. In set speeches, and in miscellaneous debates, where no time is allowed for preparation, and which are therefore the true tests of a man's powers and acquirements, he met and overthrew the whig champions, men who were oracles to the public on the question that was under discussion, and whose shields it was considered presumption in any democrat to touch with other than the arms of courtesy. His animated style, the rapidity of his language, the clearness and logical precision of his arguments, his readiness on all occasions, and the felicity of the illustrations that he drew from the history of every commercial nation, gave him so much power in the House, that, far from maintaining the confidence with which they had entered on the undertaking, the friends of the proposed bank began to count the men whom they could rely upon, and to make use of those appliances so familiar to the leaders of the aristocratical party of this country, when the even tenor of their proceedings is disturbed by the exertions of some master minds. As the contest drew toward its close, the public mind became greatly excited, especially in Boston, the whigs of that city being wonderfully moved at the thought of what would follow from the spectacle of the defeat of a measure upon the success of which they had set their hearts, in a body containing a majority of their own party not much short of two hundred. They were, however, destined to taste the bitter cup of defeat; the bill was thrown out, and the state saved from public bankruptcy. Had it been carried, it is highly probable that the credit of the state would have sunk as low as that of Pennsylvania, under the inevitable reaction that followed; a reaction that swept away the paper money party in its irresistible current. That it would have succeeded but for the exertions of Mr. Rantoul, was admitted by democrats, and charged against him by whigs, at the time. If we have dwelt on the events of that day perhaps more circumstantially than is strictly allowable in a biographical sketch, it is because all that is now left for a Massachusetts democrat is retrospection. We look back upon a time when a union of purpose and of men was brought to bear with vast force against even a party that could not dream of defeat; and when, through the operations of great minds directed to great subjects, an opposition party could leave its ineradicable impress on the policy of a state which it has never been their lot to govern.

We find in the speech made by Mr. Rantoul on the 22d of March, 1836, a passage that would have done honor to Fonblanque. "Suppose a

capitalist worth his round million," he said, "falls from the head of Long Wharf: he cannot swim, he sees nothing to catch at, he gives up hope; when with joy he discovers a man on the wharf with a rope in his hand, who cries out, 'What will you give for the end of this?' 'A thousand dollars!' 'No!' 'Ten thousand!' 'No!' 'A hundred thousand!' 'No! give me half your fortune, and you shall have it?' 'Anything, everything!' promises the drowning man: the rope is thrown to him, and his life is saved. Suppose, now, he keeps his word, and shares his fortune with the individual who took advantage of his necessity; would this instance of half a million given for two minutes' use of a rope, be quoted in the price current to show how cordage stands in the Boston market, and should we have 1785 citizens, all liable to fall off Long Wharf, forthwith petitioners to the legislature, praying the Commonwealth to go into partnership with them in a rope-walk, ten times longer than any in history, the Commonwealth to send to Holland after the hemp, in order to secure an abundant supply of *cheap cordage?* I think these 1785 citizens, instead of putting in such a petition, would rather learn the lesson, that those who walk on a slippery brink should be careful not to fall overboard unless they can swim, a lesson it would be well to carry with us into the money market. The high rate of interest paid in particular cases, for a very short time, and just before two o'clock, when there is an urgent demand; and he who lends knows that he who borrows must have it; but perhaps does not know, sometimes, with the perfect certainty he could wish, whether it will ever be repaid, is no indication whatever of the prevailing current rate of interest paid in solid business throughout the Commonwealth."

Mr. Rantoul's reputation was established on a solid basis, by his successful labors to prevent the state of Massachusetts from turning banker for the benefit of a few capitalists. He had then served two terms in the House of Representatives, and was re-elected to that body for the sessions of 1837 and 1838. At the election of 1836 he was one of the Democratic candidates for state Senators in Essex county, but, though he received a very heavy vote, he was not chosen. During the session of 1838, when the strength of the Democratic party in the Legislature had been materially reduced in consequence of the disasters of 1837, Mr. Rantoul defended, with great eloquence and learning, the Independent Treasury plan, then a new idea, and from which the Whigs expected all sorts of evils to flow. A series of absurd resolutions against the Independent Treasury having passed the Senate on the 8th of March, they were taken up in the House on the 22d of the same month. The debate on these resolutions was very spirited, the principal speakers on the Democratic side being Mr. Rantoul and Mr. Robinson, the latter gentleman being then one of the representatives of the old Democratic town of Marblehead. The whigs had the majority on their side, and the Democrats nothing but principle, and unanswered, because unanswerable, arguments,—the results of experience, and the teachings of common sense. Therefore, the resolutions were adopted, by a vote of three to one, though they contained assertions, that if advanced now, would cause the person putting them forward to be regarded as an ignoramus,and abounded with puerilities and absurdities that would have eclipsed the teeming madness of Bedlàm. On the 22d of March, Mr. Rantoul spoke against the resolves, and offered several amendments, embodying the plainest truths, all of which were voted down. Some of his amendments were in the form of quotations from

Mr. Webster's speeches against paper money, and the practice of collecting the revenue in other than the constitutional currency; but the House would not hear wisdom even from the mouth of the greatest whig of all, and by a majority of 136 declared that he was wrong; three-fourths of those who thus voted, having about as clear a conception of the subject as Swift's Yahoos would have had of a motion to promote cleanliness and decency. The next day, Mr. RANTOUL made an elaborate speech against the resolves. He took them up, one by one, and demonstrated that they were compounded of falsehood and nonsense. He continues, and concluded this speech on the 23th of March. He brought before the House an immense amount of statistical matter, in support of the Democratic view of the currency question; and, throughout the whole of the currency controversy, few speeches of equal ability were made, either in Congress, or in State Legislatures, or directly to the public. But it was all in vain; and if the orator did not meet with the fate that generally falls to those who cast pearls before swine, it was not because the swine were in this instance inferior in any way to their predecessors, but because they were incapable of distinguishing the precious gems that were submitted to their dull vision. As to the arguments, as they were called in courtesy, on the other side, it is sufficient to say that they were worthy of the cause they were brought up to support, and of the men and party from which they emanated.

The part taken by Mr. RANTOUL in the work of meliorating the harshness of the "old law," is one of the most sound of his many claims to public consideration. From the commencement of his career he has been the consistent and untiring friend of that great reform which has for its object the abolition of the unchristian and inhuman practice of judicial slaughter. That so atrocious a remnant of barbarism as the gallows should linger in enlightened states, is not the least remarkable of those paradoxes of a practical kind that cannot fail to excite astonishment; and in future ages it will probably cause people to wonder at *our* narrow-mindedness, as much as we now wonder that men of intellect and attainments should ever have supposed that sound evidence could be obtained through a resort to torture. We almost laugh, in the intensity of our scorn, at the thought that it was once not an uncommon thing to press men to death if they refused to plead; forgetting that the *peine forte et dure* is inflicted by ourselves on every person who is sentenced to die on the gallows,—for what can be more terrible than the life that the condemned leads between the day of sentence and the day on which he dies what is studiously rendered a *disgraceful* death!

Beside serving as a member of the regular Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, and on that committee which in 1835 revised the statutes, Mr. RANTOUL several times acted as chairman of committees appointed to specially consider the question of the abolition of capital punishment. On the 22d of February, 1836, he made a very elaborate report to the House, in which the whole subject of capital punishment was discussed with great clearness, force, and learning.* The following passage, (pp. 43, 44,) is not only eloquent in itself, but has a melancholy interest in consequence of recent events. "It has been said," are the

* Mr. Rantoul's writings and speeches on the subject of capital punishment are very numerous. Exclusive of minor pieces, they are:—1. A Report made to the Massachusetts House of Representatives, February twenty-fifth, 1885, extending to

words of the report, "but it is the language of unreflecting levity, that the criminal convicted of a capital offence, under our laws, is generally depraved and worthless, and that, therefore, the sacrifice of a few such lives is of very little consequence to society, and it is not an object fit to engage the attention of the government of a great state, even if these laws might be repealed without injury. It is impossible that any member of this legislature can entertain so inhuman a sentiment. Felons, however fallen, still are men, and have the better title to commiseration the more deeply they are sunk in guilt. If these wretches were princes, says Goldsmith, there would be thousands ready to offer their ministry; but the heart that is buried in a dungeon is as precious as that seated on a throne. Suppose that *one* only may be caught up from the gulf of vice, misery, and perdition, and restored to repentance, virtue, and usefulness; this would be gain enough to reward all the exertions that may be made to effect the reform, for there is upon earth no gem so precious as the human soul." Great stress is always laid by the friends and eulogists of the gallows on the passage in Genesis,—"Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." Mr. RANTOUL met the perverters of scripture, and exposed the absurdity of which they are guilty when they seek to cover their own love of bloodshed by an affected regard for divine law. This expression, the report said, (pp. 81, 82,) is "precisely parallel to that of the New Testament, 'All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword;' but it was never imagined that this latter passage contained a divine command to Christians to exterminate with the sword every member of the military profession; why then should the former be thought to enjoin capital punishment? The two passages, if the former refers to man, and not to beasts, would seem to be merely declaratory of the natural and general consequences, the one of murder, the other of war. If this were a law, it would be peremptory in all cases, death for death, making no distinction between murder, manslaughter, excusable and justifiable homicide, much as the law now is among oriental nations. If this law is obligatory upon us, it is obligatory in this form, yet no member of this legislature would be willing so to receive it. If it were meant for a universal law, why was it not given when the first case happened, that of Cain? and why was it not ordered to be enforced in so many cases arising throughout the historical parts of the Old Testament,

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upwards of one hundred octavo pages. 2. A Report made to the same body, February 22, 1836, consisting of ninety-six octavo pages. 3. A Report made to the same body March 14, 1837, of some thirty pages. 4. "Letters on the Death Penalty," addressed to the Governor and Members of the Legislature of Massachusetts, in 1846. These, however, extensive as they are, and valuable as they are admitted to be by all who are familiar with them, form but a small part of his labors in the cause of humanity in that particular direction. To say nothing of lectures, addresses, &c., devoted to the subject, his speeches thereon in the legislature would fill a large volume. In the session of 1836, Mr. Rantoul made three long and elaborate speeches in support of the abolition of the death penalty, beside making short replies to THIRTEEN members of the House. These great labors required immense study and preparation, and were performed without the hope or expectation of reward. Few of our public men have sacrificed so largely of their time and talents to promote a reform that has never assumed a party character. The writings of Mr. Rantoul on this subject have met with favor, both at home and in foreign countries. They have received the praise of eminent public men in France, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, and Belgium, who have often quoted from them. His letter to the authorities of Massachusetts, in 1846, was reprinted by order of the Legislature of New-York. It has been reprinted in other states, having been originally printed by order of the Legislature of Massachusetts.

such as those of Moses and David, to instance no more? A law which is not stated to have been enforced in a single case for years after it was given, under a theocracy, and while it was often broken, cannot have been meant for universal observation, ages after, under governments far from infallible, and when milder manners, and the extinction of that ferocity of character prevalent in early times, call for milder punishments."*

Mr. Rantoul has several times been a candidate for Congress in the district of which he is a resident. He was first nominated in 1838, and afterwards in 1840, 1842, and 1848. At the election of 1840, and when it was known that the Democratic party had experienced the greatest defeat known in our history—losing all but its honor—he received more than four thousand votes. In 1842 he led his whig competitor, and came within less than two hundred votes of being chosen; the existence of the liberty party alone preventing his return to Congress. The soundness of his views in national politics would have made him a faithful representative of the Massachusetts Democracy in the national councils. We have already spoken of his labors in the currency contest, and have showed that they were of the Jackson school. On the tariff question he has ever been equally sound, and for the same reason, namely, because his studies and observations have convinced him that the so-called "protective system" is destructive of the best interests of the people; that while professing to aim at the good of the masses, it really subtracts from the fruits of their industry immense sums for the benefit of the wealthy; that it is centralizing in its effects, by making the many dependant on the few, and that, carried to its ultimate consequences, as all great tendencies of either opinion or action must be, if not counteracted, it produces that state of society in which, to use Goldsmith's energetic language, the laws govern the poor, and the rich govern the laws. He has spoken and written much on this subject; and the comparatively sound state of opinion that now exists thereon in New-England, is directly traceable to his labors, to a very large extent. In the campaign of 1848 he made several speeches on the free trade question, which were remarkable for the boldness of their views and the profundity of their arguments. One of these speeches was made at Salem, a town not to be surpassed for the intensity and the density of its whiggism, on the 6th of October, to a very large meeting; and another, said by those who heard it to have been superior to that delivered at Salem, was made a few days later at Medford. The Salem speech was admirably reported by Mr. Parkhurst, and many thousand copies of it were printed, and circulated throughout New-England. Had we room we should feel gratified at making liberal extracts from so catholic a political paper, which abounds with excellent doctrines, expressed in the most energetic language, but we are compelled to limit ourselves to the closing paragraph. "The Democracy of the United States," he said, in conclusion, "is to determine whether hereafter

* When Cromwell's Parliament of 1656 were discussing the case of Naylor, many texts were quoted from the Old Testament in support of the proposition that he should be punished with death as a blasphemer. Sir William Strickland, in reply, very pertinently observed, "that if they took their rules from those texts, they might punish with death Sabbath-breaking and disobedience to parents." The advocates and friends of the gallows display a lamentable misapprehension of the character and objects of the sacred volume, when they seek to pervert it to the defence of what is disgraceful to umanity, and therefore abhorrent to Heaven. They evince some familiarity with the xt of the Bible, coupled with an utter ignorance of its spirit.

the policy of our nation in the world shall be to make an enemy of every other nation; to keep at home its own food, and to shut out its neighbor's clothing; to provoke and irritate, instead of conciliating and making friends. There never has been, and there never will be, excepting in this manner, such a scene of universal brotherhood in this world as will follow the general adoption of a liberal commercial policy. 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,' and the fraternity of all men. That is the doctrine which thirty-four millions of Frenchmen now hoist at their masthead, and that is the doctrine that is to circumnavigate the globe with our ships, and their ships, and the ships of every nation, as they float upon the sea. Shall we join in this policy? Shall we say, let labor have free scope, let the untilled lands be brought into the market at the cheapest rates, so that agriculture shall have free play? Let the products of the West be sold, in God's name, in Ireland, in England, or anywhere else where there is an opportunity to sell them. May our commercial greatness, vast and towering as it now is, go on increasing as it has done, and let our onward march in greatness, in wealth, and in prosperity, be accelerated, as it will be when we adopt that policy which makes a Christian brotherhood of all nations, and unites their before discordant interests into one."

In 1843 Mr. Rantoul was appointed Collector of Boston. He filled the office one year, at the end of which time he left it, in consequence of some opposition having been made to his confirmation, by the Senate. The grounds of this opposition were purely political; and that they were by no means derogatory to him in any respect, is sufficiently proved by the fact, that when appointed District Attorney for the Massachusetts District, by President Polk, he was unanimously confirmed by the Senate, which was composed mostly of the same men, a majority of whom had declined to ratify his appointment to the Collectorship of Boston.

The campaign of 1844 was one which tested the strength of the Democratic party very severely. It was the greatest contest, if we may be allowed the expression, that the country had seen since that of 1800. The stupendous humbug of 1840 was too fresh in the recollection of every one, to admit of the whigs stultifying any portion of the community. They had to stand upon the merits of their principles and measures, and of course they were beaten. The victory, however, was won with much difficulty, and at immense expense of time and labor on the part of Democratic speakers and writers. Mr. Rantoul was foremost among these, and slackened not in his exertions from the opening to the close of the campaign. He visited the Northwest, and made many effective addresses in that liberal and influential section of the republic. We were on the same ground but a few months later, and found that his ringing eloquence and close logic had made an extraordinary impression on the free mind of the West. His luminous expositions of the principles of Free Trade were particularly acceptable to the Western Democracy, who were then aware that the time was fast approaching when the question of opening the markets of the world to the fruits of their industry, or of rendering them the dependents of the monopolists of New-England, would be the absorbing topic of the political world. They listened to him with delight, and could but wonder that a man of abilities so eminent should not long before have been one of the representatives of his own state, in Congress. In the honest fervor of their admiration of his great powers and correct opinions, they for the time forgot what Massachusetts whiggism is, and that it refuses to tolerate anything except the bundle of

absurdities which go to make up its own political creed. The places at which Mr. RANTOUL spoke in the contest of 1844, out of New-England, were Elmira, Rochester, Buffalo, Cleveland, Columbus, and Cincinnati. In 1848 he addressed the Democrats of St. Louis, a few weeks after the nomination of Cass and Butler. He was in that city on business of a private character, but cheerfully complied with the request of his political brethren, who were delighted with the admirable specimen of New-England eloquence that he gave them.

In 1845, soon after the inauguration of President Polk, Mr. RANTOUL was appointed District Attorney of Massachusetts, an office which has been filled by some of the ablest lawyers in the country, to whom he proved himself a worthy successor. No opposition was made to his appointment, and it was felt by his friends, and the Massachusetts public, that the office was likely to gain more from the man than the man from the office. The more important cases in which he was engaged while he filled this office are elsewhere alluded to in this sketch. In the spring of 1849 he voluntarily retired from the place, and was succeeded by the Hon. George Luntz, who now occupies it.

Mr. RANTOUL's style of speaking is singularly pleasing and very effective. His utterance is rapid, but at the same time his use of language is singularly correct. He is never at a loss for words, and those words are with him the media of powerful arguments. With him language is the realization of the definition of what its meaning should be, rather than what it always is,—not the mere garment of thought, but its incarnation. He rarely speaks from notes, and his best efforts have been those in which he has spoken from the least direct preparation, and only from the abundant resources of a full and well arranged mind. "Never *write* on a subject," says Jean Paul, "without having first *read* yourself *full* on it; and never *read* on a subject till you have thought yourself *hungry* on it." Substitute *speak* for *write* in this great and noble rule of study, and you have Mr. RANTOUL's course of proceeding as an orator; and it is to this that his productions owe one of their greatest charms. They impart information to a degree that is not to be found in most things of the kind, and they cause the hearer or the reader to think, thus accomplishing what ought to be the chief end of everything that proceeds from the tongue or the pen of man. But what chiefly attracts those who listen to him is the clearness of his logic and the closeness of his arguments. He goes steady to the point at which he aims, and is tempted not aside by any of those beautiful flowers that too often seduce the advocate or the orator from the direct path, and cause him to degenerate into the rhetorician. We remember a very high compliment that was paid to him in 1840, and which will probably be as new to himself as to most of the readers of this article. A gentleman belonging to the whig party of Massachusetts, and one every way competent to pronounce an opinion in the premises, writing to a friend, in the summer of that eventful year, said, in substance: "I have heard speeches of every kind in this campaign, from men of every shade of opinion, and from the very first men in the nation, and I do not hesitate to say, that the only orator and eloquent man I have heard, is ROBERT RANTOUL." His voice is sharp and clear, and the command which its owner has over it, is remarkable. Some who have heard him have been surprised that he should unite so much rapidity of utterance with so much correctness in language, and so peculiarly limpid a style; but the idea that rapid, fluent speakers are careless and slovenly in the structure

of their sentences, while slow speakers are neat and elegant, is not well-founded in all cases, if it be in any case. The fact is rather the reverse of this. Charles Butler, in his pleasant volume of "Reminiscences," has some observations on this point that are worth quoting. "It is remarkable," he says, "that though both Lord Mansfield and Lord Thurlow spoke most slowly and deliberately, yet their periods were strangely confused, and often ungrammatical; while Lord Ashburton, (Dunning,) whose volubility was marvellous, and was the despair of short-hand writers, never offended against grammar; his periods, though often quaint and apparently entangled in endless parentheses, were uncommonly neat and perspicuous; and what is of much more consequence to an orator, gave him an appearance of speaking without preparation, and from the feelings of the moment." The greater part of this description of Lord Ashburton's oratory will apply to that of Mr. Rantoul. The exceptions are, that he is rarely quaint, and that he is never even *apparently* involved in parentheses. What Mr. Butler says of Fox, that there never was a moment in which he was either intentionally or unintentionally obscure, can be said with literal correctness of Mr. Rantoul.

Every American who can make a good oration or address, is sure to have his time more or less taxed by public celebrations, festivals, &c. Mr. Rantoul has been the orator on more than one occasion of the kind, commencing with his first entrance on public life, and terminating with the last anniversary of the nation's birth-day, when he addressed the people of Dover, N. H., by invitation. One of the best of his efforts in this line was made at Concord, Mass., on the 19th of last April, when the seventy-fifth anniversary of the first action of the Revolution was observed by the people of those towns whose ancestors threw down the gage of battle to the rulers of the British empire. His oration on that occasion has been published at length in the account of the celebration, and is a monument of erudition and sound views of the great crises of history. It would have done honor to Macaulay, so replete is it with historical pictures, drawn in colors the most brilliant, yet all combining together to form a perfect whole, a gallery in which are to be seen the deeds of the men of the old time, and of the men themselves. It was equal to the occasion, and worthy to be delivered on a spot where lie buried the mortal portions of the first of the heroes of American liberty:

> "Dust which is,
> Even in itself, an immortality."

Not the least honorable and useful of Mr. Rantoul's labors are those which he has devoted to the cause of education. He was a member of the Board of Education of Massachusetts for six years,—from 1836 to 1842;—during which time he not only did much for education, but made frequent addresses in its behalf in popular meetings, &c. One of the best of his numerous writings is an elaborate article on the subject of education, which was published in the "North American Review," for October, 1838. He has also been a firm, but a charitable advocate, of the cause of temperance.

Mr. Rantoul's position at the bar is a high and an honorable one, as is evidenced by the very able and efficient manner in which he filled the office of United States District Attorney, having more than once been called upon while he held that station to manage cases of the greatest importance. He is a deeply-read lawyer, but not a mere lawyer. The

tendency of too assiduous application to the law is to narrow the mind, and it has very rarely happened that any of the *great* men who have adorned the legal profession have not been persons of extensive and various attainments out of its line. Mr. RANTOUL'S acquirements are of the first order, as is apparent from his various orations and addresses. His library is one of the largest and best selected to be found in the capital of New-England, and is liberally opened by its owner to those who are not in circumstances to supply themselves with the works of the leading minds of the world. It is exceedingly rich in the literature of the continent of Europe, especially that of France, from the earliest times, before the several countries that now form that republic had been fused into one nation. Equally extensive and accurate is his collection of and acquaintance with the classics; and he has by no means neglected the rich and various literature of England, or that of America, which is fast rising to importance.

One of the earliest cases on which Mr. RANTOUL was concerned, was that of the Knapps, who were tried in Salem, in 1830, for the murder of Captain White. He was one of the junior counsel for the defendants. In 1840, he was senior counsel in what was known as the "Journeymen Boot-makers'" case, and succeeded in obtaining one of the completest triumphs that it ever fell to the lot of an American lawyer to achieve. The defendants were charged with having entered into a combination "to compel, by force of numbers and discipline, and by imposition of fines and penalties, other journeymen to join their society, and masters to employ none but members." This is an unlawful conspiracy at common law in Massachusetts. "The gist of the offence of conspiracy," say the books, "consists in a confederacy to do an unlawful act, and the offence is complete when the confederacy is made. It is not necessary to complete the offence that the confederacy should be to commit an act which is indictable." The trial of the boot-makers came off before the Boston Municipal Court, at the October Term, 1840. Mr. RANTOUL defended them with great eloquence and powerful arguments, and a vast array of legal and historical learning. He held, and established, that the conduct of the defendants had not been unlawful; and that, therefore, they could not in law and justice be convicted of a conspiracy to perform an unlawful act. What they had the undoubted right to do in their capacity of individuals, that they had a right to do as a combination of individuals. "A conspiracy to raise wages," said Mr. RANTOUL, "could not be indictable in England, if it were not unlawful for an individual to attempt to raise his wages. And the indictment, in the case at bar, is bad, because each of the defendants had a right to do that which is charged against them jointly." (Thacher's Criminal Cases, p. 634.) The Court ruled against the defendants, and the jury found them guilty. The defendants took several exceptions to the ruling of the Judge, (Thacher,) and the case was carried up to the Supreme Court. Action was had on it at the March Term of that Court, in 1842. The only exception considered by the Supreme Court, was this: "The defendants' counsel contended that the indictment did not set forth any agreement to do a criminal act, or to do any unlawful act by criminal means; and that the agreements, therein set forth, did not constitute a conspiracy indictable by any law of this commonwealth; and they moved the Court so to instruct the jury: But the judge refused so to do, and instructed the jury that the indictment against the defendants did, in his opinion, describe a conspiracy among the defendants to do an

unlawful act, and to effect the same by unlawful means: That the society, organized and associated for the purpose described in the indictment, was an unlawful conspiracy, against the laws of this commonwealth; and that, if the jury believed, from the evidence in the case, that the defendants, or any of them, had engaged in such confederacy, they were bound to find such of them guilty." Mr. RANTOUL argued the case very elaborately. In conclusion, he said: "All the counts in the present indictment are fatally defective; *first*, in not averring any unlawful acts or means; *secondly*, if any such acts or means are averred, in not setting them forth. The vagueness and generality of the charges are such, that *aurtrefois convict* could not be pleaded to a second indictment for the same acts. When the end is not unlawful, the means should be set forth." (Metcalf's Reports, iv., 119.) The Attorney General (Austin,) replied, and took ground in all respects precisely the opposite of that advanced by the defendants' counsel. The Court maintained the exceptions, in these words, after a long train of reasoning: "Whatever illegal purpose can be found in the constitution of the Boot-makers' Society, it not being clearly set forth in the indictment, cannot be relied upon to support this conviction. So, if any facts were disclosed at the trial, which, if properly averred, would have given a different character to the indictment, they do not appear in the bill of exceptions, nor could they, after the verdict, aid the indictment. But, looking solely at the indictment, disregarding the qualifying epithets, recitals and immaterial allegations, and confining ourselves to facts so averred as to be capable of being traversed and put in issue, we cannot perceive that it charges a criminal conspiracy punishable by law. The exceptions must, therefore, be sustained, and the judgment arrested." (Metcalf's Rep., iv., 136.)

We have dwelt at some length on this case, because it not only involved a great question bearing upon some of the most important rights of man, but because its decision in behalf of the defendants settled the question favorably to the liberal view of things. The decision was final, so far as Massachusetts is concerned. Mr. RANTOUL won much applause from the singularly able manner in which he fought the battle in behalf of sound principles, and from his having obtained a victory in the face of influences almost overpowering in their character.*

In 1842, Mr. RANTOUL was the leading counsel for the defence of several of those persons who were indicted in Rhode Island for having sought to make the government more liberal than it had been for many years. The Algerine authorities were disposed to carry matters with a high hand. With the true instinct of tyrants, they relied on partizan judges and packed juries as their best instruments, or men who resembled those infamous characters that were the stains of English laws under the Stuarts, in every thing except their talents and courage. The question of the right

* The reasons advanced by Mr. Rantoul in defence of the boot-makers, and the recognition of the soundness of which, led not only to their acquittal, but also to the settlement of a great principle favorably to the cause of humanity and common sense, were substantially the same as those which led to the reversal of the condemnation of Mr. O'Connell, by the British House of Lords, in 1844. Lord Denman, then Chief-Justice of the Queen's Bench, Lord Cottenham, who, beside other high stations, has been Lord-Chancellor, and Lord Campbell, now Chief-Justice of the Queen's Bench, all voted for the reversal of the condemnation of the Irish prisoners; and the gist of what was said by them all, is in no essential respect different from the arguments of Mr. Rantoul in the

of "trial by a jury of the vicinage" was argued by Mr. Rantoul in opposition to the counsel for the usurping government, who were crushed under the weight of authorities that he hurled upon them, authorities that they had never before heard of. His speech was applauded in open Court by the audience, though the "reign of terror" was then at its height in Rhode Island, and no citizen of the state would have been permitted to defend the accused to the extent of his ability.

While United States Attorney for the Massachusetts District, Mr. Rantoul was engaged in several cases involving great legal principles. The New-Bedford Bridge case, argued before the Circuit Court, was one of the most important of these. It was a question of admiralty jurisdiction, which had never been settled, and was intended to define the limits of the legislative power of a state when in conflict with the federal government. The government counsel went through the whole system of maritime law, commencing with Athens and Rhodes, and coming down to the present day. He cited upwards of four hundred authorities, in numerous languages, and won the applause of the public, and the cooler and perhaps more valuable commendation of the Court, for the singularly felicitous manner in which he conducted the case. To say nothing of his references to, and quotations from the maritime codes of ancient nations, he examined those of all the modern states that have been renowned for the parts they have taken in the pursuits of commerce—from the smallest of the Italian republics, to the great nation that affects to have subdued the waves, and which, in a far more extended sense than was the case with Venice,—

"holds the gorgeous East in fee."

The condemnation of the schooner Spitfire, a slaver, and the conviction of her master, (Flowery,) were procured by Mr. Rantoul, against able and learned counsel. Just before his retirement from office, he conducted the case of the government against Crafts, one of the most singular trials to be found in the history of American law. Crafts was one of the owners of the ship Franklin, which ship, on her passage from London to Boston, was cast-away on Cape Cod, and lost, together with several lives. The government charged that the loss of the ship was intentionally brought about by the master, and that Crafts had induced him to engage in the nefarious business; and the proof adduced on the trial abundantly sustained the charge. The court was occupied more than a month with the case, and considerable excitement was caused by it, especially in the mercantile world. The government's cause was conducted with great skill by Mr. Rantoul, as was admitted on all hands, but the rhetoric of the eloquent counsel for the defence, (Mr. Choate,) carried the prisoner safe through the ordeal.

The closing argument of Mr. Rantoul, on this trial, was one of the most eloquent and effective ever delivered in an American court. He called attention to the character and consequences of the crime charged on

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Massachusetts Courts,—the highest of which Courts sustained his positions, reversing the decision of the Court below, just as the House of Lords reversed that of the prejudiced and partial Irish Court that condemned Mr. O'Connell in the face of law and justice. Lord Lyndhurst, Chancellor under the Peel Ministry, and Lord Brougham, voted against the three Lords before named, but, being outnumbered, the government was, as it deserved to be, defeated.

the defendant, as bearing on the welfare and interests of what was destined in a few years to be the first maritime power in the world. "Already," he said, "our shipping, with its annual earnings, outfits and repairs, with our exports and imports, and the products water-borne upon our lakes and rivers, amounts to about one thousand millions of dollars in value; and, including with the mariners who man this navy, the immigrants from the Old World, and the passengers on our inland waters, a million of lives are exposed every year in common with this property. It is this amount of property and of life, and not merely the interest of eight insurance companies, that calls on you to protect it by the punishment of a most atrocious crime." His account of the origin of the law of the sea, and his assertion of its vast importance, were much admired at the time: "It was," he said, "the necessity that some general law should throw its protecting ægis over those who had left behind them all local jurisdiction, and the sense of the obvious common interests of all merchants and mariners, that caused the early and universal adoption of the law of the sea—a law whose venerable authority commanded the respect of Roman emperors in the height of their unbounded power—of which Antoninus said: 'I am indeed the lord of the earth, but the law is the lord of the sea.' And when afterwards feudal anarchy had separated the law of the land into a thousand discordant systems, the law of the sea still was, and continues to be, *one law;* and it is only upon the sea that sovereign law, *the world's collected will*, sits arbiter. You are trying this great maritime fraud, gentlemen, in the court which is the minister and interpreter of this universal law—a court which tried maritime offences, by a jury of twelve good and lawful men, in the kingdom of Jerusalem, before the institution of a jury had acquired its present form in the courts of common law of England—a law which took cognizance of barratry and fraudulent wrecks, and conspiracies to procure them, not only before its prohibitions were adopted into our statutes, but before Columbus had discovered the ocean-path to our hemisphere."

Mr. Rantoul is now in the prime of life; and from the high order of his mind, the various character and extent of his attainments, and the confidence that is felt in his integrity by his political friends and the general public, his appearance in a prouder field of action is anticipated with much confidence by his friends. Nothing but his being a resident of a community in which every man who is a Democrat is placed almost beyond the pale of the law, and becomes as it were a political *caput lupinum*, has prevented him from rising to the highest honors that are attainable by men of talent in this country. The dawn of a better day would seem, however, to be at hand. The old ideas on the subject of protection are in the course of being discarded by the more enlightened portion of the northern manufacturers, who cannot fail to see that it is only through their being admitted into the markets of the world that they can hope for a continuance of prosperity, the "home market" being no longer a monopoly to them, the South and West—especially the former—having commenced manufacturing on their own account. With the extension of more liberal opinions on this subject, must rise the men who have advocated them when they were unpopular, and when it seemed that nothing could ever lead to their being looked upon with feelings that approach to toleration.

JENNY LIND.

The musical world has, during the month, been kept in a state of excitement bordering on enthusiasm, by the appearance among us of the celebrated Swedish songstress. Her appearance, and the manner of it, together with her merits as an artist, have given rise to much discussion, and to, probably, a greater variety of opinions than, perhaps, were ever elicited by any other artist. The cause of this is to be found in her eminent originality, acting upon the reluctance with which amateurs, connoisseurs, critics, and professional men, abandon the ideas to which they are accustomed, or assent to the innovations of genius upon the beaten track of mediocre science; and yet singular to relate, for the fact is, perhaps, beyond all precedent—not one of the myriad of critics that have mooted the subject, has uttered a syllable in disparagement, much less of sarcasm, as regards the estimate held of her surpassing talents. She appears to hold her supremacy of song by a totally different tenure from that of any other *prima donna;* and the current of musical criticism has not yet settled in the true direction. Before stating the effect of her appearance in New-York, we may here reproduce the sketch of her career, which appeared in this Review for June, 1847, at which time she made her appearance upon the London boards:

"This most truly original artist was born in 1821, the 6th of October, at Stockholm, where her parents kept a school. There seems to have been nothing in the daily occurrences of her infancy to give an impulse to that love of music which was developed in her at a wonderfully early age. When she was yet only three years old, song was her ruling passion—every melody that struck her ear was retained with an accuracy which caused general admiration; no work was done without accompanying it with her clear voice, and no pain, during frequent illness, prevented her from finding consolation in song. Thus Jenny reached her ninth year, precocious in mind and feelings, but by no means in bodily strength or beauty, when it happened that Mrs. Lundberg, an actress, heard the child sing; and, struck with her pure voice and correct enunciation, strove to open the eyes of her parents to the treasure they possessed, and urged them to devote their child to the stage. Jenny's mother, feeling those prejudices against theatres common among the middle classes, was at first horrified by the idea; Mrs. Lundberg ultimately conquered them, and the parents at last consented to leave the decision of the matter to their child. The quiet and retiring girl at once declared herself determined to devote herself to the stage. Jenny was conveyed by Mrs. Lundberg to Croelius, a music-master, well-known in Stockholm. The old man soon became enthusiastic on the abilities of his new pupil: he introduced her to Count Pucke, the manager of the Court Theatre, requested him to hear her, and to take her under his protection. The Count, measuring the gentle, pale little creature with astonished eyes, angrily asked Croelius what he meant to do with such a child, for she surely had nothing to fit her for the stage. Croelius, nothing daunted, insisted upon the Count hearing her, adding, if he should then not deem her worthy of his favor, he (Croelius) himself would undertake her education on his own account, for that he considered it a sin not to reach forth his hand to talent, where it was so manifestly revealing itself; and so the Count consented at last to listen. Already her voice possessed that heart-searching quality by which the now accomplished artist exercises so irresistible a spell; Count Pucke was overcome; for scarcely had he heard the infant singer when

he generously decided that she should participate in all the advantages of the Ecole, or musical school attached to the Theatre Royal of Stockholm. Shortly after, Jenny appeared in children's parts, and excited an enthusiasm similar to that with which Leontine Fay, in her early career, moved all Paris. Vaudevilles were written for the clever little girl, and by her quaint humor, and the lively originality of her performances, she soon became a perfect prodigy. In the following year old Croelius confided his *protegée* to a younger teacher, Herr Berg, a profound musician, who conducted her instruction with an equal zeal, and to whom she is indebted for that solid musical science which forms so sure a basis to her lofty dramatic delineations.

"Pursuing her studies unremittingly, borne on by the impetus of applause—ever welcome, from the shrinking modesty of her demeanor, to the most brilliant circles of society, Jenny attained her twelfth year, and here the rosy morning dream of her life became suddenly obscured. Jenny Lind had grown out of her famed children parts, and her youthful form was unfit for higher tasks; her charming high notes had vanished; her voice became soundless, and vainly did her worthy master essay to re-awaken the silver tones of his favorite scholar. The hope of forming her for the Grand Opera was banished. Jenny had appeared but rarely in the parts of soubrettes in dramas, and as is usual with precocious prodigies, the former impression was soon obliterated.

"The child, whose greatest delight was music, bore her fate with resignation. Her musical studies were, however, pursued with the same assiduity as hitherto. Weber's Agathe, in *Der Freisehutz*, was the ideal of her lyrical ambition. Four years had now elapsed since she had ventured on any new attempt in public. It happened, however, that in a concert, in which the fourth act of Meyerbeer's *Robert le Diable* was to be performed, a singer for Alice, who has a short solo in this act, was wanting. None could be found for 'the insignificant solo,' and Herr Berg, remembering his poor pupil, thought that so slight an attempt might be ventured upon. Jenny Lind received her solo with mingled joy and sadness, and commenced her task with a palpitating heart. But, as though by a miracle, on the evening of performance the long-missing voice re-appeared; the surprised public recognised at once the notes of their former favorite, and the most tumultuous and frantic applause followed. It is impossible to describe the delight, not unmixed with terror, of the young girl, when Herr Berg, overjoyed, informed her that now she must, without delay, sing the entire part of Agathe. The goal was reached at last; in this character Jenny Lind made her *debut* in the theatre of Stockholm, and with this, her first step, the maiden of sixteen summers placed herself forever on the pinnacle which she was henceforth to occupy without a rival.

"She had at this period never acted a tragic part, and had never received instructions for that purpose; at the rehearsals she appeared as though immovable—the actors trembled for the result. It came, and genius asserted its power and supremacy. Jenny Lind, by her fire, carried the lagging orchestra, which had taken the *allegro* too slow, to a quicker *tempo*, and the public, by her acting and singing, to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. Jenny Lind was at once engaged as prima donna. Yet, while singing opera after opera—and the public would listen to no other vocalist—Jenny Lind and her master were struggling hard to conquer the inflexibility of her voice. Who, while listening enraptured to her now pearly *fioriture*, would believe that at that period, she could scarcely, with the greatest exertions, achieve the slightest cadence? Her notes, though pure and full, were without elasticity, and failed altogether in the power of the *crescendo*; she was not to be intimidated, but exercised her voice with the patience of the sculptor shaping his marble. Whilst thus persevering in such arduous practice, she interpreted, during eighteen months, 'Euryanthe,' 'Alice,' the 'Vestal,' parts requiring exertions which were most violent for her youth. Still, the applause with which she was rewarded made but a deeper impression on her mind that she was not yet worthy of it; that her master had done for her everything in his power, but that the study of great examples and the finishing hand wer

required to conduct her to that elevation in art which she had ambitioned. Garcia was known to be the first vocal teacher in Europe; the wish of visiting him in Paris ripened to resolution. But how to accomplish it? Where were the means upon which to exist while giving up her engagement and passing one or two years in Paris? She had been accustomed to live in the first circles of society, beloved and honored by all who knew her; with the true pride of genius she shrunk from seeking assistance, and was resolved to trust to her own strength alone. During the vacation of the theatre she traveled with her father through the whole of Sweden and Norway, giving concerts at every town, everywhere creating a sensation; and she returned to Stockholm with abundant means to carry out her resolution. Declaring her intention to the directors of the theatre, and vindicating her act by unanswerable reasons, the courageous maiden obtained the wished-for leave of absence. Her parents attempted not to dissuade her—they knew their child; firm, decided, silent and earnest, she followed up her resolution steadfastly. Her parents knew her purity of mind, the futility of temptation; and so they left her to her fate. Occupied in their avocation, they could not afford to accompany her during this long absence; and so the girl of eighteen, alone, protected only by her firmness, her innocence, and her sacred love for art, journeyed to that capital which had already produced so much greatness, and destroyed so much of the noble and virtuous.

"Arrived in Paris, her first visit was to Garcia, to whom she had been provided with introductory letters. It was with the most intense anxiety that she crossed his threshold. She stood now before the master on whose decision she had built her whole futurity. Garcia received her kindly; she sang—he listened to her without signs of approbation or disapprobation; and when she had concluded, he said calmly, 'My dear child, you have no voice.' A dreadful word for Jenny. 'Or,' added he, correcting himself, 'you have *had* a voice and are just going to lose it. Probably you have been singing too much or too early, for your organ is worn and rugged; I cannot give you any instruction at present. Do not sing a note for three months, and then give me another call.' Such was the comfortless answer of the man upon whom rested all her hopes.

"Three months were spent by Jenny Lind in profound solitude; in that entire loneliness one only learns to feel rightly in such large capitals. 'I was living on my tears and the agony of the *mal de pays*,' she said once, speaking of her Parisian residence. Nevertheless, nothing could induce her to return without procuring from Garcia another trial. After the lapse of the stipulated time Garcia found that her voice had improved, and that her instructions might commence. At this time Garcia was teaching a countrywoman of Lind's, Madlle. Nissen, who possessed a very powerful, full-toned voice, but no mental abilities. Jenny Lind confesses that it often brought her to despair to hear Garcia hold up that lady to her as an example, whilst she felt that she understood more, and pursuing loftier aims, than would ever be attained by her fellow student. Garcia was wont to say, 'If Jenny Lind had the voice of Nissen, or the latter Jenny's intelligence, one of them would become the greatest singer in Europe.' Although Jenny used to compose the *cadenzi* and *fioriuri* to the airs she was studying, and Garcia so much approved of them as to copy them, he could never believe that she would rise above mediocrity; and she often observes that, next to herself, nobody would be more astonished about her success than her old master, Garcia. The following year a Swedish composer was sent to Paris, in order to summon her home, she being painfully missed, both by the public and management at Stockholm. Through this gentleman she became acquainted with the celebrated Meyerbeer, and his well-practised eye soon recognised the pearl under the modest and unpretending shell. His single doubt was, whether the peculiar charm of the flute-like purity of her delicate voice would sufficiently tell in a large space. He, therefore, arranged a rehearsal with full orchestra in the *salon* of the Grand Opera, and Jenny Lind sang the three great scenes from *Robert le Diable*, *Norma*, and *Freischutz*, with such effect, that Meyerbeer made her at once offers for Berlin. Her love of home, however, and the word she had

pledged, drew her back to Stockholm. Received with enthusiasm in her native town, the young girl gave proofs of her successful studies during her absence; she proved an excellent actress, a perfect mistress of delivery, and the possession of an organ which seemed when most exerted more pure and beautiful. As she had formerly been the favorite at Stockholm, she was now its pride—all participated in her triumphs. The subsequent spring brought Meyerbeer's invitation to assist at the opening of the Opera. It was with grief Jenny thought of again leaving her native place, but she was urged to obey the call of the great master. As deep as her loss was felt in Stockholm, it was, nevertheless, generally acknowledged that Jenny Lind had to attain a European reputation, and that it would be cruel to interrupt her in her glorious career. The invitation was accepted. In August, 1844, she went to Dresden, where Meyerbeer was then writing an opera, in order to arrive at a better understanding with the master, and to acquire the German language. At the request of the management at Stockholm she returned, however, after a month's absence, once more to Sweden, to assist at the coronation of the King. It being now decided at Stockholm that Jenny Lind was to pass the winter in Berlin, they began to fear her entire loss, and a number of the most wealthy bankers proposed to the young artiste to deposit annually a certain sum for ten years, so that at the expiration of that time she would be in possession of a considerable fortune, if she would consent to bind herself not to leave Stockholm.

"Jenny Lind was touched to the heart by this generous proof of the deep interest of her countrymen: but she had given her word, which was sacred. The evening of Jenny's leave-taking was one of universal sorrow: the public wept more than they applauded; it was as though a beloved child was departing. The streets were crowded by thousands on the day of her departure.

"She knew then scarcely twenty words of the German language; but after two months' application, all admired the correctness of her pronunciation: such is her quickness of comprehension and facility of retention.

"Jenny Lind remained four months in Berlin, during which time the enthusiasm of the public was hourly increasing. Through all the districts of Germany, and far beyond its boundaries, her fame was extending, and soon the managers of London and Paris were outbidding each other to win the northern songstress; but she was obliged to return to Sweden by her previous engagement. She appeared at Berlin in *Norma*, *Somnambula*, *Camp of Silesia*, and *Fille du Regiment*. The night of her leave-taking was distinguished by marks of approbation, such as, perhaps, had never been shown to an artist on that stage. It was not that loud burst of tumultuous applause so frequently offered to musical talent; no, a deep silence evinced the intense interest. Scarcely had the curtain concealed her from the eyes of the excited public, than one rush was made upon the stage, to bring her forward amidst the most enthusiastic cheers.

"Previously to her return to Stockholm, she visited most of the other principal towns of northern Germany, gathering everywhere the same laurels. In Hamburgh, a silver laurel wreath was presented to her on her departure. Her entire journey was a constant triumph.

"During the following summer she was called to the festivals on the Rhine, which the King of Prussia was preparing for the sovereign of Great Britain. On this occasion she appeared in Frankfort and Cologne. The Countess Rossi (Henrietta Sontag,) pronounced her the first singer of her time.

"From November, 1845, till the end of March, 1846, she fulfilled her engagements for five months at the Theatre Royal at Berlin; she then proceeded to Vienna, where she made her *debut* as Norma, on the 22nd of April, in the Theatre An Der Wien, before that public to whom in Germany belongs the final adjudication in matters musical. She appeared and conquered!

"Her appearance took place in the presence of a crowded house, containing, probably, the whole musical public of Vienna, as well as the Imperial Court. The reports which had preceded her, the exaggerations of the so-called "Lind-enthusiasts," the unprecedentedly high prices of admission, had raised to such

a degree the anticipations of the public, that Jenny Lind expressed her doubts of success, and declared that, but for having given her word, she would not consent to appear. With visible nervousness—with the elevation and dignity of a priestess, but yet with an expression of humbleness, she ascended the Druid tree, and under a silence so hushed that we almost fancied we heard the many thousand hearts beating in anxiety while the public was awaiting the first sounds of her voice: but scarcely had they resounded, scarcely had the genius of her heart become alive within her, than the whole house burst into one cheer decisive of her fate in Vienna."

It was at this time, viz., at the close of 1846, that the affairs of the London opera had reached a crisis, which compelled extraordinary enterprise on the part of the manager. The whole operatic troupe, led on by Grisi, with the entire orchestra, headed by Costa, had abandoned her Majesty's Theatre, and established an opposition, to counteract which the manager had but one resource, viz., to engage the queen of song at any cost. She had formed engagements in Germany and London, the forfeits of which the manager of her Majesty's Theatre agreed to pay, and to give the lovely singer, in addition, $25,000 for three months. She made her debut in London, June 1st, 1847. Since that time, her success in Great Britain has been progressive, with a growing reputation throughout Europe. The great capital required to negotiate with the queen of song, at the zenith of her reputation, made it little likely, in the struggling state of the Italian Opera in this country, that the American public would soon be favored with the presence of this soul-absorbing artist. But events had raised up, in the person of P. T. Barnum, Esq., who possessed the requisite energy, enterprise and courage, in a degree which made him a full match for Mr. Lumley, or any other transatlantic manager, an instrument for the gratification of the American public; and, for the first time in our history, the United States appeared on the musical field of Europe, taking possession of, and leading off, the vocal queen in triumph.

The arrival of Miss Lind in New-York was marked by that whole-souled excitement so characteristic of our citizens, and the yet-unheard singer was taken upon trust, with generous enthusiasm. The Castle Garden of New-York, which had been occupied by the Havana Italian Opera troupe during the summer, and which will contain some 6,000 persons seated, was selected as the concert-room. The tickets, as is well known, were sold at a premium, and the first concert took place. The arrangements for receiving and seating such a concourse, were admirably conducted. The vast crowd poured in, each to his proper place, with military precision, without confusion or delay, and their egress was equally facile. When the audience, wrought to the highest pitch of expectation, beheld the fair form advancing from the rear of the stage, a spontaneous burst of welcome re-echoed, long and loud, from the lofty ceiling, and was taken up and prolonged by the occupants of myriads of boats that floated without the castle, in expectation of catching the notes of the singer. Nor were they disappointed. There seemed to have been an error in the arrangement of the pieces. A song, as a "greeting to America," had been written for the occasion, in response to a reward offered by the manager. It was of no great pretension, and of but little musical merit. Its appropriate place, however, was first; a "greeting to America" should naturally have preceded other performances; moreover, she was coming before an audience, probably larger than ever before, of

great enthusiasm and well-known judgment, her natural nervousnessa, arising from intense refinement of feelings, would certainly overtake her, and a song of greeting would give time for recovery. On the other hand, amid the most visible emotion, she was, with palpitating heart and pallid countenance, called upon to execute *Casta Diva*, with which most of the audience were familiar, as delivered by the most celebrated artists; a feeling of disappointment was naturally the result. As the performances progressed, however, her genius exerted its power; and in the second piece, when the voice rose clear, steady and strong, full in volume, immense in compass, and under perfect control, irresistible expressions of delight and astonishment escaped from all quarters. The reverberations filled every corner of the immense building, ringing brightly out from the dome above, and sounding distinctly over the surrounding bay. Many of the finest passages were smothered by the impatient bursts of applause from the ill-trained audience. It is probably the case that astonishment was the feeling most generally awakened by the wonderful performance of the evening. Very few persons were prepared to encounter a voice so perfect in all the qualities of a first class singer. It rang out rich, clear, strong, and vibrating. The pieces selected were well adapted not only to show its unapproachable qualities, but the surpassing and astonishing skill with which it was controlled. We are not, however, about to enter upon a musical critique,—the opinion of proficient men being as various as the individuals. Her position as first artist of her time has been questioned by musical martinets; but the more general opinion seems to be, that having a voice such as none could equal, impelled by an impassioned temperament, losing itself in the emotions of the mind, she puts forth those inspirations of genius which are above all rule, pouring her whole soul into the performance with an abandonment which in the Italian school is more apparent than real. That artificial utterance—a painful quackery of emotion—which passes current with the admirers of the Italian style, gives place in the northern songstress to the true and deep emotions of the soul, touching the responsive chord in every American heart. It is, however, undoubtedly the case, that the concert-room affords not that scope to her transcendent powers, as an actress in support of her vocal powers which is found upon the operatic stage. Her dramatic genius is of an order as high as her natural vocal powers, and recondite musical science; three properties, valuable and rare when found separately, and scarcely ever combined in a single person. That which elevates her to that height where art ceases, and becomes ideal nature, is the purity of her deeply impassioned feelings, and her refined intellectuality. These were the secrets of that wonderful truthfulness that marked her acting; a striking example of which is related of a singer in the south of Germany, who, while performing "Elvino" to her "Amina," declared that he could not act with her, as he could not approach her with the wrath his part required, much less spurn her from him—the truthfulness of her delineations, the represented agony, having such an effect upon him as to draw forth involuntary tears. It was in the impassioned state of her own mind, abandoned to the deep emotions of the assumed character, that her whole soul was given to the guidance of her musical genius. Some apprehensions were entertained, that for these reasons her appearance only in the concert-room would in America fall short of those ex-

pectations excited partly by the deep sensibility of her actions. The only realization of these fears appears to be on the part of some critics, who charge her with coldness as compared with operatic performers of Italian artists. Jenny Lind appears in private life as one of those simple, unpretending persons, whose greatest beauty consists in their mental elevation. On the stage she is surrounded with a higher grace; she appears there as the ideal of a grand artistic thought. Her blue eyes are resplendent with a beauty which we do not recognise in the simple girl in her domesticity. But there she is not wanting in attractive grace. She has the fair hair and blue eyes of the daughters of her native land; her figure is somewhat above the middle size.

FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL REVIEW.

The great prosperity which marks the general condition of almost all branches of industry in the United States, is a matter of congratulation, peculiarly to the Democratic party, because it has been realized, almost directly, as a consequence of those measures which were resisted by the opposition, on the ground that they were "destructive." The independent treasury plan of the federal government was opposed by the banking interest, and under its influence, by the mercantile community, which had been trained up in the system of proper credits. The reduction of the tariff was resisted by the same parties, because they found that modified restrictions upon trade would promote an inordinate export of the precious metals, and by so doing, undermine, and collapse the outstanding credits. So certain were they of such a result, that some of them—including Abbott Lawrence, Esq.—fixed the time for a universal failure of the banks, and a general insolvency of the merchants. Eighteen months of the operation of a low tariff was to witness a general explosion. As the present tariff came into operation, December, 1846, July, 1848, would have been the time of disastrous revulsion. The time passed; and, notwithstanding the intervention of a war, draining money and men from the country, the summer of 1848 found us more prosperous than ever. The famine of England, inducing large exports of United States farm produce, was alleged to be the reason of the non-fulfilment of the fears of Lawrence & Co. Since that famine, two years have again elapsed, and our prosperity is still more apparent. The internal trade of the country, as indicated in the receipts of produce at the leading points, in exchange for the enhanced quantities of goods manufactured, and imported, is immense. As an instance of this, we give the value of leading articles delivered at New-Orleans, via the Mississippi river, for a series of years, ending August 31:—

RECEIPTS OF PRODUCE AT NEW-ORLEANS.

	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.
Cotton	38,716,256	32,589,436	35,200,345	30,844,314	41,886,150
Sugar	10,265,750	9,800,000	9,600,000	8,000,000	12,396.150
Molasses	936.832	1.265,530	917,331	2,288,000	2,400,000
Tobacco	4,144,562	3,552,340	3,430.534	3.938,290	6,206,820
Flour	3,770.932	8,897,213	3,534,790	4.559,296	3.403,919
All others	24,409,132	84,928,737	27,096,151	32,356,802	30,604.834
Total	$77,193,464	90,033,256	79,779,151	81,986,692	96,897,873

The past year has been that of by far the largest business, and it is remarkable that the amount has doubled since 1842, as follows:—

1842	$45,716,045	1845	$57,196,122	1848	$79,779,151
1843	53,728,054	1846	77,193,464	1849	81,986,692
1844	60,094,716	1847	90,033,256	1850	96,897,873

The value of southern products this year, tobacco, sugar, molasses or cotton, is 62,889,120, against $49,063,400 in 1846—an increase of nearly 14 millions, or 30 per cent., and this enhanced value in the case of tobacco and cotton, is in face of diminished quantities, indicating a healthy advance in consumption. The large crop of cotton produced in 1849 was all taken up by spinners in Europe and America, and the diminished production of the past year has consequently commanded a much higher price. The crop and its disposition has been as follows:

UNITED STATES COTTON CROP.

	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.
N. Orls	920,126	1,037,144	705,979	1,190,733	1,093,797	781,886
Mobile	517,196	421,966	323,462	436,336	518,706	350,952
Florida	188,893	241,184	127,852	153,776	200,186	181,344
Texas	—	27,008	8,317	39,612	38,827	31,263
Georgia	295,440	194,811	242,789	254,825	391,372	343,635
S. Carol'a	428,361	251,405	350,300	261,752	458,117	384,265
N. Carol'a	12,487	10,637	6,061	1,518	10,041	11,861
Virginia	25,200	16,282	18,991	8,952	17,550	11,500
Total	2,394,503	2,100,537	1,778,651	2,347,634	2,728,606	2,096,706

The disposition of the crop has been as follows:

EXPORTS, UNITED STATES CONSUMPTION, AND STOCKS REMAINING ON HAND.

	Export to Great Britain.	France.	North of Europe.	Other ports.	Total export.	U. S. Cons.	Stock on hand. Aug. 31.
1843	1,409,711	346,179	117,224	76,493	2,010,137	825,129	94,486
1844	1,202,498	282,685	62,053	75,254	1,629,490	346,744	159,772
1845	1,489,806	359,357	134,501	150,591	2,083,756	387,006	94,126
1846	1,102,399	359,703	86,692	118,028	1,666,792	422,597	107,122
1847	830,909	241,486	75,692	97,138	1,241,222	427,967	214,837
1848	1,324,265	279,172	120,348	184,476	1,853,261	531,772	171,468
1849	1,537,901	368,259	165,458	156,226	2,227,844	518,939	154,753
1850	1,106,771	289,627	72,156	121,601	1,590,155	487,769	167,930

After a crop of 332,000 bales larger than ever before, the stock in all the ports has diminished 17,000 bales. The quantity consumed at the South, taken to mills directly from the plantation, and therefore not included in the receipts, is put down at 110,000 bales, against 75,000 last year. That is to say, southern manufactures have taken 35,000 bales more than last year, and the northerns 13,000 bales less; making 22,000 bales more consumed in the Union. This western and southern consumption is computed as follows:

CONSUMPTION OF COTTON SOUTH AND WEST OF VIRGINIA.

	1848.	1849.	1850 Mills.	1850 Spindles.	1850 Bales.
North Carolina ..... bales	15,000	20,000	30	—	30,000
South Carolina	6,000	15,000	16	36,500	15,000
Georgia	6,000	20,500	36	51,150	27,000
Alabama	5,000	7,700	11	16,960	6,000
Tennessee	5,000	12,000	30	36,000	12,000
Kentucky	5,000	5,000			
Ohio	12,500	9,000	30	102,200	27,500
Pittsburgh, Wheeling, &c	12,000	12,500			
Missouri, Indiana, Illinois, &c	7,000	9,000			
Total, to September 1 ..bales	74,000	110,000			107,500

The generally increased consumption has raised the price in this short supply. Fears have been entertained that the crops of England and Western Europe would be so short as to effect the consumption of cotton, and prevent a maintenance of present high rates. It appears that the English harvest is not full, and some supplies will be wanted. The abundant crops, and means of conveyance in the United States, are such as to permit England very considerable quantities at fair prices. The enhanced consumption of cotton which this sale of produce will promote in the United States, will probably counteract any decisive consumption in England upon an improved price of grain. The operation will be more rapidly to transfer manufacturing supremacy to the United States.

The business of the Erie Canal shows a most important increase in traffic this year. The tolls on the canal, through the active and intelligent agency of J. L. Barton, Esq., of Buffalo, were reduced 20 per cent. for the present season, and with signal success.

Last winter that gentleman represented to the canal department the urgent necessity of a reduction in the tolls of the canals, if the state wished to preserve its western connexions. He proposed a reduction of 20 per cent. As the tolls of the last fiscal year were $3,268,226, it followed that, without a great increase of business, this reduction would involve a loss of $653,645 to the state; and it was scarcely expected that the party in power would consent to incur such a loss—more particularly that the protectionists had sent up a universal cry of distress: "No produce," "no money," "all gone to California," "factories closed," "people out of employ,"—the reckless writers exclaiming, "In 1846 the power to trade was immense. *In* 1850 *it has declined, and declines daily.*"

Notwithstanding all this clamor, practical men of business saw that, although factory dividends were less, the great business of the country was better than ever, employment more general, and labor getting a greater proportion of the wealth it created. The reduction in tolls was made; and, so far from a decline, the tolls this year, up to September, are higher than last year, and the year's revenues for 1850 will exceed those of 1849, $100,000—showing an increase of 27 per cent. in the volume of business; and that business upon the canals has been comprised of the increased production of *individual* manufacturers.

The quantity of merchandise which arrived at Buffalo this year and last, per canal, to September 1, was as follows:

		For Western States.	For New-York.	Total.
1849	lbs.	34 369,040	7,855,185	42,224,225
1850		43,353,096	8,684,233	52.037,328
Increase		8,984,056	829,048	9,812,104

What a declining trade! The groceries and glassware were as follows:

		Sugar.	Molasses.	Coffee.	Crockery and Glass.	Leather.
1849	lbs.	5,749,652	3,885,893	2.986,859	3.652,285	233,034
1850		6,307,081	6,476,783	2,267,216	8,285,542	266,613

those buyers have paid for these things:

PRODUCE SHIPPED ON THE CANAL FROM BUFFALO.

	Boards, feet.	Staves, lbs.	Ashes & beef, bbls.	Lard. lbs.	Wool, lbs.
1849	24,617,184	86,753,809	19,478	2,965,458	6.624,855
1850	36,946,604	124,429,736	27,447	4,448,172	7,889,531

There were on hand quantities of goods purchased. Let us see with what These figures indicate the interchange of goods for produce, constituting "home trade," and afford a severe commentary on those assertions, to the effect that "in 1846 the power to trade was immense," and that it has since declined, and "declines daily."

The power of trade comprehends the ability to interchange the products of labor. While the trade of the canal has thus shown unmistakeable evidence of general prosperity, the returns of the Erie railroad, furnished through the politeness of Mr. N. Marsh, secretary of the road, show even greater results. That road penetrates the southern tier of counties, which were before comparatively secluded. They are of great agricultural and grazing capacities, and the great wealth thus made available by the road, has poured down in increasing volumes, while factories along its line have sprung up as if by magic. The following table shows the general business of the road for 1850—the business, of course, *for six months only.*

TRAFFIC OF THE ERIE RAILROAD.

	No. Passengers.	No. carried one mile.	Tons Freight.	Tons carried one mile.	Length of road in operation.
1844	79,320	1,342,732	—	—	53
1845	83,483	1,952,139	39,967	1,454,621	53
1846	103,288	2,542,502	45,601	1,569,303	53
1847	155,295	4,828,318	58,431	2,146,833	61½
1848	172,930	5,512,837	64,497	2,809,034	74
1849	282,662	16,276,023	90,378	6,092,675	224
1850.(6 months.)	246,303	incomplete	81,032	7,902,065	317

It will be observed that the freight carried this year, for six months, is larger by 50 per cent. than for the whole year 1849; the passengers nearly equal to it. This freight is mostly the produce of those rich counties, now first made available to the city's consumption. The farms send down both cattle and the products of animals in great abundance. The following will show some of these items:

CERTAIN PRODUCE SENT DOWN THE ERIE RAILROAD.

	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.
Head Cattle	3,778	3,044	6,342	7,196
" calves	14,465	17,364	17,686	8,552
" hogs	4,310	3,975	4,445	3,780
" sheep and lambs	8,800	6,910	20,447	22,443
Butter, lbs	2,909,200	3,732,190	5,126,423	4,398,935
Milk, quarts	8,696,172	9,514,440	9,480,476	4,038,748

These large quantities of produce sent down from those hitherto secluded districts, in addition to a vast variety of other products, have created a demand for goods, which have gone back in the following quantities:

GOODS SENT UP THE ERIE RAILROAD.

	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850, 6 mos.
China ware lbs	278,580	344,400	751,059	898,380
Dry goods	966,570	1,154,550	2,932,079	4,300,061
Groceries	5,920,500	6,799,050	9,447,348	5,708,765
Hardware	495,820	565,100	1,002,177	1,228,888
Iron	4,864,010	8,450,740	27,341,419	17,780,966
Nails	335,120	575,110	1,149,583	962,610

These large supplies have been so much additional demand upon our city business, because the foreign demand for farm produce has found sale for the additional quantity sent down from those newly opened regions. As an indication of the manner in which factories have sprung up in that region, consequent upon the ability of farmers to export their supplies; the returns give the lbs. of cotton sent up the road, and the quantity of goods brought back, as follows:

	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850, 6 mos
Cotton sent west.....lbs..	552 920.....	.595,360.....	841,330	851,935
Goods sent east.....	472,710.....	.540,730.....	990,609	.645,998

It may be observed, that the cotton sent west in this year of "factory ruin," when "trade declines," is, for six months, larger than for the whole year 1849. The goods that come down are partly woollen, and the western demand for them this year has diminished the quantity sent to this market. Again: leather; the following are hides sent up to the tanneries, and the leather brought back:

	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850, 6 mos.
Hides sent west.....lbs..	1,200,520.....	1,111,580.....	3,753,883.....	5,140,022
Leather sent east.....	480,040.....	7,078,620.....	3,696,592.....	4,409,865

The business of the last six months is greater by 50 per cent. than the whole year 1847. In this manner it is that they are working up the newly opened hemlock forests in northern Pennsylvania and southern New-York. Why is it that they are enabled to sell these enormously increased quantities of leather? Simply because, under a lower tariff, the mass of laborers retain a larger share of the wealth they create, and therefore buy more shoes.

Thus the iron received at Buffalo, via canal, to September 1, this year, is 26,379,283 pounds, against 8,880,575 pounds, same time last year: an increase of 50 per cent.; that is to say, the quantity of iron arrived at Buffalo per canal, and that sent up the Erie road, together make this year 35,121,859 pounds, against about 18,100,000 in the same time last year—a wonderful depression in the iron trade, certainly!

The region of the Erie railroad is becoming an important source for wool supply. The quantities of this article shipped at Buffalo, on the Erie canals, arrived at tide water and on the Erie road, are as follows:

	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850, 6 mos.
Shipped at Buffalo ...lbs..	5,903,046.....	5,883,856.....	8,640,409—	..7,889,531
Arrived at tide-water.....	12,044,000.....	8,534,000.....	12,731,402.....	9,943,303
Arrived per Erie Railroad.....	32,120.....	23,910.....	348,295.....	523,789
Total, canal and road..lbs..	12,076,120.....	8,557,910.....	13,079,679.....	10,467,092

This prosperous state of the general business of the country makes itself apparent in the continued abundance of money at the sea-ports. It is neither specie nor bank paper which constitutes money, but the products of industry,—and this year gold has been added in great supply to the other receipts, and nearly $24,000,000 of California gold has passed through the national mints. This product of industry will very soon begin to make itself felt. The European prospect is, that our abundant harvests will find a more adequate demand from English wants, while our gold will continue to accumulate until its overflow shall be marked by a season of extraordinary speculation.

STATE POLITICS.

THE last month was signalized in this State by important movements upon the political chess-board. Parties have martialled their forces and presented their candidates. The Democratic State Convention, held at Syracuse on the 11th September, and the two subsequent days, nominated HORATIO SEYMOUR, of Oneida County, for Governor; SANFORD E. CHURCH, of Orleans, for Lieutenant-Governor; JOHN C. MATHER, of Rensselaer, for Canal Commissioner; CHARLES S. BENTON, of Herkimer, for Clerk of the Court of Appeals; and WM. P. ANGEL, of Cattaraugus, for Inspector of State Prisons. The Whig State Convention, held at Syracuse on the 26th ultimo, nominated also a full ticket, the particulars of which had not reached us when this number was put to press.

The two material objects of the Democratic Convention were understood to be, the consolidation of the Democratic Party of the State, upon the basis of the principles and positions avowed by the National Democratic Party, and the nomination of a united state ticket. Both were attained. The first, by the distinct recognition of the resolutions adopted by the National Conventions held at Baltimore, in 1840, '44, and '48; and the latter, by nominations from both sections alternately; both with much unanimity.

The resolutions reported by CHARLES O'CONOR, Esq., from a committee of sixteen, (two from each judicial district,) and adopted by the Convention, by a vote of 92 to 27, were as follows:—

1. *Resolved*, That the Democratic Party of New-York are proud to avow their fraternity with, and their devotion to the great principles of the Democratic Party of the Union, as declared in the National Democratic Convention, held at Baltimore, in 1840, '44, and '48, and they look forward in hope and confidence to the complete triumph of that party in 1852.

2. *Resolved*, That we congratulate the country upon the recent settlement by Congress of the questions which have unhappily divided the people of these States.

3. *Resolved*, That the Democracy of the State of New-York, appreciating the value of union, fraternity, and concord, standing upon their ancient principles, present their candidates with a confident reliance upon the united and cordial support of all who desire the ascendency of those principles in the State and National councils.

4. *Resolved*, That whilst we wage no factious war against the constituted authorities, and as American citizens, will stand firmly by our country, by whomsoever its government may be administered, we regard the action of the Whig National Administration, from the first exhibitions of its proscriptive and intolerant course, to the climax of the Galphin claim, as worthy of the false pretences under which it came into power, and of professions which have been invariably violated.

5. *Resolved*, That the Whig Administration of this State is a reiteration of the series of extravagances in the public expenditure, and violations of the constitution, and of an unsound and lavish policy which have signalized the course of the party, which, aided by dissensions in the Democratic ranks, brought that administration into power, and that the interests of the people and the character of the State demand a speedy return to the wise, safe, and approved policy of the Democratic Administrations.

6. *Resolved*, That devoted to the principles and form of our confederation, ever mindful of the blessings it has secured to ourselves and to mankind, and regarding the citizens of all sections of our country, as members of a common brotherhood, we cherish the union of the States as the ark of our political covenant, and that we deprecate all sectional agitations at the North or South, calculated to impair its sacred obligations, or to threaten its perpetuity.

These resolutions, although sufficiently explicit in relation to the National platform, and to sectional agitations, do not, in our judgment, do full justice to Mr. Dickinson. The high position of that distinguished Democratic Senator; his truly national and elevated course; the intrepid and able manner in which he has at all times, and especially during the agitation of the exciting and most important questions of the sessions through which, thanks to his patriotic efforts and those of his coadjutors, the Congress of the United States has happily passed; his frank, direct, and firm adherence to his friends, and to the cause and principles, the maintenance of which has achieved so much for the country, the perpetuity of the Union, and the rights of the States; and his personal worth and high integrity of character, entitled him and his course, in a convention of his political friends, not only to distinct approval, but to high encomium. We say, in a convention of his political friends, for we are assured that in this body, consisting of 127 delegates, 74 distinctly avowed themselves such. But when it is recollected, that the minority of the convention, known for three years as "Free Soil" partisans, had now abandoned the "chief stone of the corner," the refusal to recognize which, by previous Democratic Conventions, had formed the ground-work of their separation from the Democratic Party, and their refusal to support its tickets, had avowed an adhesion to the Democratic platform, which they repudiated in 1848; and had declared an approval of the great measures of pacification which they had opposed at every stage; but which Mr. Dickinson, by his single ability, contributed so prominently to carry through; his friends exhibited perhaps a liberal forbearance in not pursuing the point beyond the tacit approval which the adoption of the resolutions undoubtedly conveyed.

The election now near at hand, is one of more than ordinary importance. Aside from an earnest support of the State ticket, which the tone of the Democratic papers indicate, the choice of Members of the Assembly deserves the best efforts of all sincere Democrats. The choice of United States Senator, which will devolve on the next Legislature, must be regarded by them as involving considerations of the highest moment; and they, we are assured, will feel that all the obligations of duty and fidelity to a tried and true friend, and to a Senator, who, in the approved discharge of the duties of his trust, has conferred honor upon his State, his Country, and his party, point to his re-election.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

DICTIONARY OF MECHANICS, ENGINE-WORK, AND ENGINEERING. New-York: D. Appleton & Co.

This work, which will contain nearly two thousand pages, has reached its fifteenth number, and is intended to be the most complete one of the kind that has ever issued from the press in this country. Every important subject relating to the mechanical arts and to engineering will be treated of with such a degree of scientific and practical information, as to enable any one to exercise them to the greatest advantage. The subjects will be illustrated by upwards of six thousand engravings, and in the numbers which have already been issued, the publishers have evidently spared no pains or expense to render the engravings clear, distinct, and handsome. Working drawings and descriptions of the most important machines in the United States, together with the results of American ingenuity, are very fully presented in this work. Almost every book relating to the subjects of this dictionary, whether published in England, France, or Germany, has been procured by the publishers, the essential parts of which were used in order to make their work as complete and comprehensive as possible. Four numbers have already been issued, and their reception has been so favorable as to insure the rapid issue of the others. It will comprise forty numbers, and be published during the present year.

THE GALLERY OF ILLUSTRIOUS AMERICANS. Published from Brady's Gallery.

The 8th and 9th numbers of this splendid work have made their appearance, and fully sustain the promise of preceding issues. The first contains a portrait of W. H. Prescott, a most perfect and life-like presentiment of that great historian. Indeed, it is the finest specimen of lithographic engraving we have seen. Mr. Lester's brief, but comprehensive sketch of the life and character of Mr. Prescott, is tersely written, and most emphatically comprises "many things in few words." The last is a most admirable portrait of Gen. Scott.

THE LEATHER STOCKING TALES. BY J. FENNIMORE COOPER: Author's Revised Edition: THE DEERSLAYER: OR, THE FIRST WAR-PATH: A Tale, by the author of "The Last of the Mohicans," &c. Complete in one volume, revised and corrected, with a new Introduction, Notes, &c., by the author. George P. Putnam, 155 Broadway.

The extraordinary interest excited by the "Leather Stocking Tales" in all countries, and in all the modern European languages, and in every rank of society, is an irrefragable evidence of profound genius in the author, and matchless skill in creations which touch human sympathies through their fidelity to nature and intense reality. Great and unrivalled as is Mr. Cooper upon the ocean, it is among the children of nature in the western wilds that he puts forth his great power, embodying the very spirit of genial experience and accurate observation. This volume of "The Deerslayer" was the last written of the five which comprise the "Leather Stocking" series; yet it constitutes the first, inasmuch as the first war-path of the hero in connection with his Delaware friend, is described in it. In the "Last of the Mohicans," he has become advanced, and the son of his companion chief is the last of the Mohican tribe. The "Path-Finder" continues with increasing interest the exploits of Leather Stocking. The Pioneer finds an old aged hunter, and describes the death of his red friend, while the "Prairie" closes his own career, and as it were, gives history a character. This series is now making its appearance in the proper order, under the author's revision, constituting a standard work, which must ever be to the race now nearly passed away, what Shakspeare and Scott have been to the History of England, and the manners of the middle ages. To say that no library is complete without this series, got up in Mr. Putnam's well-known style, and uniform with Irving's standard edition, is but to repeat a truism.

Reminiscences of Congress. By Charles W. March. Baker & Scribner, New-York.

This volume is occupied with the life and public services of Daniel Webster, a man who has for more than a quarter of a century filled a large space in the history of the United States. Although we differ from him in his political creed, it is impossible for any American not to regard with pride the intellect of that farmer boy, nurtured under our free institutions, until it towers aloft above the ablest of modern jurists. However much we may oppose the political principles of Mr. Webster, which to us seem to tend towards the creation of a moneyed aristocracy among us, we believe none doubt the patriotism and thorough American spirit of that great man, who displays, as well in the cavalier manner in which he disposes of the small politicians who, while following his lead, attempt to dictate his course, as in his own sturdy will, that independence of character which so thrills the responsive chord in every American breast. He gambols among free soilers and quack reformers of every hue, like a whale among the minnows, exhibiting the playfulness of leviathan, reposing in the security of our institutions. But when a serious matter presents itself, endangering the Union, one earnest movement disperses the small fry and restores the wonted security. Mr. March has drawn up a very readable and interesting sketch of Mr. Webster's life, and one from which the democrat can extract many useful lessons in relation to the workings of our glorious institutions.

Domestic History of the American Revolution. By Mrs. Ellet, author of the American Revolution. Baker & Scribner.

Mrs. Ellet is well known to the public generally as well as to the readers of this Review, as an agreeable writer, and she has written much in illustration of the early struggles of our fathers. This new volume sheds much light upon the private hardships and individual struggles of those men determined to be free, and when we read the privations of that race of men, we doubtingly ask, "had the revolution been deferred to these degenerate days, should our public virtues have equalled those of our sires?" It is a work that all should have by them.

The Recent Progress of Astronomy; especially in the United States. By Elias Loomis, Professor, &c. Harper Brothers.

This is a most important and interesting work, illustrating in the amplitude of its details the rapid progress of Astronomy in this country as well as in Europe of late years.

Iconographic Encyclopedia of Science, Literature and Art; systematically arranged. By G. Heck. The text translated and edited by Spencer F. Baird, A.M., M.D., &c. New-York: Rudolph Garrique. 1850.

We have already bestowed a complimentary paragraph on this highly useful, interesting and beautiful publication. The number of portfolios published, up to this period, is 11, and we discover no falling off in the excellence of the style of issue, or the value and interests of the literary contents. The articles are of uniform fullness and significance, the illustrative engravings equally numerous and well executed, and the topics treated are of a sort greatly to serve the cause of practical art and science, in every department, particularly among a people such as ours.

Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Harper Brothers.

This useful edition has been completed. It comprises six volumes of between five and six hundred pages each. With a copious index, a new feature, it is doubtless the most perfect edition of the work that has ever been published in this country, especially if we take into account the economical price at which the volumes are sold.

SHAKSPEARE'S DRAMATIC WORKS, with Introductory Remarks and Notes, original and selected. Illustrated. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1850.

Number twenty-four of the Boston edition has been issued. Of the thousand and one editions of Shakspeare, that household author, which are annually put forth in this and other countries, it is not incumbent upon the reviewer to speak. But in the case of an edition so very beautiful as the present, combining such rare excellence of style and typography with such marvellous cheapness, we should wrong both public and publisher, were we to withhold our tribute. Certainly, no more exquisite specimen of printing, having regard to the price charged for it, was ever given to the public. A large and beautiful octavo, in a type at once large, new and handsome, on paper of the whitest and thickest, the edition fairly challenges comparison with any that has been issued from the press for the last twenty years. It is issued in parts, each issue containing a complete play, and each illustrated by a fine steel engraving of the heroine of the piece.

THE LILY AND THE TOTEM; or the Huguenots in Florida, a series of Sketches, picturesque and historical, of the Colonies of Coligni, in North America, 1562—1570. By the author of the Life of Marion, &c., &c. Baker & Scribner, 145 Nassau-st.

W. Gilmore Simms has long been before the public as a successful author, and his works have eminently illustrated some of the brightest pages in American history; and the present work contributes further to its romance, comprising sketches of the Huguenot colonies founded by Admiral Coligni in Florida, in the latter half of the sixteenth century; in whose history "wild and dark events, startling tragedies, and picturesque incidents" so vividly exist. Mr. Simms has here presented, in the hardy adventures of the Huguenots, a very successful counterpart to the story of Puritan Deeds in New-England, which is in everybody's mouth. The plot of the work is drawn from amid the adventures of the settlers of Florida, and the scenes and incidents are of the romantic cast which belong more to that wild and luxuriant country than to the "frozen north" and its stern occupiers; and under the able guidance of Mr. Simms, a story of unusual interest is produced.

THE LITERATI; some honest opinions about authors' merits and demerits, with occasional words of personality; together with marginalia, suggestions, and essays. By Edgar A. Poe. With a sketch of the author, by Rufus W. Griswold. J. S. Redfield, Nassau-street.

This work of the late Mr. Poe comprises sketches of six dozen persons, familiarly known as writers to the New-York public, commencing with Professor Bush, and ending with "*the* Dickens," and embracing Hunt, Duyckinck, Lawson, Briggs, H. Cary, and others better known, with remarks upon their various labors, in Mr. Poe's well-known style. The work is well worth preserving.

LIFE. HERE AND THERE; or Sketches of Society, and Adventures at far apart times and places. By N. P. Willis. Baker & Scribner, 145 Nassau-street.

The writings of Mr. Willis have always an agreeable attraction which commend them to the attention of the general reader who seeks to be amused if not instructed, and these constitute by far the greater proportion of readers. The volume before us is equal in all the leading features of Mr. Willis's style to any of his prose productions, and no doubt will command a prompt sale among his numerous admirers. The typographical appearance does great credit to the enterprising publishers, Messrs. Baker & Scribner, in whose hands "American literature" seems to flourish, notwithstanding the alleged difficulties under which it labors.

FIVE YEARS, OR A HUNTER'S LIFE IN THE FAR INTERIOR OF SOUTH AFRICA. With notices of the native tribes, and anecdotes of the chase of the lion, elephant, hippopotamus, &c., &c. By Rouellyn Gordon Cumming, Esq. 2 vols. illustrated. Harper Brothers.

The author of this book having been in the English Indian army and subsequently in the Cape riflemen, sold out for the purpose of hunting "on his own hook," and for five years explored the hitherto unknown regions of Southern Africa. The narrative is of the wildest adventure and most stirring interest.

MARGARET PERCIVAL IN AMERICA; a tale edited by a New-England minister, A.B., being a Sequel to Margaret Percival: a tale edited by Rev. Mr. Sewall. Phillips, Sampson & Co., Boston.

The class of religious novels seems to be spreading and multiplying through the jealousy of sects as to the usages detailed in those most popular. Where a tale becomes popular and is read by the young of all denominations, the peculiar tenets of the sect from which it emanates being set forth in the most attractive colors, fasten themselves upon the imagination of readers, and produce lasting impressions at the expense of variant sects. To counteract this tendency other tales are produced, or old ones revarnished, and this seems to have been the origin of the present "Sequel to Margaret Percival," which is a well-conducted and interesting story every way calculated to carry out the intentions of the author.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE OF ANNE BOLEYN, Queen of Henry VIII. By Miss Benger. From the third London edition. With a Memoir of the author. By Miss Aikin. A. Hart, late Carey & Hart, Philadelphia.

The fate of Anne Boleyn always awakens a melancholy interest, as well for the unfortunate lady, as marking a period of great change in the course of British history. From the influence of that lady in public affairs take date the extinction of Roman Catholic sway in Great Britain, and the fierce dissensions between bigots of both sides, which so long disturbed England and disgraced humanity. The narrative as told by Miss Benger possesses additional interest, and the edition is got up in admirable style by the publishers, being uniform with their edition of Maria Antoinette and the House of Orleans, of which the head, Louis Philippe, died in exile a few weeks since.

ECHOES OF THE UNIVERSE; from the world of Matter and the world of Spirit. By the Rev. Henry Christmas, M.A., F.R.S., &c. A. Hart, late Carey & Hart, Phil.

In this work the author shows the support which the divine truths contained in the Holy Scriptures receives from the discoveries of modern science, and reviews the accounts of the world of spirits, the nature and number of the angels, their ranks and orders. The speculations, traditions and facts collected from the Scriptures, traditions, Talmud, and other authorities, are very amusing and interesting. The devils were both aboriginal and naturalized, as thus, "When creation was nearly finished, and the Sabbath was drawing near, God created certain spirits, intending to clothe their bodies; but the Sabbath arrived, and God forsook those incomplete beings, so that they became devils." Furthermore, it is stated that, "Hell was created on the second day of creation, although not directly mentioned in the Mosaic account. It is for this reason that God did not pronounce the second day's work to be "very good." Hell has, according to the same authorities, 3,000 gates, and is 30,000 years' journey in circuit." There is much interest contained in the volume, and it should be sought by all.

OURSELVES.

During the past six months, Mr. Theodore Augustus Foster, connected with this Review, has made a tour of the Southern and Northern sections of the States, calling personally upon all the leading democrats of each locality. In every quarter he has, without exception, met with a warm-hearted and generous response to the claims of this work upon the great Democratic Party, as the national exponent of those great principles for which it has ever contended. The confidence reposed in the course of the Review is expressed in the following paper, signed by more than two thousand democrats, of all sections. We append a portion of the names in this number, to be continued in successive numbers, with the additional names furnished by Mr. Foster, now on his Western trip.

We, the undersigned, subscribers to the United States Magazine and Democratic Review, feel deeply interested in its success, and recommend it to all our democratic friends. Its primary objects are to advocate and disseminate true Democracy, (such as was taught by Jefferson and Jackson,) and we feel confident, that such being the character of the work, all true democrats will feel the same interest that we do in the promulgation of those principles, and will be found to contribute to its support and development. We feel a national pride as well as duty in liberally supporting the only organ of the National Democratic Party in this great republican country; and we are confident in assuring our friends, that if they will do their duty, that the editor and proprietors will make this organ, both as a literary and political Magazine, equal, if not superior, to any work published in this country or Europe. We would further add, that their general canvassing agent, Mr. Theodore A. Foster, is now on his Southern and Western tour, and we earnestly recommend all good democrats to avail themselves of the present opportunity of enrolling their names on the books of the Democratic Review.

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J. S. Carpentier,	do.	Bars & Cleghorn,	do.
James B. Murray,	do.	John B. Hicks,	do.
John Rice,	do.	Doctor Hart,	*New-Orleans, La.*
James C. McGuire,	do.	W. O. Viers,	*Akron, O.*
E. J. Hamilton,	do.	James Cock,	*Burlington, Iowa.*
William Rose,	do.	Gov. H. W. Collier,	*Tuscaloosa, Ala.*
J. Robbins,	do.	B. T. Davis, Mayor,	*Montgomery, Ala.*
C. Seguine,	do.	M. A. Chisholm,	do.
Isaac T. Frost,	do.	Thomas Welsh,	do.
Medad Platt,	do.	Charles T. Pollard,	do.
William Seymour,	do.	F. M. Gilmore,	do.
William C. Neilson,	do.	Rush Elmore,	do.
William M. Isaacs,	do.	R. Williams,	do.
B. F. Marsh,	do.	W. G. Baldwin, M. D.,	do.
E. B. Elsworth,	do.	W. M. Boling, M. D.,	do.

Engraved by A. Weber, for the Democratic Review

With great respect
Yours &c
W M Gwin

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☞ SENATOR GWINN.

The Plate for this month is a very accurate likeness of Senator Gwinn, of California, the youngest member of our glorious Union. Unavoidable circumstances caused a postponement of the biographical sketch, which should accompany the Portrait, until the succeeding number of the Review. It will appear in December.

THE

UNITED STATES MAGAZINE,

AND

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STATE OF PARTIES.

FEDERALISM, our national evil genius, which has striven for more than half a century to undermine the liberties of the people and overthrow our popular institutions, was never nearer the attainment of its wishes than at the present moment; corruption is the instrument with which it works, philanthropy is its cloak; the oligarchy of England, brought within reach by improvements in steam communication, is its ally; and party treachery, with national treason, are openly promoting its views. Amid these many dangers, the hopes of the patriot at home, of the friends of human progress abroad, and the fortunes of future generations yet to cover this continent, hang with fear and trembling upon the Democratic party, in its struggle to maintain those great principles on which alone are based the practicability of self-government; and never had the friends of freedom greater occasion to be vigilant, firm and cautious, than at the present crisis. The Federalist party never (under what name soever it may have adopted for the time, by any accident) attained power, but a system of corruption, through special privileges and reckless expenditure, was put in operation with the boldest and most lavish hand. The vast system of internal improvements that had sprung up under the administration of J. Q. Adams, which was the offspring of corrupt bargain, presented its gigantic front to the indomitable Jackson, on his accession to the presidential chair, in the shape of $200,000,000 of contracts, claimed by unscrupulous jobbers and speculators in all parts of the country as the price of their support. And this machinery of corruption was systematized and strengthened by the National Bank with its affiliated branches at every commercial center of the Union. To a weak-minded and corrupt man, arriving at power in such a state of affairs, two courses presented themselves. He could, like Louis Philippe, who at about the same time reached the throne of France, embrace the power offered by the patronage of the government, foster extravagance in every possible mode, and, by holding out aid to every wild scheme of fanciful improvement got up for the purpose of reaching the treasury, place himself at the head of an unscrupulous class of speculators

dependent upon a government antagonistic to the interests of the great body of the people, whose rights would daily yield to the increasing pressure of the speculative interests. Such a course was pursued by Louis Philippe, and he sustained it for eighteen years, being finally driven, by an indignant and oppressed people, from the throne and the country, to die in exile amid kindred oppressors. To Jackson, a sagacious, upright and honest patriot, there was only open the alternative of this course, viz.—to adhere to the Constitution in its strict construction, abide by the interests of the people, and crush the whole system of corruption, placing its supporters at defiance. Two state papers sufficed for this—the Maysville Road veto destroyed the one branch, and the bank veto the other; and his triumphant second election was an evidence that his course was appreciated by the people. It required, however, a struggle of sixteen years to overcome the evils which the former federal administrations had engendered. The accidental circumstances of 1840 again gave power to federalism, and again the moneyed power exerted itself with singular ferocity to regain its position. The early death of General Harrison did not check the movement, it only altered its direction, although the isolation of Mr. Tyler made the application of the patronage more markedly personal. The whole patronage of the government and its means were at the disposal of those who would adhere to the executive. The vast machinery of the federal patronage was applied directly to the buying of a party. The system of corruption by banks, tariffs and internal improvements, by which large classes of borrowers, capitalists, contractors and jobbers, controlling those in their employ, should be bound to the party in power and perpetuate its ascendency, was renewed by Mr. Tyler, as far as his means went, for his own emolument. Fortunately for the country, at that moment the government was without credit—money could not be raised on its stocks, although they were put in the market and hawked over Europe at "any price;" the state of trade was such, that customs yielded a revenue far less than was actually necessary for even an economical expenditure. Although Mr. Tyler vetoed Mr. Clay's bank, he proposed a far worse one in its place, but failed to get it established. There remained, therefore, only the naked offices at the disposal of the executive. These were so freely and unscrupulously used, as to present a novelty in our national politics. The system scattered broadcast through the land, seeds of demoralization which could scarcely fail, almost everywhere, to find at least a little soil adapted to their too-ready germination. A deeper mischief was by this means wrought to the political morality of the country, than could have been attained by the signing of fifty bank charters. The old federal system of corruption had been somewhat on the principle of "take care of the rich, and the rich will take care of the poor." Their bribes were directed at the influential masses of capital, giving it the means, by special privileges, of accumulating at the expense of labor, with the understanding that it might control, and, if need be, *coerce* dependent voters to the support of a "paternal government." Tylerism, thanks to the "root and branch work" of Jackson, had not the means of doing this; but it sought to corrupt the people directly with the small offices, thereby bringing down to the electors personally that demoralization which before existed with classes in their relations to the government.

The effect of this has been to make speculators bolder, and corruption

in high places more unscrupulous and daring. The torrent was stayed by the triumphant return of Mr. Polk to the Presidential chair. The "attempt and not the deed," had destroyed federalism for the time, and the economy and credit with which that administration was conducted, were no less conspicuous than its brilliant success. The modification of the taxes upon labor, and the steadiness of the currency under the independent treasury system, have permitted the producer to retain and enjoy a larger portion of the things produced. The interchange of exchangeable values has been greater, as manifested upon all the avenues of trade, than ever before, and the federal revenues have reached an amount never before attained. This restored prosperity has renewed the material for federal corruption. The consummation of the measures for which the democratic party had so long contended, unfortunately left no recognized issues before the people, when Taylorism presented its specious pretensions to the people. While some of the usually democratic states were seduced by the false glare of military service to abandon the representative of principle for the misrepresentations of the unprincipled—others were betrayed from their allegiance by the defection of secret federalist allies, and federalism was once more installed in power. The slave-holding soldier of the south became the puppet of coalesced abolitionism and federal corruption. For the first time in the history of the government the cabinet officers became the avowed prosecutors of false claims against the treasury over which they presided, and the system of corrupt expenditure was renewed in its most shameless form. It may be remarked, that within the decade of 1840 to 1850, a minister of each of the most important commercial nations has been charged with duplicity and fraud. The cause of the suicide of Teste in France, the censure of Lord Palmerston for duplicity by the House of Peers, and the Galphin discoveries at Washington, mark the growing corruptions of modern governments.

The general state of affairs now presents this dangerous aspect. The federal party attained power through the instrumentality of the sectional cry of "free soil," and of attacks upon the rights of the south tending directly to disunion. The moment it attained that power, the system of consolidation, or centralizing the federal power, by means of money corruptions, was resumed. It seeks to draw from labor through enhanced duties on articles of consumption, the means of feeding a lavish expenditure necessary to the organization of a moneyed oligarchy. That is to say, the old basis of our progress in the regard for states' rights adherence to the compromises of the Constitution, and respect for the laws enacted under its guarantee, has been disturbed by the agitation of sectional questions which have divided the Democratic party and given the government into the hands of federalism. That power is now attempted to be consolidated, not upon the old democratic states' rights basis, but upon a system of lavish expenditure, in imitation of the government of Louis Philippe; and a high tariff with limitless loans, are the proposed resources whence the means to meet this expenditure are to be derived.

Already we have had instances where a law of Congress has encountered a seditious resistance fomented by that free soil faction, whose schemes defeated the Democratic party; and that resistance has been suppressed by the troops of the Federal Government.* Thus far have we gone in two years

* Fugitive Slave Law in Michigan.

of federal rule! If the enforcement of federal laws already requires the support of a standing army, and the money power which is to support that army is rapidly concentrating at Washington, how distant are we from a military despotism? It is true, resistance to the law comes only from an ignorant and misguided set of persons, mostly in the interest of the British government—persons who come here for the purpose of acquiring a position, and exerting their influence for the disturbance of our institutions. The British government has long been noted for the sagacity with which it seeks out talented agents, and it is a known fact that those popular English writers who have most distinguished themselves at home for the rancor of their attacks upon American institutions, have, under the administration of that turbulent, unscrupulous and dangerous minister, Lord Palmerston, left the British Islands for the United States, and filed papers of naturalization in the northern states. The machinations of Turnbull in Cuba, may already be finding a parallel in New-York.

In order to bear in mind the strength of the government patronage which may be extended by money appropriations in a limitless degree, and applied to the consolidation of federal power, we will recur to our remarks pending the election in which the country was betrayed to federalism:—The leading schemes to extend the power of the Federal Government, and to make state, local, and private interests depend upon its patronage, may be thus enumerated:—1st, the fishing and salt bounties; 2d, the protective system; 3d, a national debt; 4th, a national bank; 5th, a system of internal improvements; 6th, assumption of the state debts; 7th, distribution of the public lands; 8th, to abolish postage, and make the post office dependent upon the treasury; 9th, to arrogate for Congress powers over new territories and new states that may be created, not granted to it by the Constitution. The first eight of these schemes were of a nature to make the private pecuniary interests of individuals in all the states dependent upon the Federal Government. The fishing interests have drawn from the Federal Treasury, since the formation of the government, over $4,000,000 in direct bounties, being money collected from all other citizens, and paid over to them as a gift: a natural result has been, that the recipients of those bounties are those who have prospered less than any other branch of navigation, and they loudly assert that they cannot now exist without them. They are stipendiaries of the federal treasury. The manufacturing interest, which, as reported by the census of 1840, comprises 791,749 out of 4,798,870 active citizens, or 1-17 of the whole population, have long asserted that their interests depend entirely upon the patronage of the government. That unless that government maintains for them a high tariff, admitted to be mostly a tax upon consumers, for the patriotic motive of supporting manufacturers too feeble to compete with foreigners, they must discontinue work and become paupers. It was long contended by the friends of a strong government, that a "national debt was a national blessing," inasmuch as that every holder of national scrip was a bound adherent of the government which undertook to pay him by extracting the means to do it from his fellow-citizens. A national bank was long clung to as a most notable scheme for giving strength and consistency to the Federal Government. In 1841, Mr. Clay proposed that Congress should establish a bank of $50,000,000 capital, of which the government should subscribe one-half, and thus become the partner of at least 20,000 persons, who would subscribe the remainder,

and this joint proprietary would become the money centre of at least 100,000 borrowers in all parts of the Union. The greatest scheme of all was, probably, that for internal improvements. This policy was commenced nearly a quarter of a century since, and grew steadily with increasing impetus, until, in 1830, the demands upon Congress for appropriations reached $200,000,000, to be expended in all parts of the Union on the wildest schemes for personal emolument at the public expense. The policy was crushed by the Maysville Road veto of President Jackson. The vetoed bill was reconsidered by a vote of yeas 96 to 92 nays, in the House, and yeas 21 to 17 nays, in the Senate, both votes showing a majority in favor of the bill, but not sufficient to overrule the veto. The national treasury being thus relieved of the burden of local improvements, these were taken up by the states, the debts of which, for the construction of public works, speedily swelled to over $200,000,000, and the accumulation was stopped only by loss of credit. The holders of those stocks then made the most vigorous attempts to have them assumed by the Federal Government, because, as it was expressed in the circular of the Messrs. Barings, of London, it was 'necessary to have a more comprehensive guarantee' than state faith for the payment of the debts. Failing in this, the distribution of the public lands was contended for. On that plan, the machinery of the land office was to remain in the hands of the Federal Government, and the money so collected paid out to states. The question of post office reform was also seized upon to extend the influence of the government—it was sought, under the delusive cry of cheap postage, to continue the lavish expenditure among some 3,000 contractors, and to throw the whole expense upon the federal treasury without seeking to reform abuses. All these plans formed parts of a great whole, the direct tendency of which was to consolidate the government, and centralize the powers of all the states in the hands of the federal executive. In order to estimate the power which would thus have been created, had all these schemes been carried out, we may recapitulate the number of persons interested, and the debt which would have been created, as follows:

	Amount of expenditure.		Number dependent upon Federal Government.
U. S. National Bank	$25,000,000	Stockholders and borrowers	120,000
Internal Improvements	500,000,000	Contractors, land-jobbers, &c	250,000
Debts assumed from States	75,000 000	Stockholders and jobbers	50,000
Distribution of land revenues	40,000,000	Land agents and disbursing officers	10,000
Post-office expenses	20,000,000	Post-masters and contractors	19,000
Protective system	40,000,000	Manufacturers	791,749
Fishing bounties	4,000,000	Cod and mackerel catchers	10,000
Total	$704,000,000	Total	1,250,749

The number of active persons in the United States by the census of 1840, was 8,000,000. Thus one-fourth of the whole would have been employees of the Federal Government, which would have equalled in corruption that of Louis Philippe. This is a moderate computation of the patronage which would have resulted from the passage of the Maysville Road bill instead of its veto, and the adoption of the other measures proposed. The amount demanded from the Federal Government for internal improvements in 1830, being about $200,000,000, had the policy been adopted by the Federal Government, that amount would have been expended by it instead of by the states, and it would have been increased

by an amount as much greater as the credit of the Federal Government exceeded that of individual states, and we have estimated it at $500,000,000. There would also have been some $75,000,000 expended by some of the states for banks, &c., to be assumed. The distribution of the public land revenue would have been about $4,000,000 per annum—the post office expenses would have been $3,500,000 per annum. Inasmuch as the revenues have not exceeded the current expenses, the amount of debt would have been increased by all these figures to a sum making over $700,000,000, bearing over $42,000,000 interest per annum, on the expenditure of which, one and a quarter millions of people would have been dependent. It is to be observed that this $700,000,000 would have been borrowed, and the lenders would have swollen the government adherents by at least 200,000 more persons. This picture is no idle conjecture; it is what we have barely escaped by two executive vetoes against majorities of Congress, produced by the corruption of patronage. Had this mass of patronage been now in existence, what would have stayed the progress of centralization? The actual officers holding from the executive, are, as we have said, but the machinery through which these different patronage-seeking interests act upon the elections. The campaign of 1840 affords a singular instance of the successful combination of these interests. The chief schemes that led to that election were, tariff, national bank, distribution, and assumption of state debts. All these interests acting with 800,000 office-seekers, and most efficiently aided by the 34,000 bankrupts, who subsequently took advantage of the bankrupt law then clamored for, carried the election. The debts of those bankrupts amounted to $440,934,615.

When we consider the origin of our present form of government, we become singularly struck with the danger which would have resulted to its permanence if the above mass of patronage had been created. The Federal Constitution is the offspring of a convention of delegates from the several states. That convention, with much caution and jealousy, delegated certain specified powers to Congress, reserving the infinity of sovereign authority to the several states. From that moment, as we have seen, the strife has been continually to give latitudinarian construction to the powers delegated to Congress. If those constructions had prevailed, and an immense debt, with numberless stipendiary interests depending on the Federal Government, all chafing against the restraints of the Constitution, were in being, a new convention would doubtless be called, and what would be the results of such a convention?

As the present Constitution was framed by a convention which represented the several states, a like extraordinary convention may alter or annul it at their pleasure. The aggregate of the several states, as represented by such a convention, is, therefore, sovereign throughout the Union. The Federal Government, which is its creature and minister, and the states' governments, *whose powers it can modify at its pleasure*, are equally subordinate to it. A convention growing out of interests, all formed under the influence of a central government, would naturally feel a desire to strengthen that government, and would doubtless proceed by taking from the states all but specified powers, and endowing the Federal Government with the infinite residue, thus giving it a character of absolute sovereignty, which would easily be perpetuated through its improved strength, by taking from it its constituent character as dependent upon a

convention of delegates to alter or abridge it. The rapid and obvious tendency to such results is manifest in the fact, that the veto of the National Bank Bill, in 1841, drew from Mr. Clay a denunciation of the veto power; and the abolition of this power was made one of the issues at the election of 1844. The new attempt to arrogate for Congress the power of laying new states, on their admission into the Union, under disabilities which do not appertain to the old states, is a bold and singular position for any party to assume, and belongs peculiarly to that class of projects meant to raise the supremacy of the Federal Government. Congress, under the Constitution, is entirely without the power to interfere with the domestic concerns of any persons, either in states or territories. The attempts to force such a construction upon the powers of Congress, is a singular indication of the recklessness of political aspirants.

If this system again gathers force, how long will the institutions of the south stand before a moneyed power having control of a convention, and to the patronage of which a standing army will be an eagerly sought appendage?

The federal party obtained power at that election, and the latitudinarian construction of the Constitution has made fearful progress. Under these circumstances, the defeat of General Cass, at the election of 1848, will prove what we then apprehended and earnestly urged, viz., the greatest calamity which the country has ever experienced. Under the constant agitation which has been kept up upon the slavery question, the most inordinate appropriations have passed Congress, and the amount to be provided in the fiscal year, 1851, will not fall short of $60,000,000! Although the present revenue tariff yielded $40,000,000 in 1850, a larger sum than ever was before obtained from that source, a loan will be demanded to make good a peace expenditure. The public lands, as a source of revenue, can now no longer be depended upon. The enormous figure to which the appropriations of this year have attained, were under the constant urging of the departments. The committees of both houses were harassed by the bureaux in a manner seldom witnessed, and they reported what was demanded of them by the executive. While the constant state of terrorism in which the country and Congress was kept by the abolitionists, represented by Mr. Seward, who was the ally of the Galphin cabinet, was a part of the tactics for procuring large appropriations, and the result has been an immense extension of executive patronage, and an unparalleled squandering of money in new directions, with the whole system of internal improvements in an exaggerated form, embracing the Pacific railroad as a government measure, looming up in the background as a lure to future support. The palpable corruption which everywhere pervades federalist rule, particularly in New-York city and state as well as at Washington, affords melancholy evidence of the desperate and reckless manner in which the next campaign is to be conducted. Although the schemes of the Galphin cabinet were promoted by Mr. Seward, who used the federal patronage in this state for the promotion of his own views and to the injury of rivals, the sudden death of General Taylor, followed up by the policy of Mr. Fillmore, has tranferred to him the strength which Mr. Seward had erected for himself. The unprincipled and active politicians who had attached themselves to Mr. Seward as the influential man, and who had been rewarded with office through that influence, suddenly found themselves dependent upon his enemy, Mr. Fillmore. Instead of

turning them out, to form an irritated and formidable opposition under their old leader, he retained them in office and paralyzed their opposition. Their former leader, disappointed and embittered, after sinking to a lower level at Washington than ever senator before reached, and which it is to the last degree mortifying to the empire state to contemplate, has raised and forced upon his party the standard of abolitionism, which has thus again become a whig principle. This singular turn in affairs has destroyed the third party, and restored whiggery to its old platform; but the free-soil movement and slavery agitation may now be considered as at an end. That the repealof the fugitive slave law may be agitated for the present election, is possible, but the ordinance of 1787 and the fugitive slave law, which is only a reiteration of its provisions, will be respected. The ordinance of 1787 was as follows:—

"ARTICLE VI.—There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territories, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: *Provided always, that* any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original states, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid."

This article has been called the palladium of the liberties of the north-western territory. To this alone have the abolitionists ascribed the freedom of the states north of the Ohio from slaves. Before that ordinance, the laws of Virginia permitting slavery prevailed. Those laws were abrogated *on the condition that fugitive slaves should be restored.* The new law of Congress simply enforces that condition. We are a law-abiding people, and suffer no persons to resist the operation of a law. Those who have the temerity to resist will be made a melancholy example of the consequences of sedition in a country where respect to the law is the only guarantee for the continuance of civilization. None will attempt it, however. The unprincipled, cowardly miscreants who get up meetings to urge others to incur the danger of their own mischievous advice, will skulk from the public indignation. It is not a little singular, however, that a Massachusetts man, who is a son of a President of the United States, and who is also the grandson of that President who was the author of the famous sedition laws of 1798, should council sedition in 1850 to a knot of aliens and negroes.

The ordinance of 1787, as we have shown, required the surrender o fugitives, and under the administration of General Washington, February 12, 1793, the following law was passed in accordance with the condition on which slavery had been excluded from the north-western territory:

"SEC. 3. *And be it also enacted*, That when a person held to labor in any of the United States, or in either of the territories on the north-west or south of the river Ohio, under the laws thereof, shall escape into any other of the said States or Territory, the person to whom such labor or service may be due, his agent or attorney, is hereby empowered to seize or arrest such fugitive from labor, and to take him or her before any judge of the circuit or district courts of the United States, residing or being within the State, or before any magistrate of a county, city, or town corporate, wherein such seizure or arrest shall be made; and before proof to the satisfaction of such judge or magistrate, either by oral testimony or affidavit taken before and certified by a magistrate of any such State or Territory, that the person so seized or arrested doth, under the laws of the

State or Territory from which he or she fled, owe service or labor to the person claiming him or her, it shall be the duty of such judge or magistrate to give a certificate thereof to such claimant, his agent or attorney, which shall be sufficient warrant for removing the said fugitive from labor to the State or Territory from which he or she fled.

"SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted.* That any person who shall knowingly and willingly obstruct or hinder such claimant, his agent or attorney, in so seizing or arresting such fugitive from labor, or shall rescue such fugitive from such claimant, his agent or attorney, when so arrested, pursuant to the authority herein given or declared, or shall harbor or conceal such person, after notice that he or she was a fugitive from labor as aforesaid, shall, for either of the said offences, forfeit and pay the sum of five hundred dollars; which penalty may be recovered by and for the benefit of such claimant, by action of debt in any court proper to try the same, saving, moreover, to the person claiming such labor or service, his right of action for or on account of the said injuries on either of them."

This law was obstructed in its operation, and more stringent measures were thought to be required. In July, 1798, the government of John Adams passed a law which read as follows:—

"That if any persons shall unlawfully combine, or conspire together, with intent to oppose any measure or measures of the government of the United States, which are or shall be directed by proper authority, or to impede the operation of any law of the United States, or to intimidate or prevent any person holding a place or office in or under the government of the United States, from undertaking, performing or executing his trust or duty; and if any person or persons, with intent aforesaid, shall counsel, advise, or attempt to procure any insurrection, riot, unlawful assembly, or combination, whether such conspiracy, threatening, counsel, advice or attempt shall have the proposed effect or not, he or they shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor," &c.

The punishment was $5,000 fine, and imprisonment not over five years, and to find sureties for future good behaviour. In the pursuance of the same general policy, the son of John Adams, aided by a corrupt coalition, reached the presidential chair a minority President, and the son of that person is now in connection with an assemblage of aliens and blacks, perpetrating such sedition as his grandfather's law was directed against; and he is not the only son of an ex-President who has lent himself to treasonable schemes; such are some of the curiosities of politics.

The cry against this new law has been on the ground of its alleged unconstitutionality, and suspension of the *habeas corpus* act. This allegation was made only by the dishonest, for fraudulent purposes. It is one of the cheats, the loaded dice of political gamblers. The Attorney-General, Mr. Crittenden, in reply to an official note of the President, as to the constitutionality of the fugitive slave bill, remarks:—

"The act of 12th February, 1793, before alluded to, so far as it respects any constitutional question that can arise out of this bill, is identical with it. It authorizes the like arrest of the fugitive slave, the like trial, the like judgment, the like certificate, with the like authority to the owner, by virtue of that certificate as his warrant, to remove him to the state or territory from which he escaped. And the constitutionality of that act, in all those particulars, has been affirmed by the adjudications of state tribunals, and by the courts of the United States, without a single dissent, so far as I know.

"I conclude, therefore, that so far as the act of the 12th February, 1793, has been held to be constitutional, this bill must also be so received, and that the

custody, restraint and removal, to which the fugitive slave may be subjected under the provisions of this bill, are all lawful, and that the certificate to be granted to the owner is to be regarded as the act and judgment of a judicial tribunal having competent jurisdiction."

The slavery agitation having effected the defeat of the Democratic party in New-York, and of the national candidate, is now subsiding into those ranks whence it originated. The Democratic Convention of New-York re-asserted its national principles in the nomination of its candidates, and the Whig party has adhered to its sectionality, in the person of Mr. Seward, taking precisely the same course that it did on the Missouri question. Mr. Jefferson, writing to Lafayette, in 1823, said, on this question :—

"On the eclipse of federalism with us, although not its extinction, its leaders got up the Missouri question, under the false front of lessening the measure of slavery, but with the *real* view of producing a geographical division of parties, which might ensure them the next President. *The people of the north went blindfold into the snare*, followed their leaders for a while with a zeal truly moral and laudable, until they became sensible that they were injuring, instead of aiding, the real interests of the slaves; that they had been used merely as tools for electioneering purposes; and that trick of hypocrisy then fell as quickly as it had been got up."

How accurately does this describe the course now taken! The federalist leaders have led the "people of the north blindfolded into the snare," and it may require another election to awaken them to the fraud that has been practised. The national Democratic party has rallied back upon its old principles, so nobly maintained by General Cass and Senator Dickinson. It has been the happiness of this Review to have agreed perfectly with those great men upon the policy of the party and country, amid the perils that have arisen from the slavery question. Early in 1847 we urged the non-intervention principle as the only democratic ground; and we have cause to congratulate the friends of republicanism, that after the most stormy and protracted debate that Congress ever witnessed, a general return to that principle became the basis of settlement. A great good has, however, grown out of the debate. It has exposed the hollowness of the free-soil abstraction. It has attracted the attention of every American to the subject, and the clear, good sense of the people has rejected it. The Democratic party being now purged of this pestilence, although some of the traitors are still permitted in the ranks, will rally upon its ancient ground, and federalism, with its corruption, treason and hypocrisy, will again resume its wonted minority.

The national Whig party having again, as before, attained power by the free-soil fraud, will rally upon that patronage which is now so fully in its hands, and from which its principles of latitudinarian construction of the Constitution removes all resraint in the exercise. The first attempt will be a loan, at the coming session, to be followed up by an increase of the tariff, the necessity for which will be urged on the ground, not of excess of expenditure, but of inadequate revenues. An abolition of postage, and a transfer of its expenses to the federal treasury, will be demanded on pretence of postage reform, but really for the purpose of extending that patronage in all branches of the service, already large in the direction of ocean steamers, but destined to be much larger. The land bounty bills have greatly extended executive patronage, while they have diminished revenue. The Democratic party must again take ground in opposition to federal extravagance and taxation. The attempt to raise the tariff, which

will be earnestly made, if successful, would diminish the revenue by checking trade. The customs' revenues are levied upon the proceeds of United States produce returning from abroad, and to confiscate a portion of those returns to government use, is to cause persons to shun the business, and necessarily to curtail the markets for farm produce, now becoming important.

A deficiency of revenues caused by a protective tariff and inordinate expenditure, will be made good by borrowing, thus constantly increasing the money power and patronage of the government. The government bank system is dead forever, and the time is now come when the people should look steadily in the face, the fact that they have a Federal Government to support; that that government should be as economical as possible, and that the sum necessary for its support should be raised in such a manner as will the least interfere with the operations of labor. The principles of political economy are now well settled, and they show that direct taxes upon accumulated property are those only which should be levied in a free country. All indirect taxes or imposts upon consumable goods are levied upon labor and not upon capital; they interfere with the reward of the laborer, check the interchange of products, and therefore diminish their value, and tend constantly to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. These effects were never denied, but in monarchical governments were conceived to be a good. Indirect taxes were favorites with absolute rulers, because among an unenlightened people they were paid without remonstrance. This cannot be urged in this country. The people do not wish to be cheated out of taxes, but are ready to pay what is requisite in the most economical way. An abolition of customs' duties will have the effect, not only to promote the sale of very large quantities of the products of labor, but will deprive the government of the patronage of 6,000 office-holders, who divide $3,000,000 of the people's money among them annually. The amount now yielded by the customs can be assessed, *pro rata*, among the states, and paid in by the state treasurer to the general treasurer, without any federal machinery whatever. The wants of the community, also, require a relinquishment of the old post-office establishment, by the federal government throwing the mail-carrying open to private competition, which can perform it better and cheaper. By this movement 18,000 political agents will close their connection with the federal government, and a source of immense corruption be cut off.

The great object to be attained is, to deprive the federal government of patronage, without disturbing the constitution. That government now has the right of raising money by direct or internal taxes, by customs' duties, and by the sale of land. The latter source has been dried up, and the first-mentioned neglected. It is only now to abandon customs, and resort to internal taxes, assessed upon the states. All these have the machinery for state taxes in operation, and they have only to raise an additional amount and pay it over to the Secretary of the Treasury. The post-office arrangement may simply be abandoned, and the services, as in the case of expresses and telegraphs, will be much better performed by public competition. Responsible companies would be glad to carry letters for one cent each, almost to any distance, and danger of mail robberies would decrease. By the federalist policy of cheapening postage and throwing the expense upon the federal treasury, the farmers and laborers will have to pay the postage of the rich. By throwing it open to competition, every man will have to pay his own postage. The great end to be

achieved by substituting internal taxes for customs' duties is, to restrain the expenditure of the government. Money cannot be squandered on Galphin claims, and corrupt contracts, when the constituency of the members voting for it will directly feel in their assessments the result of such votes. Instead of reaching office through the aid of expectant contractors and speculators, the candidate must appeal to economy, and urge reduction of expenses as the means of popular favor.

THE PRELUDE.*

The death of William Wordsworth is naturally suggestive of many reflections. During half a century he has been before the world as an author, claiming attention by his eminence, and provoking opposition by the peculiarities of his style and diction. He has accordingly encountered every variety of criticism: from the harsh and illiberal strictures of Jeffrey, and his coadjutors of the "Edinburgh," to the gentle appreciation of Charles Lamb and the just discriminations of Coleridge. Byron has left upon enduring record his utter "aversion" "to that drowsy, frouzy poem called the 'Excursion;'" and the early published "Lyrical Ballads" were greeted with every note of critical dissonance. But the quiet sage of Rydal Mount, unawed by authority, unmoved by the number or the violence of his opponents, still walked calmly along the path he had deliberately chosen, assiduously cultivating the peculiar talent he was conscious of possessing. The style and characteristics of his earlier and latest poems are the same, and he retained to the last his early adopted poetical creed, somewhat modified by experience, and the mellowing influences of riper years. With him, truly, "the child" has been "father of the man," and he seems to have realized his own wish—

> "that his days might be
> Bound each to each by natural piety."

He is also a most striking illustration of the ultimate effect of persevering self-reliance. Notwithstanding the unpopular nature of his style, and, in general, the unattractiveness of his subject-matter, and in spite of all the prejudices he was obliged to encounter, he at length *formed* a public to appreciate his merits, and had finally the satisfaction of seeing himself regarded, for awhile, as the first living poet of a nation perhaps richer than any other in the production of poets and men of genius.

Still, it may be a question, whether, in following what he considered the monitions of his own genius, he did not neglect counsels to which it would have been wise to have listened; whether he has not given too large a portion of his time to solitude and self-communing thought, and yielded too little to the softening, modifying influences of congenial minds. He turns his eye outward upon Nature, and inward in contemplation of the subtle emotions which her mystic beauties and sublimities have excited, but never seems to have opened his heart to a full communion with

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* The Prelude; or, Growth of a Poet's Mind. An Autobiographical Poem. By William Wordsworth. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton.

his fellow-man. Solitary reflection, whilst it deepens, also narrows; and if too much indulged, tends to conceit, bigotry, and all those faults of which *self* is the base; free intercourse with our kind, on the contrary, not only warms and invigorates, but tends to correct many a constitutional fault and acquired folly.

The question how far one should yield to his own idiosyncracies, is one which we have never yet seen fully discussed; we can, at present, only glance at the opposite sides. The oft quoted motto—

> "To thine own self be true,
> And it must follow, as the night the day,
> Thou canst not then be false to any man"—

we have long held to be of the widest application. And in the work before us, our author happily expresses a similar sentiment.

> "Dearest friend!
> If thou partake the animating faith
> That Poets, even as Prophets, each with each
> Connected in a mighty scheme of truth,
> Have each his own peculiar faculty,
> Heaven's gift, a sense that fits him to perceive
> Objects unseen before, thou wilt not blame
> The humblest of this band that dares to hope
> That unto him hath also been vouchsafed
> An insight that in some sort he possesses,
> A privilege whereby a work of his,
> Proceeding from a source of untaught things,
> Creative and enduring, may become
> A power like one of Nature's."

Such is the high ground assumed, worthy of the noblest poet. The inference is clear enough. He that would accomplish the utmost possible, must act from within, and in accordance with his own constitution. And we are persuaded that it is on this very point that most of us fail. Allured by flattering appearances, or driven by trials and severities, we forsake our own true path, and waste our lives in vain and painful efforts, too often illustrating these pointed lines of Goethe:—

> "Much to be pitied is the man
> Who fails to do the thing he can,
> But undertakes what he was never made for;
> No wonder that his work gets poorly paid for!"

Each in his own peculiar sphere should be superior to every other since that which is natural to him, another can attain only by laborious imitation. Moreover, when we act in obedience to the inmost law of our being, we find, if we persevere, all the laws of nature acting as forces to aid and support us. We feel also a satisfaction in our efforts, not otherwise to be attained. If we mistake not, the dissatisfaction, the ennui and disgust so generally expressed, arise from our desertion of our own posts. The burden that is crushing us to earth, is clearly enough none of ours; for that, according to the proverb, we should be fitted to endure. Could we escape from the artificial life we are leading to the simplicity of nature, and in humility and trustful confidence apply ourselves only to the tasks which God and nature impose, how joyous would be our life, how inexpressible the satisfaction our successful labors would then afford!

But if it be true that without self-reliance and fidelity to our own pecu-

liar constitution, nothing of real value can be attained; it is equally true, that he that will be under no obligation to others, will be able to confer little upon them. Great wealth is the result of many exchanges. The Creator has not so endowed the most gifted of his children, that he can be independent of his brethren. The most perfect characters have many faults, the strongest many weaknesses, which it is the part of friendship to correct, to compensate, and, if possible, remove. The happiest culture is undoubtedly that which, leaving the stronger features of the character to their natural development, still soften many an asperity, modifies whatever is extravagant, and tends to produce a happy harmony among all the faculties. We need humility, and an open, loving spirit, that we may be ready to receive instruction from every one on any point wiser than ourselves.

The characteristics of the PRELUDE are the same as those which distinguish the author's other works; simplicity, fine descriptions of nature, and the subtler workings of his own mind, with general reflections upon man and life. The diction is often but a single remove from prose. To many the poet's delineation of the growth and development of his mind and character would have been quite as attractive without the rhythm. One naturally thinks while reading it, of the "*Poetry and Truth from My Life*" of Goethe; and must allow that the work of the German, though written in prose, is far more poetical. The details of actual life lose often much of their homely charm, when committed to the formality of blank verse. Still the work is of great value as a faithful record of the inner life of a distinguished poet of our own day. Wanting the attractions of narative and incident, it pleases by the pictures which it presents of the poet, in the various stages of his progress, and the scenes and objects in which he most delighted. It is calm and cheerful, and tends to make us contented with our lot.

> "The poet's soul was with me at that time:
> Sweet meditations, the still overflow
> Of present happiness, while future years
> Lacked not anticipations, tender dreams,
> No few of which have since been realized;
> And some remain, hopes for my future life.
> Four years and thirty, told this very week,
> Have I been now a sojourner on earth,
> By sorrow not unsmitten; yet for me
> Life's morning radiance hath not left the hills,
> Her dew is on the flowers. Those were the days
> Which also first emboldened me to trust
> With firmness, hitherto but lightly touched
> By such a daring thought, that I might leave
> Some monument behind me which pure hearts
> Should reverence."

To the admirers of Wordsworth, this poem will need no commendation; and those with whom he is less a favorite, will find it not more attractive than the "Excursion." They will think it often tedious and prosaic, and passionless, as are all his works. But as the matured production of one of the most cultivated poets of our age, it certainly demands a careful perusal; and the revelation which it gives of the internal history of a noble and peculiar genius, the delineations of external nature, and the wise reflection with which it abounds, will certainly amply reward the reader.

MIRABEAU.

Next to Napoleon, the Count de Mirabeau was the most extraordinary person to whom that mother of prodigies, the French Revolution, gave birth. Down to that period, his life had been diversified by a sufficient number of marvellous deeds and disgusting vices, to have furnished materials for a "select library" of heroic or revolting romances.

Born in 1749, he became the most eminent and celebrated member of one of the oldest and most distinguished families of Provence. His father, the Marquis de Mirabeau, was a leading partizan of the school of Political Economists, founded by Quesnay; and after its chief, one of its ablest writers. An ultra-liberalist on paper, and an ardent advocate of theoretical equality, his life was one continuous exemplification of unbending aristocracy, making him a worthy sire of him of whom Neckar said, he was a "*Tribun par calcul, et Aristocrat par goût.*" In boyhood, the Count exhibited a rare combination of intuitive genius, exquisite sensibility, generous daring, and vehement passion. From some cause, never fully explained, his father seems to have hated him from his very birth. Instead of providing for him that species of mental and moral nurture which would have given a right direction to his strong propensities, and caused them to shoot up and bear comely and valuable fruits, he first poisoned the soil whence they sprung, and then threw them out upon the world to grow without culture or die of neglect. By means admirably adapted to blight or to poison the heart of his child, he thwarted, indiscriminately, all his boyish plans and stifled all his youthful aspirations. At the age of fourteen, he placed him in a military school, where his robust intellect and versatile taste made large acquisitions in languages, mathematics, music and drawing, while his precocious appetite and fiery temper sought enjoyment and exercise in debauchery and broils. Leaving this school, he entered the army, became an adept in the practice of athletic sports, read with avidity all the works on military science that came in his way, and contracted the worst vices of a gay and dissolute camp. He fell violently in love, and wished to marry and quit the service. But his father, so far from yielding to his importunities, and seizing this opportunity to make his wayward son a man of purity and peace, was deeply incensed, and was on the point of banishing the Count to an unhealthy tropical colony, when the interference of some members of the Mirabeau family so far appeased his ferocity, that he commuted his sentence to imprisonment in a fortress on the island of Ré, in the bay of Biscay. This outrage unsealed the waters of bitterness in the soul of young Mirabeau; and thenceforth the persecutions of the unnatural father were returned with all the intensity of hatred which the abused son could command. The war between them was open and relentless. During the ten or twelve following years, the Count endured a series of vexations and cruelties at the hands of the Marquis, that aroused the deepest indignation and abhorrence in impartial minds. These were repaid by repeated instances of studied contempt or malignant abuse on the part of the son, that excite mingled emotions of admiration and disgust.

Having been released from Ré, Mirabeau entered the army in Corsica, where his skill and bravery soon won him a captain's commission. Ambitious to rise in the service, he applied to his father for aid in purchasing a regiment. It was refused, and he left the camp forever. Being now two years in his majority, he married a beautiful young lady of small fortune, and retired to Limousin, a central province of the kingdom, and commenced agriculture. For a few months he passed a comparatively quiet and orderly life in this rural district. But, like the storm petrel, smooth seas and calm skies were not his favorite elements. Growing discontented with his monotonous pursuits, and looking around for a way of escape, he found himself entangled in hopeless bankruptcy. His father had scarcely given him a livre since he drove him from home to struggle against poverty and neglect in the army. He had settled in Limousin with his father's approval. He had been expected to keep up the dignity of the family, by living like a nobleman's heir. Aristocratic exaction had aided to plunge him into his pecuniary difficulties. A suitable opportunity was now afforded for parental interference to relieve him from his embarrassments. The Marquis did interfere. He brought a charge of lunacy against the Count, caused him to be arrested under a *Lettre de Cachet*, and confined to his estate! Subsequently, escaping from confinement to avenge an insult to his sister, his father procured another *Lettre*, which threw him into the castle of If. After remaining here some time, his place of imprisonment was changed to the fortress of Joux. His agreeable manners so won upon the commander of the fortress, that he gave him permission to live in the adjoining town.

It was while residing here, in 1775, that he met with an adventure which blazoned his name through Europe. Associating with the aristocracy of the town, he saw Sophie, the wife of the Marquis Monnier, president of the Chamber of Commerce of Dole. According to the practice of the ancient *regime*, she had been wedded, while a girl, to a superannuated man of threescore. Allied to an austere, jealous old civilian, the life of this brilliant beauty of eighteen was one round of vexation and torment. Captivated by her ripe charms, Mirabeau, then a dashing young nobleman of twenty-six, avowed his passion to the Marchioness. She was flattered by his adoration, and intoxicated by his fascinating conversation. They contracted a guilty connection. He fled to Dijon, whither she followed him. He was there arrested by his father, but contrived to escape into Switzerland, where he was immediately joined by the Marchioness. Hunted in his mountain retreat by the spies of his father, he and his mistress took refuge in Holland. The noblesse and aristocracy of France, whose matrimonial infidelities were the jest of every court and camp in Europe, affected to be outraged beyond measure at this transgression of conjugal rights. The rage of the Marquis de Mirabeau knew no bounds. He trumpeted his virtuous indignation in the ears of the continent. A striking evidence of the unmixed purity of his anger is found in the fact, that fifteen years before, having been fascinated with the charms of Madame de Pailly, the lickerish old Marquis turned his constant wife, the partner of his youth, the mother of his children, out of doors, that he might have larger accommodations for this voluptuous Swiss mistress, who had, from that hour to this, shared his bed, ruled his household, stimulated to frenzy his hatred of his son, and goaded him to persecute with unflagging libels and lawsuits his discarded wife, filling the families

of both parties with contention, and furnishing rich food for backbiters in the saloons of Paris.

In Holland, Mirabeau remained about two years, supporting himself and his paramour by literary labors. Gross charges having been published against him by his father, he retorted by lifting, before the eye of Europe, the curtain which concealed the infidelities of the parental mansion. President Monnier prosecuted him for seduction in one of the French courts, and he was condemned to death and decapitated in effigy. An attempt was now made to get possession of his person. His father, not content that he should live in exile, unknown except as a seducer and a satirist, induced the government to violate the clearest principles of international law, by causing him and his mistress to be arrested in Holland, by a French officer, without the consent of the Dutch authorities, and brought to France. On their arrival, he was lodged in the castle of Vincennes, and she, being in a critical state of health, was kept under the eye of the police till she was delivered of a daughter, when she was sent to a convent. Throughout nearly the whole of his long confinement, Mirabeau was treated with extreme rigor. For some time he was deprived of pen, ink, paper and books. When these were at length granted to him, he employed the dreary hours in reading and writing. Everything he wrote was subject to the inspection of the governor of the castle. During his incarceration, he prepared some of his most celebrated works; among them, *Lettres à Sophie* and *Lettres de Cachet;* the former, scandalous in the extreme; the latter, worthy of the best phase of his character. This able and eloquent exposure of the manifold abuses of this convenient instrument of public persecution and private malice, of which, during his life, he was seventeen times the victim, contributed to swell the rising tide that was soon to whelm king, nobles, and *Lettres de Cachet* in undistinguishable ruin. Being denied the use of paper suitable for the composition of such a work, he wrote the *Lettres* on blank leaves torn from the books he read, and concealed the manuscript from his keepers by stitching it in the folds of his garments, and when he left the castle carried it away unobserved. The public authorities at length began to believe, that his imprisonment was instigated by his father more from a love of revenge than a love of justice, and orders were given for his liberation. In 1780, Mirabeau, with broken health, but unsubdued spirit, turned his back on Vincennes, where he had been kept a close prisoner three years and six months.

A reconciliation, which subsequent events proved to have been heartless on both sides, was now patched up between the father and the son. Mutual charges of inconstancy passed between him and Sophie. She bitterly upbraided him for suspecting her of infidelities of which he was notoriously guilty. They separated forever. After lingering a few years in obscurity and remorse, the Marchioness terminated her wretched life by inhaling the fumes of charcoal. Mirabeau having procured a revocation of the sentence of death that had been pronounced against him for the seduction of this woman, attempted to regain the confidence of his long neglected wife. Failing to accomplish this by negociation, he harassed her with a lawsuit, which terminated in his defeat and her triumph, and the disgrace of both. Another quarrel was now fastened upon him by his father; and quitting France, in 1784, he repaired to London, accompanied by a new mistress with whom he became acquainted while dwelling in

Holland. He remained in London some two years, associating familiarly with Wilkes and other radical friends of liberty, publishing several political works, and studying the structure and observing the workings of the British Constitution. In 1786, he went to Berlin, wormed himself into the confidence of the Great Frederick, joined the society of the Illuminati, and gathered materials for a history of Prussia. After wandering through Europe nearly four years, dividing his time between writing for newspapers, composing books, debauching frail women, defending himself against prosecutions for libels, going to jail for debts, and fighting duels, this half vagabond, half philosopher, returned to France in 1787.

He had left the country reposing in the lap of despotism. He found it agitated with discussions that foreshadowed the events of 1789. The heavy burdens of the national debt and the exhausted condition of the public treasury, and the inability of the ordinary revenues to pay the interest of the one and supply the deficiencies of the other, called imperiously for a resort to extraordinary taxation. To meet this exigency, public sentiment was urging the necessity of a convocation of the States General. The ever active pen of Mirabeau at once entered into these inflammatory discussions. The violent character of his first pamphlet caused a *Lettre de Cachet* to be issued against him. He avoided arrest by flight; and from his retreat continued to issue pamphlets, some of which were valuable, others infamous, and all pungent and popular. One of his works was condemned by the parliament of Paris, another was burnt by the common hangman, and all tended to increase the popular commotion. At length, the king yielded to the general demand, and the decree for the convocation of the three estates of the realm was issued. Mirabeau repaired to Provence, the ancient seat of his family, and offered himself a candidate to represent the noblesse of his native district in the Assembly. His claim to be recognized as a member of their "order" was scouted with disdain. Not to be foiled thus, and determined to have a voice in this rare tribunal, he derided his own claim to fellowship among the nobles, courted the favor of the commons, hired a shop, hung out his sign, "Mirabeau, Woolen Draper," put on his apron, sold his commodities, won the confidence of the mob, was elected by the *sans-culottes* of Aix as their representative, and with haughty mien and vengeful heart, took his seat among the deputies of the *tiers-état*, at Versailles, on the fifth of May, 1789.

What a life of forty years had been led by this man, now to become the master mind in the most extraordinary revolution of the Christian era! What was the secret of the vast influence he exerted over the destinies of one of the oldest and most powerful monarchies of Europe, and one of the most cultivated and brilliant nations in the world? It is to be found partly in the rare combination of elements that constituted his nature, and partly in the unprecedented character of the crisis in which he displayed his powers.

It long since ceased to be disputed, that the causes of the French Revolution are to be sought far beyond the financial embarrassments which convoked the States General. Nor was the National Assembly, into which the States were so speedily merged, the prime origin of the commotions that immediately followed its organization. Nor were the clamors of the press, the fulminations of the tribune, the conspiracies of the clubs, and the orgies of the *sans-culottes*, the pristine sources of those political and social convulsions, whose throes shook two hemispheres and blanched

the cheek of Christendom. All these were but the proximate agents, the outward semblances, the mere effects, of remote revolutionary causes. Had not internal corruption and the ravages of time, the broad-sown speculations of a progressive philosophy and a universal desire for change, prepared the government of France to crumble in pieces at the first rude shock, some of the events we have enumerated would never have occurred, while the others would have been insufficient to have prostrated a throne that had survived the mutations of a thousand years.

And when we carefully trace the events of 1789–94 backward to the fountains whence these turbulent waters issued, the suddenness with which they burst forth, as from the solid ground, and overwhelmed ancient institutions, will seem marvellous, until we contemplate a singular phenomenon, which characterized the mind of France throughout the first three quarters of the eighteenth century. During this period, that kingdom produced some of the boldest speculators and writers on morals and government that had appeared in any age of the world. Unlike the course usually pursued in respect to ethical and political speculations in England and America, the ideas of these French philosophers and theorists were not brought, one by one, as they were evolved, to the test of first principles and actual experiment, so that their inherent qualities might be analyzed, the gold separated from the dross, the bad discarded, the good systematized, and gradually wrought into and made to remodel and reform existing systems and institutions—but, during this long series of years, the men of thought and the men of action, the speculators and the operators, the theorizers and the experimenters of France, were divided into two distinct classes, each moving undisturbed in its peculiar sphere. The Encyclopedists and the Economists, the philosophers who dogmatized about the natural equality of man, and the poets who sung of the blissful period when plebeians should be kings, seemed to dwell and theorize apart from the active and operative classes of the nation, taking no share in managing its affairs, never interfering with its policy, and exhibiting little interest in its progress and the condition of its people, except as they afforded materials for abstract speculation. Thus, when the Diderots, the Raynals, the Quesnays, the Voltaires, the Rousseaus, were living in a transcendental future, beautiful to the eye of fancy, but impossible of actual realization, the noblesse, the aristocracy, the prelates, busied themselves with wielding the realities and sporting the trappings of power, with robbing the treasury and fleecing the people, with mingling in the intrigues and enjoying the pleasures of a wily and voluptuous court; while they looked upon these writers as mere ideal dreamers, whose doctrines were objects only of curiosity, and whose theories were as harmless and impracticable as if they had been promulgated in another planet. Therefore it was, that the dogmas and dreams of some of the acutest philosophers and most brilliant poets of modern times, were left to accumulate through three-fourths of a century, unquestioned and untried, till they had become a vast magazine of new doctrines and strange fancies, some of which were valuable, others worthless; some salutary, others destructive; when the collisions between the higher and lower orders of society, which occurred on the assembling of the States-General, struck out a spark that fired this dangerous mass, and produced an explosion that overthrew the institutions of ages.

In the collisions to which we have alluded, Mirabeau played a part that at once designated him as the master-spirit that was to direct the coming

storm. With the whole drama before it, posterity can see that the revolution was predetermined in the order of providential events. But, to the most far-sighted of the participants in all the transactions of 1789, it appeared doubtful whether they would terminate in a reformation or a revolution. The triumph of the Commons on several preliminary questions, arising in the early stages of the conflict between the orders, precipitated the crisis. Two of the most important were, whether the three estates should act as one body or three; and whether the National Assembly would so far yield to the authority of the king, as to dissolve at his bidding. To Mirabeau, by universal consent, has been assigned the largest share in the victory won by the *tiers-état* on both these issues, and to him, therefore, more than to any other person, is to be attributed the events that heralded the revolution, and determined the fate of the monarchy. We will briefly notice the two *pivot* questions which gave a direction to the crisis.

It was doubtful whether the ancient practice required that the nobles, the clergy, and the commons, should deliberate together in one body, or in separate bodies. The old records furnished precedents on both sides. In fixing the number of representatives to which each order was to be entitled, the minister had allotted to the *tiers-état* a little more than both the others combined. Very naturally, therefore, it contended for a joint meeting, as this would give it the control of the assemblage. This was resisted by the nobles, the prelates, and the king, with intense pertinacity. The contest had continued four weeks—negotiations had failed to settle the dispute—conferees had been appointed in vain—the blandishments and authority of the king had been unable to seduce or awe the commons into a compliance with his wishes. Having exhausted all modes of reconciliation consistent with their own independence and their fixed purpose to rule the councils of the states, the commons resolved to take the initiative in the work of organization. Mirabeau, who had occasionally participated in the discussions of these four weeks, and had measurably obliterated the prejudices against him, ascended the tribune. His thundering eloquence shook the dome of the hall where the deputies sat, inspiring the resolute and confirming the wavering among his seven hundred colleagues, and reverberated through the crowded galleries and passages, challenging a response in the bosoms of thousands of excited spectators. He closed his speech by saying: "What! need I demonstrate that the division of Orders, that debate and deliberation by Orders, would be a contrivance truly sublime for establishing selfishness in the priesthood, pride in the aristocracy, baseness in the people, confusion among all interests, corruption in all classes, cupidity in every soul, the insignificance of the nation, the impotence of the prince, the despotism of the ministry? No! we have exhausted all hopes of compromise. Any plan of conciliation rejected by one party, [he alluded to the refusal of the nobles to accede to the last proposal of the commons,] can no longer be examined by the other. A month is past; it is time to take a decisive step; a deputy of Paris has an important motion to make; let us hear him." He then introduced to the tribune Sieyes, the Jefferson of the Assembly, who, after a calm and lucid address, which strikingly contrasted with the bold and gorgeous philippic of Mirabeau, proposed to send a final invitation to the noblesse and the clergy to join the commons, and organize the States-General. It was carried with shouts, that penetrated the royal closet of Versailles. At the next sitting, the deputies

proceeded to the verification of their credentials. A day or two after, a considerable number of the clergy joined them; and were received with enthusiastic applause. Thus reinforced, the world-renowned *tiers-état*, at the close of a long and violent discussion, after midnight, on the 16th of June, constituted itself a permanent body, by the name of the National Assembly. The chief controversy arose respecting the name it should take and the powers it should assume. Without, the elements blew a terrific tempest, frequently bursting open the doors of the hall, and drowning the roar of voices within—the rage of nature and of man combining to presage the storms that were to agitate the future discussions of this revolutionary tribunal.

The commons had tried their strength in a contest with the privileged orders, and had conquered. They were now, after the lapse of a single week, to grapple with the king. During these seven days, the Assembly had issued a bold address in defence of its conduct in regard to an independent organization—had performed its first act of legislative power by legalizing the levy of certain taxes, and had announced its determination to proceed at once to inquire into the causes of the public discontent. Its ordinary place of meeting having been closed by order of the king, it had rushed tumultuously into the Tennis Court, and there, with outstretched hands, uttered the celebrated oath never to separate till "the constitution of the kingdom was established on a solid basis." The clergy, after an excited debate, had, by a close vote, resolved to join the Assembly. Aroused by these bold proceedings, Louis ordered a royal sitting of the three orders, in the hall of the Assembly, on the 23d of June. They met—the nobles elated with hope—the clergy shaken with fear—the commons sullen with determination. The king addressed them at some length, mingling reproaches with commands—avowing his fixed purpose to maintain ancient privileges—directing the three orders to sit and deliberate in separate bodies, and declaring that if his injunctions met with further obstacles, he would alone establish the welfare of his people, of whom he was the sole representative. He then commanded the Assembly to separate immediately, and left the hall, followed by the nobles and a portion of the clergy. The commons and the remainder of the clergy kept their seats. Mirabeau was the first to break the profound silence that brooded over and oppressed his colleagues. He addressed them in in his boldest style, closing with the words:—"I demand, that, covering yourselves with your representative dignity, your legislative power, you adhere religiously to your oath. It forbids you to separate before you have framed the constitution." He was descending from the tribune as the Marquis de Brézé, Grand Master of Ceremonies, entered the hall, and, in the name of the king, commanded the Assembly to disperse. The decisive moment had come. The timid began to waver. There was a rustling on some of the benches. A few of the deputies rose. Not an instant was to be lost. Mirabeau sprang to the tribune, and, in tones that pealed through the hall, addressed the royal messenger thus:—"The commons of France have resolved to deliberate. We have listened to the king's exposition of the views which have been suggested to him. But you—you, who have no claim to be his organ in this Assembly—you, who have here no place, nor vote, nor voice—you are not the person to remind us of his discourse. Go, tell your master that we are here by the order of the people, and that nothing shall drive us hence but the power of bayonets." At the closing words, the deputies rose *en masse*,

crying, "*Vive l'Assemblée!*" while the grand master of ceremonies retreated backwards from the hall. The hour that was to decide the supremacy of the king or of the Assembly, had struck. The gauntlet was thrown. There was no avoiding the issue—King *versus* Commons. The monarch faltered—the Assembly triumphed. The voice of Mirabeau had rung the knell of royalty. The shadow flitted a little longer on the scene, but the soul was gone. From that day, the discarded Count of Provence, the woolen-draper of Aix, ruled an Assembly that governed France.

In the midst of no convulsion that less completely unsettled the foundations of society than did the French Revolution—over no assemblage representing a constituency less speculative and inflammable than the French nation—in the bosom of no city less volatile and voluptuous than Paris—could a man so reckless, wayward and profligate as Mirabeau, have wielded, for two years, such unbounded influence over the destinies of a throne hedged around by so many powerful institutions, and a people possessing so much intelligence and wealth. When his name was first read from the list of deputies to the *tiers-état*, it was greeted with hootings of contempt and disgust. But he had studied the temper of the times and the nature of the crisis more correctly than his revilers. The new and startling ideas that had been suddenly let loose among twenty-five millions of susceptible men, found their chosen representative in the vices, follies, vicissitudes, talents, genius, eloquence and daring of him who gloried in the title of "The Plebeian Count." His qualities of mind, of heart, and of person, fitted him to play a conspicuous part in a convulsion when single days gave birth to events as numerous and important as those which it had once required centuries to mature. His indomitable courage could master exigencies before which less bold natures quailed. His intuitive tact could seize apt occasions for striking decisive blows, while less skilful leaders oscillated. His epithets of electric fire could shiver obstacles which more classic rhetoricians failed to meet. His swelling tones could rise clear above tempests that drowned voices of less lion strength. His gesticulation could shake a tribune from which less herculean frames were swept away. His demon visage could awe to silence a sea of tumultuous adversaries, before whose angry looks and words human countenances shrunk in dismay. These elements combined to make him the guiding mind and animating soul of an assembly, of which by turns he was the idol and the terror.

During the two years that intervened between the meeting of the States-General and the death of Mirabeau, he did more towards prostrating the throne, paving the way for the republic, and unloosing the sanguinary passions of the multitude, than any score of his contemporaries. Though he did not live to witness the downfall of the first, nor the establishment of the second, nor the orgies of the third, he made the advent of each not only possible, but sure in its due time. Numerous decrees of the National Assembly, tending directly to these results, originated in his fertile intellect. With an occasional attempt at modification, and excepting the brief period while he was in the pay of the court, all its most daring and radical measures received his advocacy, and many of them owed their adoption to the vigor of his great mind and his splendid eloquence. Nor was his influence limited to the Assembly. It penetrated and permeated the whole mass of the people, pulsating through every vein and vibrating along every nerve of the body politic and social. He created public opinion, and instructed it how to make itself heard and obeyed. He

taught the lower orders the inalienability of their rights, and the invincibility of their cause. He gave such a momentum to the national will, that it would not stop at his bidding, nor be stayed in its course by legislative decrees, nor royal mandates, nor hostile bayonets, nor even by the instincts of self-preservation; but roared and raged onward, sweeping away Assembly Monarchy, Convention, Directory, laws, constitutions, and threatening to submerge society itself, when it was curbed by the energies of the Consulate, and finally arrested by the mailed arm of the Empire.

Mirabeau's oratorical fame has filled two hemispheres and received the homage of two generations.

The unparalleled circumstances that invoked his eloquence no doubt gave to it an immediate effect, and have imparted to it a posthumous celebrity, beyond its intrinsic merits. Till the convening of the States-General, deliberative assemblies, of the character of the British Commons, were unknown in France. The pulpit, the bar, the parliament and the academy, were the only theatres for the display of popular eloquence. The style in which the oratorical art was practised in each of these arenas, had tended to depress it to a low point. The homilies of the pulpit were formal and frigid. The addresses at the bar lacked the exciting stimulus that the presence of a jury inspires in the advocate. The local parliaments generally contented themselves with registering, without question, the *ipse-dixit* of royalty. The lectures of the academicians were adapted only to the capacities and tastes of the learned and scholastic.

The assembling of the States-General gave a mighty impulse to the national mind. It was the first born of a commotion that was destined to bring forth a series of prodigious convulsions. It convened in the political heart of a keenly sensitive and highly imaginative people, a powerful array of talents, learning, speculation, daring and ambition. The very magnitude of the assemblage swelled the excitement. It numbered upwards of twelve hundred men. The contact of so many glowing minds, receiving and emitting intellectual fire, soon set the kingdom in a blaze. For the first time in a century and three-quarters, the common people beheld their chosen representatives sitting in council with, and overmastering by their numbers, the magnates of the nobility and the priesthood. The preliminary struggle between the three orders for the supremacy in the mode of organization, at once aroused the discussion of themes far-reaching and deep-sounding in their tendencies. The victory of the plebeian over the privileged classes in this struggle, stimulated hopes of political regeneration which would brook no delay in their fulfilment. The deputies of the *tiers-état* promptly entered upon a broad and searching inquiry, not merely into the proximate causes of the prevailing discontents, but into the inherent rights of man, the oppressions of princes and priests, and the comparative merits of republican and monarchical systems of government. Discussions less comprehensive in their scope and less animating in their nature than these, might, under the inspiration of the unprecedented circumstances that evoked them, have *created* orators in a tribunal of less able and brilliant men than constituted the National Assembly.

At the very commencement of their sittings, and before they had had time to compose themselves to calm deliberation, or to look around and see on what ground they were standing, questions, involving momentous results, demanded instantaneous decisions. In such a crisis, the man who combined quickness with courage, and strength with audacity; who united

the ability to know what needed to be said and done, with the capacity to say and to do it; such a man must inevitably become the leader of his colleagues. That man was Mirabeau. He had had slight experience in public speaking, and was a stranger in deliberative bodies. But, accustomed from his youth to wield the controversial pen, he had become an adept in all the dialectical, rhetorical, and subtile arts of polemics. He had witnessed the combats of the first barristers in the English courts, and had watched, night after night, with eager eye, parliamentary debates, when Pitt, Burke, Fox, Sheridan and Dundas strove for victory. He was a respectable proficient in the literature of ancient and modern states; had studied the structure and observed the workings of the British constitution; had conversed with Franklin and Jefferson about the republican institutions then rising in the western world; had familiarized himself with the civil polities of Holland and Prussia; and had written books and pamphlets on the most important subjects that had agitated the continental mind during the preceding ten years. And more than all, he had carefully studied the condition of France, knew its mind and heart better than his peers, and had done not a little to foment the agitations that were raging around him. The iron of royal and aristocratic persecution had penetrated his inmost soul, and goaded him to take vengeance on his oppressors. He was sunk so low in public estimation, that the recoil of no blow which he aimed at existing institutions could precipitate him lower. Law suits, seductions and broils, had made him shrewd, insinuating and bold. Penury, proscription and exile, had made him reckless, ferocious and remorseless. In person, in voice, in manner, in intellect, in knowledge, he combined every oratorical gift necessary to sway stormy bodies in tempestuous times. To mount the tribune was for him to rule the National Assembly. His bold philippics, his graphic apothegms, his startling apostrophes, his majestic periods, his glowing appeals, his scathing anathemas, denouncing the follies and crimes of princes, nobles and prelates, and declaring the rights and detailing the wrongs of man, and portraying the depressed condition and painting the future destiny of France, descended upon the awakening masses around him like a creative spirit, animating them with the throes of new life. His voice broke the slumber of centuries. It was the first popular eloquence which aroused France had heard. His fulminations from the tribune echoed the beatings of the national heart, excited the intrepidity of its representatives, silenced the arrogance of its court, and heralded the approach of the revolution.

It is idle to attempt to measure the oratory of Mirabeau by ordinary standards. When subjected to the tests furnished by the logic and rhetoric of the academy, it exhibits numerous faults. The French Revolution created the National Assembly, and the National Assembly gave birth to Mirabeau. The auditory and the orator were the legitimate offspring of the times. As the hour demanded such a crisis, so the crisis demanded such eloquence. Yet, when we consent to measure his oratory by the revolutionary standard, it is difficult to assign it to its appropriate place. His speeches are so identified and mingled with his acts, that in forming an estimate of the former, we find it impossible to separate them from the latter. He was a chief actor in events that first electrified and then alarmed the world. Mankind have not yet done reading their history, or searching for their causes, or speculating upon their consequences. Their influence has reached our times, and now moulds the policy of monarchical and republican states:—and these events bear the name of Mirabeau

wherever they go, and impart to his fame much of their own awful grandeur.

His transcendent reputation is, no doubt, in some degree owing to his superiority over his colleagues. As an orator he had not his peer in the National Assembly. The Abbé Maury, the advocate of the clergy, was an elegant and graceful rhetorician. Casales, the leader of the legitimatists and ancient nobles, was pungent, racy and fluent. Lally-Tollendal, the champion of the constitutional monarchists, was vigorous and impressive. Barnave, the oracle and ornament of the moderate republicans, was rich and flowing. Talleyrand, then Bishop of Auten, occasionally displayed those politic arts in debate, that afterwards gave him his celebrity in diplomacy. Robespierre sat brooding in watchful silence on the highest seat of the extreme left, whence, at a later day, he was to hurl darts dipped in envy and pointed with wrath. Sieyes, the philosophical thinker, the luminous writer, compensated for his taciturnity in the hall, by his sage counsels in the cabinet, and his active pen in the committees. Others, whom we will not stop to name, might vie with these in oratorical gifts, and knowledge of law, finance, science, history, and general literature. Many of them were superior to Mirabeau in drafting decrees, in digesting reports, and in planning measures in the calm retreat of the secret conclave. At the council-board, he was vacillating; in the committee room, impracticable. His mind was only fertile in doubts and difficulties, except in the conflicts of the forum. Like Massena, it required the roar of the battle to arouse his faculties and bring them into full play. Standing in the tribune, with the eyes of his colleagues riveted upon him, and crowded galleries bending forward to catch his words, "his foot was on his native heath, and his name was McGregor." Then he towered like Saul among the Israelites, the monarch-figure of the assemblage.

The fame of Mirabeau's oratory has unquestionably been increased by another circumstance. He appeared as a public man in the morning of a new era in parliamentary eloquence. The closing quarter of the last century was the opening of a new day for oratory in both hemispheres. At this period, the common people of England, France and America, made an heroic effort to subject their respective governments to the sway of public opinion. The arena where the great battle between right and might, between principle and prescription, was waged, was the deliberative assembly. The chosen weapon of the combatants was popular eloquence. The ablest and brightest minds of these three nations participated in the conflict. Chatham, Burke, Fox, Pitt, Windham, Sheridan—Mirabeau, Maury, Danton, Vergniaud, Gaudet, Barbaroux—Henry, Adams, Lee, Otis, Pinckney, Hamilton—these were among the giants of that day. The splendors of its morning have imparted some of their warmth and coloring to every orator who reflected its beams.

But, when the eloquence of Mirabeau is stripped of all adventitious circumstances, it is impossible to believe that an orator of a grade below the highest rank, could have so completely ruled, for two years, an assembly embracing so much genius and talent, won an unanimous verdict for superiority from his contemporaries, and secured so wide and enduring a celebrity with posterity. In the power to arouse and excite an auditory, by sudden bursts of passionate declamation; in the ability to condense a sentiment into a talasmanic epithet, that shall be echoed by millions of voices; in the faculty to throw out graphic phrases and expressive apothegms, that shall become the battle-cries of parties; in the capa-

city to decide great questions at critical moments, by short sentences, whose every word is a flame of fire; and in the utterance of denunciations that appal like thunder, and of rebukes that scathe like lightning, there was a striking resemblance between Chatham, Mirabeau and Henry. Neither of them affected the logic of the schools, or conformed their productions to the rhetorician's rules. They rarely delivered long speeches, and never entered into the minutia of a subject, contenting themselves with tracing its great outlines and pouring effulgence around its main promontories. They carried their hearers forward from premises to conclusions, not by deliberate and consecutive steps, but by prodigious leaps and bounds, confounding by their dogmatism those whom they failed to convince by their arguments, and dazzling with their splendor those who would not be enlightened by their wisdom. The man would hardly deserve to be called an enthusiast who should wish that he might have lived and died before his time, if thereby he could have witnessed oratorical conflicts in which Chatham, Mirabeau and Henry unsheathed their blades. We doubt whether any century of Grecian or Roman history produced so many eloquent men, as composed the splendid groups of which these three were the central figures.

It was said by Hume, that criticism never would be of any value, until critics cited innumerable examples. A proper qualification of this too sweeping rule will justify the remark, that all general observations on the style and characteristics of an orator, will lose half their force, unless illustrated by frequent citations from his speches. Our limits forbid a complete compliance with our own rule in the present case. We must content ourselves with a few examples.

As a specimen of Mirabeau's elaborate style, we quote the following passage from his speech in favor of a written constitution: "Too often," says he, "are bayonets the only remedy applied to the convulsions of oppression and want. Bayonets never re-establish but the peace of terror, the silence of despotism. Ah! the people are not a furious herd, that must be kept in chains. Always quiet and moderate when they are truly free, they are violent and unruly only under those governments where they are systematically debased in order to have a pretext for despising them. When we consider what must result to the happiness of twenty-five millions of men from a legal constitution in place of ministerial caprices—from the consent of all the wills and the co-operation of all the lights of the nation in the improvement of our laws, from the reform of abuses, from the reduction of taxes, from economy in the finances, from the mitigation of the penal code, from regularity of procedure in the tribunals, from the abolition of a multitude of servitudes which shackle industry and cripple the human faculties—in a word, from that grand system of liberty, which, planted on the firm basis of freely-elected municipalities, rises gradually to the provincial administrations, and receives its completion from the annual recurrence of the States-General;—when we weigh all that must result from the restoration of this vast empire, who does not feel that the greatest of crimes, the darkest outrage against humanity, would be to offer opposition to the rising destiny of our country, and thrust her back into the depths of the abyss whence she has sprung, there to hold her oppressed beneath the burden of all her chains?"

We give an example of his anathemas. The day after the taking of the Bastile, a deputation of the Assembly was appointed to request the king, for the fifth time, to remove the Swiss troops from Paris and Ver-

sailles. As they were about to leave the hall, Mirabeau, unable to restrain his indignation, sprang to the tribune, and addressed them thus:—"Say to the king—say to him, that the hordes of foreigners by whom we are invested, received yesterday the visit of the princes, of the princesses, of the favorites male and female, and their caresses, and their exhortations, and their presents. Say to him, that the whole night, these foreign satellites, gorged with gold and wine, predicted in their impious songs the enslavement of France, and invoked with their brutal vows the destruction of the National Assembly. Say to him, that in his very palace, and within his very hearing, the courtiers led their dances to the sound of this barbarous music; and tell him, that such was the prelude of the Saint Bartholomew!" They had not left the hall, when word arrived that the king was coming. The Assembly rang with plaudits. "Wait," said he, "till the king has made us acquainted with his good dispositions. Let a sullen respect be the first welcome paid to the monarch in this moment of grief. The silence of nations is a lesson for kings."

A debate in regard to ecclesiastical matters was exciting an acrimonious religious controversy in the Assembly. He silenced it by saying:—"Recollect that from this place, from the very tribune where I now speak, I can see the window of the palace through which factious miscreants fired, by the hand of the king of the French, the fatal gun that was to be the signal of the massacre of the Huguenots!"

He limits the justice of war, in this fine sentence—a volume in a word. "It is the tocsin of necessity alone that gives the signal when the moment is come for fulfilling the imprescriptible duty of resistance—a duty always imperative whenever the Constitution is violated; always triumphant when the resistance is clearly just and truly national."

Here are two examples of his proud contempt. While speaking, he had been impertinently interrupted and assailed, and the indignation of the deputies had wrung from the offender a stammering apology. Mirabeau eyed his assailant, and said, as in a parenthesis: "the Assembly, satisfied with the repentance you testify, remits you, sir, the penalty which you have incurred." The arrogant and eloquent Abbe Maury charged him with invoking the passions of the mob in support of his measures. Turning to the Abbe, he said, "I will not stoop to repel the charge just made upon me, unless the Assembly dignify it to my level, by ordering me to reply. In that case, I would deem it sufficient for my vindication, to name my accuser and to name myself."

We give this instance of his felicitous mode of presenting an argument through the medium of figurative language. He was replying to those who claimed the inalienability of the ancient church lands. "If all the men who have lived upon the earth had each had a separate tomb, it would have been indispensable, in order to have found lands for cultivation, to have pulled down the monuments, and ploughed the ashes of the dead for the sustenance of the living."

He flattered the vanity and vindicated the sovereignty of the Assembly, by such sentiments as these:—"Our National Assembly is above all precedent, as above all authority. It is accountable but to itself, and can be judged but by posterity. Gentlemen, you all remember the remark of that Roman, who, to save his country from a dreadful conspiracy, had overstepped the powers conferred on him by the laws. 'Swear,' said a captious demagogue of that day, 'that you have observed the laws.' 'I

swear,' replied this great man, 'that I have saved the republic!' Gentlemen, I swear that you have saved the commonwealth."

He flattered the masses by words like these. The phrase, "*French people*," employed in some document, was objected to. He said, "I adopt it, I defend it, I proclaim it, for the reason which makes it obnoxious. Yes, it is because the name of the people is not sufficiently respected in France—because it is obscured with the rust of prejudice—because it presents an idea at which pride takes alarm and vanity revolts—because it is mentioned with contempt in the drawing rooms of the aristocrats;—it is for this very reason that I would wish—it is for this very reason that we ought to make it a duty, not only to adopt, but to elevate it, to ennoble it, and render it henceforth respectable in the eyes of ministers and dear to every heart. Privileges must have an end; but the people are eternal."

Here are two or three specimens of his dry sarcasm. A deputy moved to lay aside a motion to postpone till further inquiry the execution of some criminals. He silenced him by saying: "Were you going to be hung, sir, would you propose the adjournment of an investigation that might result in saving your life?" While the national forces were capturing forts and towns beyond the frontiers, a stickler for old forms insisted upon retaining in some decree the ancient title, "King of France and Navarre." "Would it not be well," said Mirabeau, "to add—'And other places?'" He cut short a dispute about the wording of a clause in the Constitution, thus:—"I will observe, that it would not be amiss for the National Assembly of France to speak French, and even indite in French the laws which it proposes."

We select a couple of specimens of his audacity and self-reliance. A pamphlet, charging him with designs hostile to the integrity of the Assembly, was distributed through the hall. Seizing a copy, amidst execrations, he stepped to the tribune to reply to it, thundering out as he went up the steps, "I will be borne from this place triumphant, or a corpse!" A law in regard to emigrants was under discussion. His speech against it was interrupted by exclamations. Shaking the tribune with his gesticulation, he said: "The popularity which I have aspired to, and which I have enjoyed, is not a feeble reed. It is deep in the earth that I mean to infix its roots. It shall rest upon the enduring basis of reason and liberty. Make this law if you dare. I swear never to obey it." One of his opponents was borne in triumph into the hall on the shoulders of the populace. At the same time, a pamphlet was distributed on the benches, accusing Mirabeau of treason. "And me, too," exclaimed he from the tribune, "me, too, they would, some days since, have borne in triumph; and now they cry through the streets, 'The great conspiracy of Count Mirabeau.' I needed not this lesson to know, that there is but a step from the Capitol to the Tarpeian rock. But," stamping it under his feet, "I alone am named in this pamphlet. Let the Assembly pass to the order of the day!"

Denouncing the crime and folly of repudiating the public debt, he said: "National repudiation to avoid taxation, is the most onerous of imposts. It bankrupts national honor."

But, enough of these specimen-bricks of so stately an edifice.

Turning from the orator to contemplate the man, we see much to condemn and little to appland. The flatterers of Mirabeau can call him neither a good statesman nor a bad statesman. He was no statesman at all; but simply a bold agitator in turbulent times. Notwithstanding his lofty orations, the most charitable observer can find in the motives that influ-

enced his course during the revolution, only a mixed feeling of hatred of despotism, hatred of the class that had oppressed and degraded him, and hatred of institutions that had permitted or inflicted his wrongs. And this hatred was scarcely relieved by a corresponding love of liberty, equality and justice;—it was a hatred of one set of objects, imperfectly mingled with a love of their opposites. This made him more eager to demolish existing institutions, than careful in selecting substitutes to supply the places thus made vacant. The feelings which prompted both this eagerness in tearing down, and this carelessness in building up, sprang from a very natural but a very impure source. He had been crushed under the heel of a proud noblesse; he had been hunted through Europe by the ministers of a regal government. He would have vengeance on his oppressors, by trampling down the aristocracy and degrading the throne.

Human nature might have forgiven him this, had he not turned traitor to his avowed principles by betraying the cause he had championed. The searching eye of calumny has been able to find only three or four instances of venality among all the authors and promoters of the revolution; and its most celebrated orator is one of these. When Robespierre and his colleagues had all the revenues of France at their control, they allowed themselves a monthly salary, which was to cover all their personal expenses, of only 360 francs ($67) each. The chiefs of the Reign of Terror, with hearts sealed to the cry of pity, were above the reach of corruption. With arms dipped to the elbows in the richest blood of Paris, they never dabbled in private bribes, or abstracted a franc from the public coffers. But Mirabeau, long pinched with poverty, he had become sordid. Given to pleasure, he required immense sums to gratify his appetites and maintain his ostentatious displays. A life of debauchery and strife had so rotted his heart, that he had not sufficient virtue remaining to resist a bribe. Months before his death, he had entered into an obligation to sell his principles and his party into the hands of the king, for so much gold and such office in the government as he might select. We hardly know which party to this base bargain is most deserving of pity—the fallen prince, or the degraded deputy. Both must have been reduced to the last straits before they could have joined hands over such a contract. Mirabeau had received part of his price, and had secretly commenced his work, when death released him from the completion of the compact. Had he lived, he must have failed in arresting the march of the revolution, and would no doubt have fallen an early victim to the Reign of Terror. His treachery not having been yet disclosed, his death was mourned as a public calamity, his body was deposited with solemn pomp in the Pantheon, and a nation sprinkled his tomb with unaffected tears.

Three years afterwards, during which the blade of the guillotine had dripped with the blood of Louis, Marie Antoinette, Phillippe Egalite, Vergniaud, Mayor Bailly, Madame Roland, Danton, Camille-Desmoulins, and Robespierre, the remains of the great orator of the Assembly were expelled from the Pantheon; his ashes strewn upon the winds by hands that had once and again borne him in triumph from the tribune; his bust burnt in the Place de Greve amid the shoutings of the populace that had so often applauded his eloquence; and his head—the head of Mirabeau! was thrown into the cemetery of Clamart, the common receptacle of the scaffold, there to moulder undistinguished among the mutilated trunks and skulls of the Reign of Terror! Such was that Great Leveller, the French Revolution!

THE LOST STANDARD:

AN INCIDENT OF THE BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ.

(TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF WILHELM SMITH.)

[Napoleon was crowned at Fontainebleau, December 2, 1804; on the same day, in the following year, was fought the celebrated battle of Austerlitz.]

AGAIN, oh sun! thy course brings round the coronation day.
'Mid blood-red clouds thy beams appear, in blood they fade away;
A year ago, thy setting closed far otherwise than now,
When Corsica's bold soldier placed the crown upon his brow:
Yet now, as then, the thunders roll, with deep and solemn sound,
The pealing trumpet wildly rings, the drum-beat echoes round.
The clarion summons to the chase, where mortals are the prey.
And where three mighty hosts contend, peals death's stern reveille.
From thunder-clouds on every side the lightnings start by fits,
On this, the coronation day—the day of Austerlitz!

How sank thy shield, oh! Hapsburg, then, thy proudly 'scutchion'd shield,
Beneath the foeman's vengeful stroke, on that ensanguin'd field!
How lay, oh! Czar, in crowded heaps, thy bravest warriors slain,
When, sweeping from the open'd ranks, the death-shot pour'd like hail.
Still onward rush'd thy legions, France, amid the battle's roar,
And in the van, troop after troop thy chainless eagles bore.

There, clad in garb of gray, behold the genius of the fight,
An image of pale death he seems, upon his charger white;
Around him now, the carnage o'er, the ranks are gather'd nigh,
And ev'ry soldier seeks the glance of that keen falcon eye.
He sees them round him, girt about with corpses of the foe,
Around whose ghastly forms there floats a winding-sheet of snow;
And proud and high, from every band, the Eagle banner's tossed,
That all may meet the monarch's glance, nor show one standard lost:
Not *one?* With gloomy brow advances swift, the man in vestment gray,
Sorrow and wrath his features speak, that words could ill portray:
All voiceless as the hush of death, the stalwart band stood still,
While ev'ry bosom felt a pang, and ev'ry pulse a thrill;
"Where is your Eagle banner, men, that late my own hand gave?
What! die ye not of very shame—why seek ye not your grave?"
Thus from his lips, while flash'd his eye, the gather'd fury rush'd,—
"The Eagle—yes, your Eagle, men"—and all again was hush'd.

The ranks unclose—two veterans scarr'd, advancing from the band,
With martial step, in silent grief, before the monarch stand;
The cross of honor seems to say—the forehead brown'd 'neath many a sun,
We gain'd the field of Arcola—the "Pyramids" we won.
No arms does either now present—weapons they carry none;
Yet glorious trophies do they bear, and thus outspeaketh one:
"The ensign fell amid the fray—thus was our Eagle lost,
Then we, like raging lions, rush'd amid the hostile host,
And man to man, and breast to breast, we mingled in the fray,
That so we might our loss repair, and wash this stain away;
And these two *Russian* standards, sire, which we have won to-day,
We beg, in place of that we lost, before our chief to lay."

"Now, Emperor, thou thyself shalt say, if ever it can be,
That thou our Eagle wilt replace, and grant us pardon free,
For we have sworn we will not live, if we must hear our name
Forever coupled, on thy lips, with epithets of shame."
"Be patient, then," the monarch cried, and hurried swiftly by,
Yet ere he left, there fell, 'tis said, a tear-drop from his eye.

Beneath the Invalides' proud dome the Russian banners rest,
And in Saint Ivan's lofty halls the Eagle droops his crest;
Yet, as the rolling year again brought round that battle day,
Before their chief that army pass'd in all their bright array:
Another Eagle then was borne before that legion brave,
Who knew, altho' their flag was lost, their honor'd *name* to save. W. B.

SKETCHES OF LALLY'S CAMPAIGN IN MEXICO.

(Concluded.)

The Ohio Regiment of Col. Brough, with three additional companies, (Simmons' battalion,) together with Lieut. Pratt's battery, were left to guard the train. The remainder, consisting of a battalion of the Pennsylvanians, under Col. Wynkoop; the Indiana regiment, under Col. Gorman; Captain Heintzleman's battalion of six companies of infantry; the veteran battalion of Major Lally; four companies of mounted men, under Walker; five pieces of artillery, under Captain Taylor and Lieut. Field, both of the Third Artillery; and several others, volunteers and followers of the army; amounting, in all, to three thousand picked men, moved from San Antonio at about ten o'clock on the ninth day of October, with drums beating and colors waving, in all "the pride and circumstance of glorious war."

Their movements were not unnoticed. Frequently, as the eye scanned the road to Huamantla, men on horseback could be seen, watching the busy preparations with eager gaze. As the last regiment shouldered their muskets, and hurried after the men who had preceded them, as if satisfied of our number and force, they galloped away.

At about one o'clock the city of Huamantla (pronounced Whawmantla) was descried. It is situated about ten or fifteen miles from San Antonio, and is reached by a road which thence branches off to the right of the national highway. The road is lined on either side with thick groves of maguay, which much obstructs the view. The column was halted at about three miles distant, and preparations made for assault.

At this moment two thousand regular cavalry were seen hurrying over the hills towards the city, and large parties of other horsemen rapidly concentrating from every quarter. Several of these passed very near the advance. Walker, who was in command here, and who was doubtless ignorant of the habitual impetuosity of Lane's advance when actually engaged with the enemy, and who feared, perhaps, that an opportunity for doing service would escape, could no longer restrain his own impatience and the impetuosity of the men. He had under his command more than one hundred and fifty of perhaps the best mounted force in the world, and believed himself impregnable. Elated and confident, he charged upon a small party which was passing before the moment of the intended combined assault, and, long before he could recover, had driven them to the gates of the city. Unfortunately, he did not stop there, but, flushed with success, and urged by the spirit and intrepidity of his men, he followed the enemy into the very heart of the city. Some have said, in excuse for Captain Walker, that he recognized, in this party, the staff and person of General Santa Anna. At all events, the entry into the city was premature and impolitic.

It was the intention of the commander-in-chief, that the city should be first approached by the infantry, on the right and left flanks, and accordingly, that part of the force was divided into three bodies. Colonel Gorman was directed to enter on the west side, with his regiment, while Wynkoop, with the artillery, should penetrate from the east. Lally's

brigade were held in reserve. The rapid entry of Walker occasioned some little precipitation in the movements of the troops, and some confusion. He had no sooner succeeded in dispersing the party, which was his original object, than they were reinforced by those large bodies whom we have seen hurrying towards the city from all quarters. Lieut. B. F. McDonald, of the 3d Artillery, was dispatched by Lane to acquaint Walker of the perils of his situation. The messenger arrived too late; Walker was already engaged in a desperate hand to hand struggle with them, upon the main plaza. Surrounded by more than three thousand of the enemy, who, by the mere force of numbers, had detached the various sections of his little band, with unparalleled intrepidity he disputed every inch of ground. His orders could not reach all his men, yet, posted at the head of a lane through which the enemy were pouring in upon his little troop, he exhibited to them a noble example of triumphant heroism. The wars of ancient Rome seemed revived upon that bloody field, and thus contending, single-handed, against fearful odds, he might well be deemed worthy to rank beside her sublimest warriors. After about three quarters of an hour, loud huzzas, which reached the plaza, from the west, announced the rapid approach of Gorman's regiment, and the rest of the American infantry. The Mexicans retired in precipitation; but at the very moment when speedy relief was thus at hand, the gallant captain fell, pierced by three mortal wounds. "YIELD NOT AN INCH!—NOT ONE INCH!" he cried, and sank lifeless in the arms of his comrades.

In the meanwhile, Wynkoop had entered on the east, and Lally, after a short detour with his *corps de reserve*, in pursuit of the retreating enemy, also gained the scene of the recent terrible conflict. The plaza was heaped with the slain. One hundred and fifty of the enemy were killed; the American loss was only thirteen killed and eleven wounded. Two field pieces and two officers of rank, Col. La Vega and Major Iturbide, were taken prisoners; the latter surrendered to Lieut. Anderson, of the Georgia volunteers. Lieut. Claiborne, of the rifles, and Captain Fitzhammond, of the same regiment, are entitled to the honor of capturing the guns. There fell also into the hands of the victors, a large quantity of ammunition, several thousand stands of arms, and a number of excellent horses.

At about four o'clock the column evacuated the city and returned towards camp. Several stores having been broken open and pillaged during the mêlee, this was not easy of accomplishment. Two-thirds of the command were mounted upon the captured horses; quite a large number were intoxicated, and had arrayed themselves in parts of the gaudy uniform of the Mexican lancers, and excited much merriment by their uncouth gestures and appearance. So carelessly was the evacuation conducted, that little is hazarded in the remark, that a few hundred men, posted behind the thick maguays which line the sides of the narrow alleys leading from Huamantla, could, on the night of the victory, have taken ample revenge for the bloodshed and enormous loss of property which this victory occasioned to Mexico.

None but the dragoons reached camp that night. They carried with them the said news of Walker's death. To the men of his own company the intelligence was of course most distressing; for it was his high encomium to be most loved where he was best known. Modest and unassuming when off duty; in the moment of the fearful charge, his shrill, clear voice, could be heard high above the clamor, in tones at once musical

and commanding. He enjoyed in an eminent degree, the faculty of attaching others to his person; and in his death, not only did all feel, that the service had lost an efficient and valuable officer, but numbers mourned the departure of a dear and intimate friend.

Partaking of some hurried refreshments, and to afford the stragglers from Huamantla an opportunity of regaining the main body, Gen. Lane spent in his camp, at San Antonio, the night of the 10th of October. On the morning of the 11th, he resumed his march, and arrived at Puebla at about meridian on the next day.

If all accounts be true, Puebla is certainly the most lovely city in Mexico. It is situated among hills, very near the snow-covered peaks of Orizaba, and Popocatapetl, in a highly picturesque and delightful locality, surrounded by the most charming scenery, and enriched with costly architecture, and a refined and intelligent population. Perhaps the great plaza, or square of this city, is even more richly adorned than that of the capitol, and its various public gardens filled with every variety of tropical fruit, where flowers of every hue bloom in perennial magnificence; the fountains—the public baths—the promenade, and other works, attest the taste and wealth of the citizens.

The main square, just spoken of, is bounded on one side, for several hundred feet, by the Cathedral. On the right of this, (entering the city from the sea-coast,) appears the Palace, a fine suite of apartments, two stories high, whose interior is elegantly decorated and gilded. On the left there extends, the whole length of the plaza, a range of shops for goceries, dry goods, liquors, cutlery, cotton goods, etc., etc., and in front a range of elegant private residences. The area in the centre is bounded by four streets, running along the front of these buildings, and adorned with trees, a large fountain, and an iron railing with benches.

On market days, this place is usually crowded with the peasantry, and covered with a number of temporary booths, erected for the sale of fruit, *pulché*, (the common drink,) and poultry and vegetables, of all which there is a vast variety. No scene can be more unique or interesting to an Atlantic-shore American, than is here occasionally presented from the balconies of the palace. Beneath your feet, moves a numberless throng of swarthy men, women and children; affording all the possible shades of human color, from the unmixed black of the Ethiopian, (here, perhaps, more degraded and miserable, than even in the northern states of our Union,) in their leathern vests and leggins, begrimed with dirt, and venerable with patches, usually having burdens on their backs, and dangerous to approach by any one opposed to vermin; through all the varieties of brown and yellow, exhibited in the Indian and mixed races, to the unmixed white of the proud Castilians, with their embroidered jackets, broad sombreros, and usually white breeches. With the exception of the latter class, all wear blankets of more or less fine texture, wrapped mantilla-like around their shoulders, and less necessary in the extreme mildness of the climate, than by immemorial custom.

Through the crowd there passes at intervals a priest of the Roman Church, with the huge shawl hat, and dark or colored cloak; and occasionally a sweet female head and face, partly hid beneath the mantilla, and boasting a pair of exquisite black eyes.

The ladies are considered handsome. God bless them, they are everywhere. Here indeed it may be said, they are unusually beautiful. To

complete the picture, the snow-covered and sun-lit peaks of Orizaba, and Popocatapetl, gleam in the distance, like hoary giant warders of this fairy land.

No city in the world affords more splendid accommodation for a large number of troops. There are an unusual number of large, costly dwellings built in the customary style, with open squares, usually decorated in the centre with rare exotics, and a bubbling fountain. The water is pure, fresh and plentiful, and notwithstanding the presence of the American troops, and the possession of the country by an enemy, several public works were in progress of completion. The indifference of the mass of the Mexican people to the issue of the struggle, was one of the most curious commentaries upon the vain-glory and boasting of their leaders in the late war. It accounts, perhaps, in a great measure, for the defeat of all their schemes of defence.

> "Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> Where crimes accumulate, and men decay;
> Princes and lords may perish or may fade,
> A breath can make them as a breath has made;
> But a bold *peasantry*, their country's pride,
> Once lost, can never be supplied."

The citizens of Puebla are remarkably courteous and refined in their intercourse with strangers. Many of the ladies are said to have been educated in the *salons* of Paris, and consequently possess many of the graces and accomplishments of that polished capital. Highly dissimulating—a profuse verbiage, and an endless and unremitting use of compliments, in familiar speech with each other, display to the stranger the absence of that independence of soul, and severity of deportment, which always, without rudeness, marks the manners of a free people.

Upon the departure of General Scott with the main body of the army for the capital, early in August, he had left here in charge of Col. Childs a small garrison of men, consisting of Captain Ford's company of cavalry, (forty-six strong,) Captains Kendrick and Miller's companies of artillery, numbering one hundred, and six companies of the 1st Pennsylvania Volunteers, 247 strong, under Lieut. Col. Black, numbering in all less than four hundred men, together with 1800 sick and wounded.

Col. Childs, left in command, had made many efforts to conciliate the people, and, as he thought, successfully. Yet, but a month had elapsed, when, on the night of the 13th September, his men were attacked in the streets by a party of citizens, and the whole city thrown into confusion and hostility. Childs immediately withdrew his sick from the various hospitals to the church of San José, a large building situated in the north-eastern section of the city, opposite Tivoli, and, abandoning all his other positions, concentrated his entire force upon Guadalupe and Loretto, two eminences commanding the city, and adjacent to San José. With singular foresight he also drove off with him a large number of sheep from the adjacent hills and fields. These precautions and preparations were fully justified by subsequent events, for the number of the assailants and the vigor of their assault continued daily to increase, until, on the 22d September, Santa Anna himself, driven from the capital by the victorious Scott, arrived at Puebla with large reinforcements. The fact was announced by a general ringing of bells and other demonstrations of delight on the part of the citizens. A few round shell and shot thrown upon

the public buildings in the heart of the city from Loretto, soon, however, put an end to these rejoicings.

Every supply was now cut off from the besieged. An ineffectual attempt was also made to divert a stream of water which supplied the camp. The defence of San José, upon the preservation of which depended the safety of the other posts, required the untiring vigilance of every officer and man. The emergency was not superior to the constancy and heroism of Col. Childs and his garrison. The very sick turned out from their beds in the hospitals, and shared with their comrades in the arduous services of the occasion. Nothing could be more enthusiastic and gratifying than the conduct of both officers and men. In his official reports to the government, Governor Childs speaks in glowing terms of the intrepidity of his men. "Not a spot of danger," he says, "could present itself, but the gallant fellows were ready to fill it; not a sentinel could be shot, but another was anxious and ready to take his place."

On the 25th September, General Santa Anna informed the American commander, that, the investment being complete, he was now surrounded by eight thousand men, and nothing but submission and an unconditional surrender could prevent the immediate slaughter of himself and his feeble garrison; and he implored him, in the name of humanity, to spare him so dreadful a necessity. The answer of Col. Childs is worthy of a place in history, near the immortal reply of Taylor at Buena Vista. He also "respectfully declined acceding to the request," in equally brief and resolute terms, and immediately mounting a horse, rode in person to the different posts, and announced to the troops the demand, the force with which it was backed, and his reply. The shouts with which the intelligence was received, indicated to the chief that he had not miscalculated the bravery of his men. Preparations were immediately made for resisting the assault, which was now momentarily expected. The enemy, however, discouraged by the firmness of the Americans, and warned too, perhaps, by recent experience, of the hazards of such an enterprise, even with his apparently overwhelming force, wisely kept behind his entrenchments. Every assailable point was, however, kept by night and day in constant alarm. A shower of bullets poured from every street, balcony, house-top and church-tower which commanded the American lines.

On the 30th September, the enemy established a battery upon an eminence near Tivoli, south of San José, and bearing immediately upon it, and opened with considerable spirit and effect. As usual with the watchful Childs, the movement was not unnoticed. He had, in anticipation of it, already withdrawn a twelve pounder from Loretto, and established a traverse upon the street in front of San José, and of course directly under the fire of the enemy. The whole force of the attack was concentrated here for several hours. Lieut. Col. Black, of the 1st Pennsylvanians, with four companies of infantry, Ford's cavalry and Miller's company of the 4th artillery, answered the fire with such skill, vigor and effect, that long before night their works were demolished, and the pieces dismounted. It was on this occasion, in particular, that the "*sick Yankees*," as they were contemptuously styled by the enemy, did most efficient service. They were a party of volunteers, from the hospital, and represented every arm of the service—regulars, volunteers, and marines—and were from almost every state in the Union. Captain Rowe, of the 9th infantry, who was

also on the sick list, had the honor to command this singular and truly national corps.

On the next day there was a sensible diminution of the fire of the enemy. It was afterwards learned, that the general-in-chief had withdrawn with three or four thousand of the besieging force, to meet the column of General Lane, then rapidly approaching for the relief of the garrison.

On the 2d October, Childs ventured a sortie against some buildings and barricades near San José, whose fire had become very annoying. One of the expeditions was confided to Captain Small, of the 1st Pennsylvania Regiment. Passing through the walls of an entire square with fifty men, he gained a position opposite the barricade, and drove the enemy, with the loss of seventeen of their number killed, off the ground. The barricade, consisting of one hundred and fifty bales of cotton, was consumed. During this affair, Lieut. Laidley, of the ordnance corps, blew up a prominent building in fine style. Having accomplished their object, the party was withdrawn, with the loss of a few in wounded.

At the same time, Lieut. Morgan, of the 14th infantry, with a detachment of sick marines, and Lieut. Merrifield, of the 15th, with a similar corps of rifles, attempted to gain possession of certain buildings, near the plaza, from which a most galling fire proceeded. Merrifield entered the building, but meeting with a warmer reception than was anticipated, he was ordered to fall back. Captain Herron was, on the 5th October, engaged in a similar enterprise, and succeeded in driving the enemy in fine style from one of the buildings commanding the plaza.

These sorties were not confined to San José. Descents were constantly made from Guadalupe and Loretto, whenever a fair occasion presented. Besides the officers first named, the following received the warm thanks of Gov. Childs, for their gallantry and distinguished services during the siege: Major Gwynn, (commanding at Loretto,) and Lieuts. Carroll and Moore, who commanded a detachment from that post. Captain Kendrick distinguished himself as an able artillerist; wherever fell his shots and shell, the enemy's fire abated or ceased. Concerning Sergt. Owel, of 2d Artillery, it is remarked by Gov. Childs, that he never saw shot thrown with more accuracy than by him. Captains Kennon and Morehead, and Lieut. Edwards, 2d Artillery, are also mentioned with honor. Morehead commanded at Guadalupe, and made several efficient sorties upon the enemy. Edwards commanded a highly successful party.

Nor were the medical officers of the army behind their brethren in this remarkable siege. Surgeon Mills and his assistants, in addition to their ordinary duties, were nightly on guard, and frequently had occasion, in the intervals of their professional duties, to marshal their patients upon the hospital roofs to defend them from the assaults of the enemy.

Captain Webster and Lieut. Rhett, of the subsistence department, defended their premises with gallantry and spirit. Lieut. Wadden, of the staff, was specially recommended. Among the foreigners, Wongierski, a young Pole, and secretary to the governor, and Captain Pedro Arria, of the spy company, received the warmest thanks.

Captain De Hart, Lieut. Governor, was prevented by extreme sickness from taking part in the defence. In the early part of the siege, he had however commanded a party which had charged upon and dispersed the populace.

From the 2d October, till the 12th of the same month, the Americans, still cooped up in their works, passed their time principally in strengthening their means of defence, in relieving the sufferings of the sick and wounded, and in occasional sorties upon the city.

Much inconvenience was, however, beginning to be felt, for the want of provisions, until on the morning of the last mentioned day, the column of General Lane, to the inexpressible delight of all, appeared upon the road, from the heights of Loretto, and with little opposition, entered the city and took possession of the public buildings. Lane had met the Mexican army, under General Santa Anna, at Huamantla, as before related, and gave him another severe defeat. This remarkable man, unable now to keep the field, and deserted by all his men, with the exception of about three hundred faithful troops, had retired to Orizaba, whence he occasionally issued proclamations and addresses to his countrymen.

Lane marched directly to the main plaza of the city, and established his quarters in the palace,—a few Americans had been killed in the morning, but soon after his arrival, and the establishment, under his instructions, of a vigilant and numerous police, order was restored, and the people, returning from the mountains, whither they had fled, resumed their ordinary occupations.

This indefatigable soldier, who, by his energy and restless activity, had already acquired the cognomen of "MARION," had scarcely made the requisite provisions for the accommodation of his sick and wounded, than he set out in pursuit of the enemy. On the afternoon of the 19th October, scarcely six days after his triumphant entry into Puebla, he had again taken the field, had marched thirty miles since morning, and was in sight of the enemy's lines at a place called Attixco, (pronounced Attisco,) where he had learned the force left in Puebla, by Santa Anna, upon his march to Huamantla, had retired upon the recapture of that city, by the Americans. General Lane's force consisted of Major Lally's brigade, the fourth Ohio and fourth Indiana regiments, the battalions of Wynkoop and Heintzleman, Captain Taylor's and Lieutenant Pratt's batteries of Light Artillery, and a squadron of the 3d Dragoons under Captain Ford of that regiment.

The enemy's force was not precisely known. They were supposed, however, to number about three thousand five hundred, under the command of General Rea, and had two pieces of artillery. The action commenced at a place called Santa Isabella, about twenty-one or twenty-two miles from Puebla, at four o'clock in the afternoon. The Americans had marched the distance through a broiling sun since eleven o'clock. As soon as they arrived in sight of the Mexican lines, a halt was ordered. The cavalry, who had been reconnoitering on the flanks, were ordered to the front. Before their arrival, the Mexicans had appeared, and charged with their accustomed bravado,—the firing of escopetas, and the sounding of trumpets,—to the foot of the hill, upon which the advance rested. No attempt was made upon them; the distance was thought too great to justify the use of small arms, and Lane was remarkable for the prudence with which he reserved his artillery for important occasions. The following account of the subsequent proceedings is taken from the official reports:—"On the arrival of the cavalry, a forward movement was made by the column. A large deep ravine appearing on the left of the road, Lieut. Colonel Moore, with the Ohio regiment, was orderod to flank it,

Major Lally, with his battalion, leading. Our column had scarcely commenced the movement, when signs of confusion were visible among the enemy. In consequence of which, the cavalry was ordered to charge, follow them up, and engage them, until the infantry could arrive. Lieut. Pratt was ordered to follow in the rear of the dragoons at a gallop. Had this movement been performed, the whole force would have been ours. But by an order from Major Lally, (who doubtless thought he saw an opportunity for delivering an effectual fire upon the retreating enemy.) "Lieut. Pratt was taken from the position assigned him by me, and in consequence, detained until a greater portion of the column had passed: then, owing to the nature of the ground, it was impossible for his battery to proceed with rapidity."

"The cavalry pursued the retreating enemy for about a mile and a half, skirmishing with them. On arriving at a small hill they made a stand, and fought severely until our infantry appeared, when they took flight. Our artillery fired a few shots, as soon as it came up, but without effect, as by their rapid retreat they had placed themselves at long range. The dragoons were again ordered to follow and keep them engaged. After a running fight, (exceedingly like a fox chase,) and when within a mile and a half from Attixco, the whole body of the enemy were discovered on a side hill covered with chaparral, forming hedges, behind which they had posted themselves. Our cavalry dashed among them, cutting them down in great numbers. So thick was the chaparral, that the dragoons were ordered to dismount and attack them on foot. A most bloody conflict ensued, fatal to the enemy. Our infantry, for the last six miles, had been straining themselves to the utmost to overtake the enemy, pressing forward most arduously, notwithstanding the forced march of sixteen miles since eleven o'clock. Owing to the nature of the road, almost entirely destroyed by gullies, the artillery could only advance at a walk. As soon as the infantry again appeared in sight, the enemy again retreated. So worn out were our horses, (the sun having been broiling hot all day,) that they could pursue the enemy no further. The column was pressed forward as rapidly as possible toward the town. Night had already shut in, giving us, however, the advantage of a fine moonlight. As we approached, several shots were fired at us, and deeming it unsafe to risk a street fight in an unknown town at night, I ordered the artillery to be posted on a hill near the town, and overlooking it, and to open its fire. Now ensued one of the most beautiful sights conceivable. Every gun was served with the utmost rapidity, and the crash of the walls and the roofs of the houses, when struck by our shot and shell, was mingled with the roar of our artillery. The bright light of the moon enabled us to direct our shots to the most thickly populated parts of the town."

"After firing three quarters of an hour, the firing from the town having ceased, I ordered Major Lally and Colonel Brough to advance cautiously with their commands into the town. On entering, I was waited upon by the ayuntamiento, who desired that the town might be spared. After searching the next morning for arms and ammunition, and disposing of what was found, I commenced my return."

"General Rea had two pieces of artillery; but as soon as he was aware of our approach, he ordered them with haste to Matamoras, a small town eleven leagues beyond. The enemy state their own loss in this action to be 219 killed, and 300 wounded. On our part we had one man killed and one

wounded. Scarcely ever has a more rapid forced march been made than this, and productive of better results. Attixco has been the head quarters of guerillas in this section of the country, and of late the seat of government for the State. From hence all expeditions have been fitted out against our troops. So much terror has been impressed upon them at thus having war brought to their own homes, that I am inclined to believe they will give us no more trouble."

The cavalry under Captain Ford, are thanked in the warmest manner for their services on this occasion, by General Lane, Captains Lewis and Taylor of 3d Artillery, and Lieuts. Waters, Lilly, Martin, Pratt, Sears, Douglass, Henderson, Gordon, McDonald and Phelps; and Doctors Reynolds, Newton and Lamar, are also recommended to the notice of the government. Major Lally and Colonel Wynkoop were thanked for their services, and the gallantry of their commands.

Returning to Peubla, the column passed through the ancient city of Cholula, now a sorry village, surrounded by a vast number of ruined buildings. Several of the officers availed themselves of the opportunity of visiting the remarkable pyramid, which was built here by the ancient Aztecs. It is now surmounted by a church, and to a casual observer can scarcely be distinguished from any ordinary hill. There is also a column erected in the plaza, to the memory of the thousands who were slaughtered by Cortez here, upon the march of that conquerer to Mexico.

General Lane, having learned through one of the citizens that two pieces of artillery had just been manufactured at Guexocingo, a small village in the vicinity, proceeded thither with 450 men, and searched the town without effect. The pieces had been removed, but the carriages were found and destroyed.

The night was spent *en bivouac*, upon a plain, some seven or eight miles from Puebla. The city looked extremely beautiful from this spot, and such was the clearness of the atmosphere, that, though in reality so far, it appeared less than a mile distant.

Upon returning to Puebla the next morning, Lally's battalion was ordered to return to its former barracks at Tivoli, one of the suburbs of this magnificent city, where it remained inactive until early in December, when it took up the line of march for the city of Mexico, where its members were distributed among the various corps and regiments, then concentrated in the capital, to which they respectively belonged. They finally achieved the object of the expedition; but Scott had already dated one of his celebrated epistles to Washington City, from the National Palace; and the American troops, revelling upon the site of the ancient Halls of Montezuma, had achieved THE SECOND CONQUEST OF MEXICO.

LEIGH HUNT.*

Well, that is the most even-tempered and fascinating work we have read for many a day! If you are in trouble—if anything has annoyed you; if you are a Wall-street broker, and stocks have fallen which you had wished to rise—or the last English mail has brought you a diarrhœa with the rise or fall of the money market; if you are an "exquisite," and "can't positively" meet your tailor's bill; if you are the tailor that can't get it; if you are a whig, growling over the political articles in the Démocratic Review, or a Southern man, ranting over the leaders of Horace Greeley; an artist, consigned to a top garret and starvation, because you won't paint unnatural pictures, to suit a false taste—a poor musician, singing himself to death like a swan—or the author of a late book, writhing under a host of hostile criticisms; if you, reader, are any of those—in trouble, or likely to be—we commend thee, as an entire destroyer of self-thoughts sublunary, to read "Leigh Hunt's Autobiography;" and if you don't forget all your troubles, listening to his. and feel yourself joyous listening to his joy, then we are no judge of a fine, healthy book, jocund as hay-making, well-tempered as the spring of a Geneva watch, genial as an Indian summer, and occasionally as sparkling as Christopher North's long-loved Glenlivet.

We opened his autobiography with a prejudice, on account of his "Reminiscences of Byron," published after the poet's death, and Moore's views anent the said affair. On the other hand, we know that Shelley and Keats had been loved by him, yet we could not acquit him of dealing ungraciously by one of our dearest literary friends, and drawing down the just ire of another. We soon lost our prejudice, however, in the charming character of the book, and actually stole through it, unconsciously pleased and happy, by virtue of its enchanting style, and found ourselves, at the end of two volumes, full of reminiscences of everybody and everything worth knowing, during his hearty life, from his mercurial West Indian father to the verses on the "royal children," near the close of the second volume, which, by the way, we object to, as it looks like begging the vacant laureateship, and which is unworthy of Hunt; that is, the begging of it, and we say, "looks like begging," persuading ourselves that it is only a likeness. We cannot resist the temptation of giving a bird's-eye view of Hunt's life to our readers. It has been more than usually full of pleasing recollections, as a literary one. Much of this is owing to the cheerful disposition and versatile talent of the author, keeping his spirits up under trying difficulties, and winning friends, who appreciated as well as loved him.

Leigh Hunt was born in the village of Southgate, in Middlesex, on the 19th October, 1784, and, consequently, is at present in his sixty-sixth year. Southgate has acquired a classicality by its connection with some of the brightest spirits in English literature. It is in the parish of Edmonton, which was the birth-place of the dramatist Marlowe. Horne, the

* The Autobiography of Leigh Hunt, with Reminiscences of Friends and Contemporaries, 2 volumes. New-York: Harpers. 1850.

author of "Orion," was also born here, and Charles Lamb's remains hallow its grave-yard. Coleridge exchanged his earthly bewilderment for a grave in Highgate, convenient; and in Hampstead—also in the vicinity—"have resided Shelley and Keats, to say nothing of Akenside before them, and of Steel and Arbuthnot before Akenside." His father was a West Indian, and his mother a Philadelphian, of Irish blood. Their meeting was rather romantic, and is highly characteristic of the warm nature of the countries of their descent. Hunt, senior, when a youth, was sent to Philadelphia College. He was handsome, "with delicate features, a small aquiline nose, and blue eyes," became a scapegrace in the college, had a fine voice, knew how to use it, and was eloquent. He took M. A. both at Philadelphia and New-York, and on delivering the farewell orations at the former, on leaving college, "two young ladies fell in love with him, one of whom he afterwards married." Leigh says of this courtship: "It was in reading with this voice the poets and other classics of England, that he completed the conquest of my mother's heart. He used to spend his evenings in this manner with her and her family—a noble way of courtship; and my grandmother became so hearty in his cause, that she succeeded in carrying it against her husband, who wished his daughter to marry a wealthy neighbor." He became a lawyer, had several children, the Revolution broke out, and he became obnoxious from espousing with ardor the cause of the British Government. He was mobbed by the populace, and after being carted through Philadelphia, was imprisoned in Market-street with a Dr. Kearsley, and escaped at midnight by bribing the sentinel with a large amount. Immediately he sought a ship which lay in the Delaware bound for the West Indies, belonging to his father-in-law, and arriving at Barbadoes, sailed afterward for England. His wife was unable to follow him till many months afterward; and judge of her astonishment, to find the lawyer partisan of Philadelphia transformed into a clergyman, preaching tranquillity from a real pulpit, in Bentinck chapel, Lisson-green, Paddington. It is said his eloquence made him so popular that Lowth, the celebrated Bishop of London, "sent for him, and remonstrated with him for preaching so many Charity Sermons," saying "it was ostentatious in a clergyman, and that his name was in too many advertisements."

Leigh Hunt's reminiscences of his father are admirable. He was of a mercurial disposition, rather brilliant, given to plan much and execute little; consequently, the circumstances of the family were seldom in a steady position. A lady, one of his delighted audience, left him five hundred pounds sterling, which was of much help; and also they received kindness and attention from West, the painter, who had married an aunt of Mrs. Hunt. Our author's mother was at the time "a brunette with fine eyes, a tall lady-like person, and hair blacker than seen of English growth." She was fond of nature and books, and might have had Dr. Franklin to teach her the guitar, but was too bashful to receive his kindness. *Apropos* of Franklin. Hunt gives the following anecdote, not vouching for its newness—"That when Dr. Franklin invented the Harmonica, he concealed it from his wife till the instrument was fit to play; and then woke her with it one night, when she took it for the music of angels. Mrs. Hunt possessed great energy of principle, tenderness of mind, and amiability; but early misfortunes made her timid in ordinary, and the war whoop of the Indians which she heard in Philadelphia ever rung on

her heart, and she could not bear to see two men fighting in the streets, and used to go out of the way a long distance to avoid meeting soldiers. She used to have Leigh with her; he was the youngest, being nine years younger than his brothers. "Little did she think," says he, "of the timidity with which she was thus inoculating me, and what difficulty I should have, when I went to school, to sustain all those fine theories, and that unbending resistance to oppression which she inculcated." She was fond of poetry, and encouraged her youngest son's attempts, keeping them with all the delight of a poet's mother in her pocket book, and showing the treasures of her boy's mind to the Wests and others. She was an excellent woman, and her son dwells with true filial affection on her memory; and with excess of devotion we can love him, for he says, "I envy my brother Robert the recollections of the filial attentions he paid her." Our readers will remember that Robert was the elder. And we ourselves should often have wished to be a younger son, but that being the eldest, we know our mother best, and have had the opportunity of loving her more and longer. She died in her fifty-third year, and was buried at Hampstead.

If we have dwelt thus long on the parents of our author, it is because we have a natural affection for misfortune, and a fraternal love for those whom she plays with or marks. We shall come more particularly to Leigh. In youth he was of a very delicate constitution, being scarcely recovered from one illness before another laid hold of him. Some person told his mother, that if he survived fifteen he might turn out a more than average amount of intellect; but otherwise that it was extremely probable he should die an idiot. The anxiety such an announcement made on his loving mother, may be imagined. He was sent to France to aid his recovery, where his recollection pictures a French woman who used to cry over the "poor little boy," because he was a heretic. She was sure he should go to the devil. His ill disposition and timidity, fostered by his mother's kind nature and sensitive habits, rendered him a prey to his elder brother's powers of mimicry and to ghost stories, and tales of horror or wild beasts; and many pleasing anecdotes are recorded of such excitement.

His school-days at Christ Hospital passed over as most school-days do; but soon he lost a great deal of his timid rearing, from cogitating with himself, "that if he did not put moral courage in the place of personal, or, in other words, undergo any stubborn amount of pain and wretchedness, rather than submit to what he thought wrong, there was an end for ever, as far as he was concerned, of all those fine things that had been taught him, in vindication of right and justice." Thus settling the point with himself, and having from his family a spirit of love and freedom, he gained for himself at an early period the "reputation of a romantic enthusiast, whose daring in behalf of a friend, or a good cause, nothing could put down." In Christ Hospital many eminent men received their education. It is "a nursery of tradesmen, merchants, naval officers and scholars," and is quite republican in its regulations and regimen. Here Richardson, the novelist, Camden, the historian, Bishop Stillingfleet, Mitchell, translator of *Aristophanes*, Barnes, the well-known editor of the *Times* and an eminent Greek scholar, Coleridge, Charles Lamb, and many others of note, were educated. The description of the school and his school-days are told with much humor, piquancy and heart. His recollections

of the tutors are particularly racy; that one of Boyer, the head master, who lives also in the reminiscences of Lamb and Coleridge, being particularly full and characteristic. His pictures are truly fine bold portraits, and free from any of the spoilt labor-work we find in the letter portraits of Gilfillan. Let us look at this portrait, "from recollection," of his head schoolmaster.

"Boyer was a short, stout man, inclining to punchiness, with large face and hands, an aquiline nose, long upper lip, and a sharp mouth. His eye was close and cruel. The spectacles which he wore threw a balm over it. Being a clergyman, he dressed in black, with a powdered wig. His clothes were cut short; his hands hung out of the sleeves, with tight wristbands, as if ready for execution; and as he generally wore gray worsted stockings, very tight, with a little balustrade leg, his whole appearance presented something formidably succinct, hard and mechanical. In fact, his weak side, and undoubtedly his natural destination, lay in carpentry; and he accordingly carried, in a side pocket made on purpose, a carpenter's rule."

How admirably told! How characteristic, and full of fine perception on the part of the author: the title 'close and cruel eye,' and the 'tightened wristbands, ready for execution!' He was a cruel tyrant, without a particle of imagination; servile, treacherous, and withal could be overcome or outdone by a little high spirit and determination.

Like all young poets, our young Leigh should fall in love. He was at this time but thirteen years old, and was full of poetry, such as is then drifting in connection with everything through every boy's mind; every country girl being a rustic Delia, and every cow-herd a Strephon—nymphs and arcadias, and blue mountains, and chivalry, and bright spears, and dark vizors, and persecutions, breathless anxieties and happy *denouements*, crushing and tumbling through the brain, like different pieces of stained glass, and beads, and colored stones and shells, tumbling and falling into pleasing contrasts in a kaleidescope. It was during one of the vacations that he was on a visit to his aunt's, at Merton, that he fell in love with his cousin Fan. Hear him tell his own love-tale:—

"Fanny was a lass of fifteen, with little laughing eyes, and a mouth like a plum. I was then (I feel as if I ought to be ashamed to say it) not more than thirteen, if so old, but I had read Tooke's Pantheon, and came of a precocious race. My cousin came of one, too, and was about to be married to a handsome young fellow of three and twenty. I thought nothing of this, for nothing could be more innocent than my intentions. I was not old enough, or grudging enough, or whatever it was, even to be jealous. I thought everybody must love Fanny Dayrell; and if she did not leave me out in permitting it, I was satisfied. It was enough for me to be with her as long as I could; to gaze on her with delight, as she floated hither and thither; and to sit on the stiles in the neighboring fields, thinking on Tooke's Pantheon."

Such was his first love. His second was divided, as he himself says, between a friend's sister, the park music, and the soldiers. He left school at fifteen, being unable to deliver the public speech, (which leads to the gradation termed "Grecian," and thence into the church,) on account of an impediment in his speech. Some time after his leaving school, his first book appeared before the public. It was, as a matter of course, a volume of verses which his father collected and published, getting through his old congregations a large list of subscribers. The author tells us he

was as proud of the book then, as he is ashamed of it now. But there is nothing to be ashamed of. He might as well say he is ashamed of ever being a boy. Through his father and his little book he was introduced to many men of note, who treated him very cordially. The critics, too, were lenient, and from his extremely youthful age, the writer was flattered into a serious mischief to himself. Among the *literati* to whom he was introduced about this time, and one whom he seems to regard with most affection, was the Rev. Mr. Maurice, of the British Museum, author of *Indian Antiquities*. He was a "short, chubby, good-humored companion, with boyish features, and a lax dress and manner, heartily glad to see you, and tender over his wine! He was a clerical sort of Horace." Many pleasant days, the recollections of which, and "the roast fowls and bottles of wine," are happily remembered by Hunt, as having been spent in Maurice's rooms in the turret of the British Museum; and he never passes these rooms without thinking of the pleasant days there spent, and how the Indian antiquarian used to "lay down his magnifying glass, take both his hands, and condescend to anticipate the pleasant chat they should have about authors and books over their wine." Subsequently Hunt read and wrote much. Everything which came in his way he read. He devoured the whole set of British classics like a glutton, and the effect of this was, he wrote a series of essays, in a paper called the *Traveler*, under the signature of "Mr. Town, Junr., Critic and Censor-General." He describes his joy as being nothing short of transport, as he issued every Saturday with his printed essay in the papers under his arm. Goldsmith was the enchanter whose might astonished and delighted our young author. He says, "I knew no end of quoting passages out of the '*Essays and Citizen of the World*,' and is in rapture with his Vicar of Wakefield. We beg to correct our friend's memory and set him right—it was Olivia who was seduced by Mr. Thornton, the baronet's nephew, not "Sophia, by the villanous baronet," as he recollects it. Fielding, Smollet, Voltaire, Charlotte Smith, Bage, Mrs. Radcliffe, and Augustin La Fontaine, were his favorite authors in prose. Voltaire seems to have made the greatest impression on him. A collection of essays, by Colman and Bonnell Thornton, called the *Connoisseur*, also Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, were favorite books of his, and on Pope's works he devoted much time and admiration. To compete, in his juvenile ardor, with the *Rape of the Lock*, he wrote a mock heroic, entitled *The Battle of the Bridal*. Dryden, too, sought his attention, and about this time—that is, from his departure from school to his twentieth year—he wrote two farces, a comedy, and a tragedy. None of these productions saw the light, through a printer's devil. Shortly after he became theatrical critic for the *News*, a paper which his brother John, a printer, set up, and astonished the town by giving independent *critiques*, refusing tickets of admission to the theatres, and denying acquaintanceship with the actors and playwrights. It had been the custom there, as it is here now, to be well acquainted with actors, dramatists and *artistes*, who gave dinners, wine, tickets and suppers to the editors, critics and reporters, and so gained a glorious admission into the grandiloquent paragraphs in the morning papers. The criticisms of Hunt got notoriety, if not reputation; and were afterward collected as an appendix to a volume of essays of the same nature.

At the beginning of the year 1808, *The Examiner* was started by the same brother and himself, in joint partnership. He studied the writings

of Voltaire, Goldsmith, Steele and Addison, more than ever: ground himself in De Lolme and Blackstone, and came out boldly as a liberal reformer. The paper started without a party; but the ideas it threw out as its basis soon brought it one. Literature was well introduced, and formed a particular adornment to the politics of the paper; and by this means, readers of intelligence were seduced to peruse it who otherwise might have discountenanced a purely political journal. It grew into reputation. It was manly, if it was not remarkable for manner, and preserved a steadiness of purpose, if it did not present a style of polish. But it was fast attaining both, and accordingly the tories charged it with republicanism, disaffection to crown and church, and with conspiracy. As the Hunts from the outset denied themselves the employment of any party patronage, or political or theatrical acquaintances, so they never went to a public dinner, and never saw the principal men in connection with whose names the charge of conspiracy was brought against them. Mr. Leigh Hunt had been a clerk in the war office immediately previous to, and a short time after the starting of the *Examiner*, but felt it his duty to resign, from the tone which he thought fit to adopt towards the court and the ministry. Ere the paper was a twelvemonth old, a government prosecution was directed against it, in consequence of its taking up the cause of a Major Hogan, who accused the Duke of York of favoritism and corruption. A prosecution was also commenced against Mr. Perry, of the *Morning Chronicle*, for extracting *two* sentences of the closing part of the article in the *Examiner*; and, by some extra grudge of the tories, the *Chronicle* suit was commenced first, and Perry defending himself, was acquitted. The suit against the Hunts was then dropped.

Three years after this time, Mr. Hunt edited a quarterly journal of politics and literature, which his brother started—The *Reflector*, which lived but a year, through want of capital. It rose in reputation, and had writers like Barnes, Mitchell, Dr. Aikin, and others, contributing to it. Lamb also wrote in it, and Leigh Hunt's *Feast of the Poets* first appeared in the same magazine. It is many years since we read the poem, but we remember it with pleasure as a satirical production. Its publication made him many enemies; its plot being—a dinner given by Apollo to the Poets, and the consequent rejection of a great number who present themselves for admission. This arrangement gave him an opportunity to carp at not only the poets professing tory politics, but many others, until he raised an army of rhymers and rhymelings against him.

Among others he attacked Gifford and Walter Scott. He carped (and justly) at the monotony of Pope's versification, and laughed at Wordsworth. The same opinion he holds to this day of Gifford, and will not allow him to have had any genius. We are of the same opinion. That he had talent, we allow. He was a poetaster,—full of malevolence, which passed for strength,—and a dogmatic assurance, which he palmed for argument, because *he* said it. Of Scott and Wordsworth, he afterward learned to think differently: though differently still from what most critics think, rating the former as a novelist, rather beneath—and the latter a poet, rather above—their respective places. The *Reflector* had also a dash at the Prince Regent. Meanwhile the *Examiner* had been striding along at a bold pace, never receding in its assurance, and increasing with its audacity in strength and ability, as a constant action of the human muscles tend to solidify and strengthen their developments and

endurance. The tories were watching its progress with eager eyes, and in their mind the happy moment arrived for examining the *Examiner*, and lynching it if possible. A second prosecution was instituted against it for the publication of a contemptuous article against the Prince Regent, setting forth the manner in which his health had been received with hisses at a St. Patrick's Dinner. The result of the indictment was, two years imprisonment, with a fine to each of the proprietors of five hundred pounds. Into prison they accordingly went.

For some time his abode was of a disagreeable character, and tended to undermine his health; but getting a more airy apartment, he papered it as a bower of roses, cultivated a small garden connected with it, read, wrote, and received visits from Moore, Byron, Cawden Clarke, Lamb, Shelley, and other eminent and intellectual friends. To his imprisonment he owes his first acquaintance with the latter poet. And well may he pride in it, and glory in it, for that alone was worth a life-time to accomplish. The friendship of Shelley!—in itself sounds like footsteps on the ladder of immortality. The venerable Bentham also honored the prisoner with a visit. Here, too, he wrote a portion of *Rimini*, and a masque on the downfall of Napoleon, *the Descent of Liberty*. His time was thus happily filled up, and he contrived to make himself comfortable and cheerful, notwithstanding the presence of that interloper—illness. *The Story of Rimini* was published in 1816. The tory critics, as usual, assailed it, but a sentence of Rogers to him repaid him for all their rancor. Meeting him shortly after its publication, Rogers told him "he had just left a lady in tears over it." Towards the close of the year 1821, Leigh Hunt and his family started for Italy, being invited to start a journal with Byron and Shelley. The *Examiner* was declining, and Mr. Hunt being in ill-health, he combined speculation with the hope of recovery, and so set out to gain his health, and friends to the cause of freedom, in Italy, if possible. Every reader of Byron knows all about the failure of the publication they started, and the mournful but grand death of Shelley, and the burning of his remains according to the spiritual old custom.

Every great poet should be so burnt after death in every land, and leave not a vestige of his bones behind. Who does not tremble at the sacrilege performed some years back on the remains of Milton, when some arch-fiend dragged the locks from his sainted head, and otherwise mutilated the world-loved form, that he might have a "something of Milton's?" Why not buy his "*Paradise Lost?*" Better his body had been burnt generations ago, than remain to receive the awards of civilization so. Who that has ever read the Deserted Village, or Vicar of Wakefield, does not feel insulted at the indignities offered the tomb of Goldsmith not long since?

The remains of great poets should be reduced to ashes, and their works alone be their monument and their remembrance. It carries out the idea of their lives too—and seems like a flash across the earth; like inspiration, whence no one can tell; but it is there a living blaze—a sun standing still. The ceremony which followed the finding of Shelley's body is finely told. In Italy, Mr. Hunt lived at Leghorn, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Maiano—tells us stories of Byron and Madame Guiccioli—how the former wrote his Don Juan—up late at nights, 'under the influence of gin and water,' and how the latter was like one of Chaucer's heroines, and had the handsomest nose he ever saw of its kind. His descriptions of the cities and

towns he passed through are admirably sketched, and colored with much effect. One can imagine he sees the white houses of Pisa, and gazes down the Arno, from one of its three bridges.

The *Liberal* did not succeed beyond four numbers. The writers in it were Byron, Hazlitt, and Hunt, and Shelley's posthumous translation of *May-day Night*, from Faust, appeared in it. Hunt wrote a considerable portion of it: but, though on friendly terms, "their cordiality did not increase." Byron was vain, and Hunt was rather inclined to obstinacy, certainly to independence, and did not yield that deference which the former thought he had a right to expect. The journal did not succeed either, as Byron expected, and instead of working it energetically, he grew cold on the subject, and so it died, not without making a great noise and some disturbance in the literary world. On the death of the *Liberal*, Hunt removed to Florence, and contributed articles to a new publication of his brother's, *The Literary Examiner*, and translated the *Bacchus* in *Tuscany*, of Redi, into English; it fell dead from the press. At Maiano he wrote essays under the title of the *Wishing Cap*, in the *Examiner*, which formed the germ of his books called the *Town*, and *Men, Women and Books*. In Florence he also projected a magazine, to be selected from the magazines of the day in England, but the idea died of want of nourishment from the Florentine authorities. At Maiano he wrote another work, which has not yet been given to the public, though prepared for publication, and in the author's mind is the least faulty of his works; it is termed, *Christianism; or Belief and Unbelief Reconciled.* Returning to England, after a residence in Italy of more than two years, he took up his position among the old haunts, and dived into the literary sea again, buffeting and swimming and keeping himself over water ever since. He has been constantly before the public since that time, and his life is linked with his works, of which the *Companion*, a book of essays, and a collection of his poems, are the best known, with his books of criticisms and selections, entitled, *Imagination and Fancy; Wit and Humor; Stories from the Italian Poets; The Palfrey; A Jar of Honey from Mount Hybla.* He has, besides, from time to time, written a daily critical paper, called *The Tatler*—written in the *True Sun.* "Contributed to the *Westminster Review*, set up the *London Journal*, endeavored to continue the *Monthly Repository*, and wrote the poem entitled *Captain Sword and Captain Pen*, the *Legend of Florence*, and three other plays which are yet unpublished." Some of the essays from the *London Journal* have been collected, and are popular under the title of the *Seer;* also the *Romances of Real Life* from the same publication; but the author informs us, "the reputation, as usual, was too late for the profit," and that they do not belong to him. In the Repository, *Blue Stocking Revels* was published; it is a sort of female *feast of the poets.* Since, he has projected many things, and written much that has not been published, among which are several dramatic compositions; and much anxiety, and the precarious nature of his life, was relieved by a pension from the government. His latter days have not prospered, and though having written much and well, profit has not heaped any benefits on him—too often the case with our best authors. His works are popular, but have passed from his hands. His plays, with one exception, he could not get brought on the stage—that exception succeeded, and brought him (£200) one thousand dollars—for many reasons given by actors and managers. Looking at his life, it was one full of

friendly recollections, though fraught with much adversity. He fought through it manfully, and in his old age repose under the shadow of the pension list, and the sunshine of a good and healthy reputation.

The auto-biography is admirably written—easy, racy, abounding with sketches and anecdotes. Indeed, it is not more his own life than that of the lives of the wits of his day, authors, actors and musicians. The sketches of Byron, Moore, Shelley, Keats, Lamb, Coleridge, Carlyle, and of the Kembles, Siddons, Bannisters, Mundens, Mathews and Ellistons, are full of spirit, and are quite a history of those times. This is the chief charm in the work. His own part of it, or that part relating to himself, is free from egotism, always even-tempered, wiping off old differences, strengthening later friendships, reconciling ideas, or making people and himself understand each other and be friendly. His auto-criticism is remarkably candid, and his criticisms in general are peculiar for a fine conception of the beautiful and humorous, a very pleasing, if not profound sense of perfection, and so frank as to be winning. The parts relating to his residence on the continent, are exquisite pictures of Italian life and scenery, and gives him room to talk on his favorite topic—the poets and flowers and birds of a country—always turning every little thing to the poetic side of human nature. Altogether, the book is a genial, instructive, and hearty companion.

LORD CHESTERFIELD.

The idea that first enters the mind when one sees the name of Chesterfield, is that of a man of fashion, cold, formal, with no natural feeling, or else that feeling carefully smothered and concealed; in fact, a heartless man of the world. How just this may be,—how deserving he may be of the character thus ascribed to him,—has been the subject of much dispute. It is not our present purpose, however, either to defend or assail his views of men and things which are set forth in the well-known "Letters to his Son." Though his name will probably live in the memories of men, chiefly as the author of these "Letters," and as the founder of the Chesterfieldian school of education and manners, yet it was not for these that he was known among his cotemporaries. He was no Beau Brummel in the gay circles of Paris, in foreign courts, or in the House of Lords. His reputation was founded upon a different basis from that of a dancing-master, nor did it hang upon so slender a thread as the novelty and grace of his cravat-tie. It was as a gentleman of refinement and education, that he was admired and courted in Paris; it was as a skilful and accomplished diplomatist, that he was sent to the Hague; and it was as a graceful and elegant orator, a profound and liberal statesman, and a firm and unflinching friend to his country's best interests, that he was known in Parliament. Nor did his notoriety in public life arise merely from that wilful opposition to the measures proposed by the crown, by which many weak minds hope to make themselves known and felt. His opposition (whenever he did oppose) was high-minded and honorable, and his merits were duly appreciated by his opponents, who bestowed upon him the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, and an important Secretaryship. And his actions and course

of conduct in the responsible stations which he filled, show him not unworthy of the trust reposed in him.

At an early age, (as some thought, before he was legally eligible,) he took his seat in the House of Commons, as a member from one of the boroughs. No crowds of urgent constituents thronged his path, pressing him with their various wants and grievances; no vast landed and agricultural interests were dependent upon him for their defence and advancement; no moneyed corporation or wealthy mercantile combination had placed him there as its representative—yet he was not a cipher in Parliament. Endowed by nature with commanding talents, and fitted by mental discipline, travel and study, to mingle in public affairs, before he had been a month in the House he made his maiden speech. It was not to be expected that a young man scarce twenty-one, should astonish by the depth of his reasoning, or the force of his argument. Yet his remarks were well received, owing, as he himself observes, to the spirit with which they were uttered and the language in which his ideas were clothed. It was perhaps to the exceeding care which he always bestowed, no less on the manner in which he spoke than on the selection of his words, that he owed much of the favor he received as a speaker; and though it would hardly be adapted to the present age, and to this country especially, yet his receipt for making an "applauded speaker" is well worth consideration. In one of his letters to his son, he gives it as follows: "Take of common sense *quantum sufficit*, add a little application to the rules and orders of the house, throw obvious thoughts in a new light, and make up the whole with a large quantity of purity, correctness, and elegancy of style. Take it for granted, that by far the greatest part of mankind do neither analyze nor search to the bottom; they are incapable of penetrating deeper than the surface. All have senses to be gratified; very few have reason to be applied to. Graceful utterance and action pleases their eyes, elegant diction tickles their ears; but strong reason would be thrown away upon them." This receipt for speaking, like most other receipts, is rather indefinite. How much common sense it takes to make a "*quantum sufficit*," might be difficult to determine; but that it is very necessary for a speaker, few would be willing to deny. Many speeches of no little celebrity, if carefully analyzed, would be found to contain naught besides "obvious thoughts" thrown into "a new light." And "purity, correctness, and elegancy of style," certainly conduce much to success as a public speaker. The "*quantum sufficit*" of common sense in this country is fortunately a very considerable quantity. But "obvious thoughts," even though thrown into "a new light," will not suit the genius of our countrymen, ever desirous of novelty and progress. "Purity, correctness, and elegancy of style," by no means are essential requisites for a speaker on the stump, or in the halls of legislation, though they undoubtedly add to the chances for success. In fact, these are but relative terms, at least as applied to public speaking; for if the taste of the audience which listens to the eloquence of a stump orator, be not modelled after that of Addison or Burke, the beauty and refinement of the classic styles of these great masters of the English language will be lost upon them. That will appear the most pure, correct and elegant style to them, which is best suited to their taste, and therefore best calculated to "tickle their ears." If their notions of "graceful motion and utterance" accord not with those of a professed elocutionist, the most elaborate gestures and studied intonations

will not please them so much as will the manly and natural action and heartfelt tones which are the expressions of real feeling and interest. By far too large a proportion of mankind are, it is true, too little disposed to "analyze" or "search to the bottom;" but this arises more from indisposition to make the effort, than because "they are incapable of penetrating deeper than the surface." It is far easier to allow the "senses to be gratified," the eye pleased with "graceful utterance and action," and the ear tickled with "elegant diction," than to fix the attention closely on the arguments of the speaker, and make the mental effort of applying the judgment to a nice discrimination of their merits. And that which is easiest, where they are not personally or relatively interested, the majority of men will prefer.

His career in the House of Commons was brought to a close on the death of his father in 1726, when he succeeded to his title, and took his seat in the House of Lords, as the Earl of Chesterfield. His course here—in a position still more calculated than the one he filled in the lower house, to tempt him to a life of ease—was no less brilliant as an orator and a statesman than it had been previously. As an orator, he still adhered to the directions of his own receipt; though not so closely, but that his speeches were not unfrequently marked by a soundness of reasoning, which was as well calculated to convince, as his grace of utterance and action and elegance of diction were to please. Upon the occasion of the consideration of a bill "to subject all dramatic writers to the jurisdiction of the Lord Chamberlain, by obliging them to take out a license for every production before it can appear on the stage," his lordship made a defence of the liberty of the press, distinguished alike for the spirit of liberality and freedom which breathes forth in every part of it, and for the eloquence with which it is expressed. A single extract from this speech will show that these assertions are not unfounded.

"I shall admit, my lords, that the stage ought not, upon any occasion, to meddle with politics; and for this very reason, among the rest, I am against the bill now before us. This bill will be so far from preventing the stage's meddling with politics, that I fear it will be the occasion of its meddling with nothing else: but then it will be a political stage, *ex parte*. It will be made subservient to the politics and schemes of the court only. The licentiousness of the stage will be encouraged, instead of being restrained; but, like court journalists, it will be licentious only against the patrons of liberty, and the protectors of the people. Whatever man, whatever party, opposes the court in any of their most destructive schemes, will be represented on the stage in the most ridiculous light the hirelings of a court can contrive. True patriotism, and love of public good, will be represented as madness; or as a cloak for envy, disappointment, and malice; whilst the most flagitious crimes, the most extravagant vices and follies, if they are fashionable at court, will be dignified and dressed up in the habit of the most amiable virtues. This, at least, we know was the case in the reign of King Charles II., when the stage was under a license."

While an active member of the House of Lords, his lordship spoke often, and always in the same spirit of liberty, and generally in the same eloquent style, as that in which he so manfully resisted the insidious attack upon the liberty of the press. The same principle of opposition to every encroachment—or every shadow of an encroachment—upon the

liberties of the subject, characterized all his efforts in Parliament. Whether resisting an unconstitutional increase of the prerogative,—a dangerous augmentation of the standing army in time of peace,—an uncalled for subsidy to foreign powers,—an attempt to bring the majority in Parliament within the control of the crown,—or any other measure inconsistent with a spirit of freedom, Lord Chesterfield always displayed an unflinching adherence to the principles of true liberty, and a reasoning at once convincing, and clothed in eloquent and appropriate language. And though often with the minority, yet his speeches were felt and appreciated even by the most bitter and violent of his opponents.

His course as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States General, though of no long duration, was eminently successful. His education had been of a kind peculiarly adapted to fit him for the discharge of the responsible duties of a foreign minister, with honor to himself and to his principals. His fund of knowledge made him shine as the accomplished and elegant scholar, and joined to the polish of his manner, and his perfect familiarity with the continental languages, prepossessed all in his favor. A thorough acquaintance with all the history and tactics of European diplomacy, gave weight to his opinions and force to his arguments; while his deep and practical knowledge of human nature, fortified him against the most skilfully devised schemes and manœuvres of his diplomatic opponents. The object which his embassy had in view, was to induce the Dutch to engage in the war with more vigor and earnestness. He was received with the utmost cordiality, and the warmest expressions of friendship, by the deputies of the States General. This was more especially the case upon his second mission. The first had been to negotiate for their assistance and support, and to engage them as allies of Great Britain in the war; the second, to rouse them to heartier exertions in the prosecution of it. His efforts were attended with signal success, and he returned to England to receive fresh honors from his own nation, by being appointed one of the Lords Justices to administer the government during his Majesty's absence abroad. The views he entertained in regard to the qualifications necessary for a foreign minister, were just and discriminating. His desire for his son was, that he should be distinguished as a skilful diplomatist, and as an orator in Parliament; and though disappointed in the latter wish, the former was abundantly gratified. In many of his letters he throws out valuable hints and suggestions for the guidance of his son, in fitting himself to discharge the duties of this office in after years. He recommends a thorough knowledge of foreign affairs, with the interests, views, pretensions, and policy of other courts. The study of the relations of foreign states with each other, and with the home government, and an intimate acquaintance with the most important treaties, he regards as indispensable to one who would act with credit and success as a foreign minister. His own extensive knowledge of foreign affairs, and his eminent success in the only mission which he undertook, have furnished a brilliant example of the precepts he enjoined.

In the responsible and difficult office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and as Secretary of State, Chesterfield displayed the same tact for business, and the same unwearied industry and application, which had distinguished his career as a member of Parliament, and ambassador to the Hague. His habits of industry and application were remarkable, and the more so, since his means were abundant, and his rank in the peerage se-

cured him from all necessity of more than an ordinary degree of attention to business. But unfettered by the enervating and apathetic influences which are the almost necessary concomitants of an ample fortune, aided to high rank. Lord Chesterfield rose superior to them all, and performed with fidelity the arduous and pressing duties of the various positions of honor and distinction in which he was placed. Though many of the duties attendant on these offices had usually been discharged by subordinates, he scorned the intervention of others to lighten the labor which rightly fell to his own share. It is related of him, that upon his appointment to Ireland, he selected as principal secretary, a young man, who, though of good family and genteel address, was by no means a man of business. And upon the first visit, which he made for the purpose of acknowledging the favor, Lord Chesterfield told him: "Sir, you will receive the emoluments of your place, but I will do the business myself, being determined to have no first minister." Thus diligent and attentive to the business of his office, and careful of surrounding himself with a host of fawning underlings, it is a matter of no surprise that he administered the affairs of Ireland in a manner acceptable to the people, and honorable to himself.

And his habits of industry strike one with more force, when it is remembered in what estimation he was usually held among men. Who would expect to see the elegant and accomplished man of fashion, and the polished wit, applying himself assiduously to business, and attending to all its details with a fidelity well worth imitating! And the same man of fashion, an accurate and classical scholar, intimately acquainted with all the various and intricate relations of the states of Europe, and only attaining this knowledge by hard study, and attentive and discriminating observation! The two characters seem, at the first glance, entirely repugnant to each other. The labor and care necessary to become familiar with the minutiæ of fashionable etiquette, and to acquire the polish of manner requisite for what is commonly called a fine gentleman, seem to put out of the question the acquisition or preservation of business habits and application. The necessary connection, however, between polished manners and an indolent, inactive course of life, it would be difficult satisfactorily to prove. Nor would it be easier to ascribe a substantial reason for the very prevalent notion, that an accomplished scholar, a profound statesman, or a man of business, can never possess those graces of manner and deportment which mark the polished gentleman. The example of Lord Chesterfield, furnishes a brilliant and triumphant refutation of these erroneous, yet specious doctrines; specious, because in a great majority of cases it is a combination of virtues rarely met.

In a few words, the true position and character of Chesterfield may thus be summed up: He was a man of polished manners, fitted to shine even in the "shining court" of "presumptuous France;" he was an eloquent orator,—a profound and liberal statesman,—a steady and never-tiring man of business; he was a skilful and able diplomatist, enjoying the respect even of his opponents, and the warm admiration of his friends; he was highly favored and honored by his own government, and esteemed by those of foreign states, whither his duty or his pleasure called him.

IMPOST.*

A STUPENDOUS DECEPTION.

If the people wish to be deceived, then let them be deceived.†

In view of the greatness of the subject, the extent of its bearings and relations, and the magnitude of its consequences, a decent respect for public opinion renders it becoming to enter more elaborately into proofs and authorities to support positions than would otherwise be expedient. If it shall appear, as it will, that the ambition of monarchs and the extravagance of princes and governments have been, and still are, chiefly indebted to impost for their resources—for the support of standing armies, and for the sinews of long, bloody, and exhausting wars, which, in civilized nations, have been, and will continue to be, co-existent with the "Regulations of Commerce," and the collection of impost; and if it shall still further appear, as it will, that the civilization and refinement of man are whole centuries behind their time, in consequence of the restrictions laid upon commerce, and the embarrassments of human intercourse, occasioned by the imposition of impost, then are we sustained in the assertion, that *impost is the most stupendous deception ever practised upon civilized man.*

In briefly tracing back the origin and history of this deception, we must introduce to the reader a class of words united in the closest bonds of fraternal affection, to wit:—policy, diplomacy, intrigue, chicanery, artifice, deception, management, dissimulation, insincerity, craft, cunning, scheming, sophistry, and false pretences—with an infinity of cousins to the twentieth degree, under the name of tergiversation, shifting, evasion, subterfuge, &c. This fraternity of words being constantly found in the service of monarchs, cabinets and governments, no guilt is ever attached to them. Whenever detected in private life, society instantly brands the victims as swindlers, mock auctioneers, horse-jockeys, &c., and punishes them with fines and imprisonments. The lineage of this household of ideas may be legitimately traced to the great *paterfamilias*, Tiberius Cæsar, whose name is a synonym for all that is unjust and oppressive in government, and wicked and revolting in morals. He cultivated dissimulation, studied it as an art, practised it as a virtue, and plumed himself upon it as an imperial accomplishment.‡ To him, therefore, be the credit of domesticating dissimulation at court, where, since his day, all honesty and sincerity have been generally regarded as mere plebeian virtues.§

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* By *Impost* is meant a *tax* paid by the people for the support of government, disguised under the specious names of "customs," and "duties"—advanced by the importer, and ultimately extracted from the pockets of consumers, and levied upon merchandise imported. This use of the word is supported by the historical records of the U. S. Government.

† The very trite Latin proverb—*Quæ vult decipi decipiatur*—or, as it is often quoted, *Populus vult decipi, et decipiatur*—is one of the oldest truths in politics. In the progress of human intelligence it is destined to become error.

‡ See Tacit. Ann. Lib. I., cap. 11., et Lib. IV., cap. 71.

§ Gibbon, the greatest master of history after Tacitus, says:—"Falsehood and insincerity, unsuitable as they seem to the dignity of public transactions, offend us with a less degrading idea of meanness, than when they are found in the intercourse of private life. In the latter, they discover a want of courage; in the other, only a defect of power; and as it is impossible for the most able statesmen to subdue millions of followers and enemies by their own personal strength, the world, under the name of policy, seems to have granted them a very liberal indulgence of craft and dissimulation."—*Dec. and Fall R. E.*, vol. I., chap. v. p. 68.—*Days of Severus.*

Passing rapidly down to the period of modern diplomacy and courtly dissimulation, we find their earliest development in the papal court,* in the fifteenth century. It was a dark Italian policy, Machiavellianism. It naturally succeeded feudalism, which had been, up to that time, chiefly characterized by barbarism, force and violence. Policy was an opposite principle, that sought to achieve its ends by management, chicanery, and deception. In France, this great change in the mode of governing was affected by Louis XI., who "substituted intellectual for material means, cunning for force, Italian for feudal policy." It is in these days that you witness the barons and *Suzerains*, or lords paramount of feudalism, like feeble moons and glimmering stars, paling away before the rising glories of royal suns—monarchs with monstrous assumptions. The people are utterly forgotten, and their very existence denied, except when required for wars and taxes. They quietly surrender all to the throne, nor are they again heard of in England until the days of Hampden, Cromwell, and their glorious compeers—nor in France till a century later.† It is in the history of these times that we are to seek for a satisfactory explanation of the amazing ignorance and stupidity of the people, in thus tamely relinquishing to the crown all their foreign relations, and with them the regulation of commerce and unlimited taxation by impost.

It was in this gray twilight of modern civilization—in such a soil—in such an atmosphere—that impost sprang up and became the established policy of corrupt, ambitious, extravagant and oppressive monarchies. Immediately upon its heels, then marching side by side, *haud passibus æquis*, came standing armies. Then came an uninterrupted succession of

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* Robertson, the great historian, no way inferior to Gibbon, says:—"As ecclesiastics were trained to pacific acts, and early initiated in the mysteries of that policy by which the court of Rome extended or supported its spiritual dominion, the popes, in the conduct of their temporal affairs, were apt to follow the same maxims, and in all their measures were more ready to employ the refinements of intrigue than the force of arms. It was in the papal court that address and subtlety in negotiation became a science; and during the sixteenth century Rome was considered as the school in which it might be best acquired."—*Chs. V.*, sec. iii., page 82.—*View of the State of Europe.*

† Guizot—another splendid star in history—should be carefully studied. "Diplomacy," says he, "in its very birth, fell into the hands of kings; and the opinion that it belongs to them exclusively—that the nation, even when free, and possessed of the right of voting its own taxes, and interfering in the management of its domestic affairs, has no right to intermeddle in foreign matters—this opinion, I say, became established in all parts of Europe as a settled principle, a maxim of common law. Look into the history of England in the 16th and 17th centuries, and you will observe the great influence of that opinion, and the obstacles it presented to the liberties of England in the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I. It is always under the sanction of the principle—that peace and war, commercial relations, [taxation by impost,] and all foreign affairs, belong to the royal prerogative—that absolute power defends itself against the rights of the country. The people are remarkably timid in disputing this portion of the prerogative; and their timidity has cost them the dearer, for this reason, that from the commencement of the sixteenth century, the history of Europe is essentially diplomatic."—*Guizot on Civilization*, Lecture XI., Trans., p. 238.

This "timidity" of which Guizot speaks, is confirmed and illustrated by the cheerfulness with which our fathers surrendered the regulation of commerce to the British Government. In the examination of Dr. Franklin, Feb. 3, 1766, [Works, vol i., 205,] before the English House of Commons, relative to the repeal of the Am. Stamp Act, he testifies:—"The authority of Parliament was allowed [by the colonists] to be valid in all laws, except such as should lay internal taxes. It *was never disputed in laying duties* to regulate commerce." The subtilty and successful imposition of governments still further appear in the progress of this same examination; for in one of his answers [page 214] Franklin states, that "By taxes they [the colonists] mean internal taxes; by duties they mean customs; these are their ideas of the language." Although to a mathematical demonstration, with Q. E. D. at the end of it, it is true, that customs, duties, or impost, are equally taxes, and as truly paid out of the people's pockets; yet it is quite possible, so stupendous is the deception practised upon them, that nine-tenths of them still believe with our forefathers, that "customs" are not taxes.

bloody and desolating wars, down, down, even to the peace of Paris. A standing army and an established impost—*par nobile fratrum.* For in the greatest nations of the civilized globe, there has never yet been seen a standing army that was not and is not chiefly maintained by an impost. For it is incredible to suppose, that people would for a day submit to any tax save an impost, or some other unintelligible and deceptive tax, enormous enough to support modern standing armies, and the concurrent expenses of wars, in which the only personal interest they could possibly have is either to be taxed, oppressed and crushed at home, or else be "drawn," "quartered," and killed abroad.

Of all the measures that ever originated in this school of Machiavellianism,* the impost is at once the most important to monarchs and cabinets, the most oppressive to subjects and people, and the most mischievous to human progress. In the 17th century, the very justly distinguished Montesquieu†—with a simplicity and honesty that challenge our admiration and astound us with their boldness—laid bare the impost policy. *He admits it to be a deception, and recommends it as a* DELUSION! His language is too striking, and the whole subject too gravely important, to be lightly passed over; nor can any translation, exegesis, or history of the distinguished author, or of his times, in any degree palliate the monstrous doctrine, or hide its political deformity with gloze or stuccato.

"Les droits sur les merchandises," etc. "The duties [impost] upon merchandise are those which the people feel the least, because there is no formal demand made for them [by the tax-gatherer]. They can be so shrewdly [sagement] managed, that the people shall scarcely know that they pay them at all. To effect this, it is of the highest consequence that the merchant who sells the goods to the consumer should also be the person who pays the impost for him. For he well knows that he does not pay the impost for himself. And the consumer [l'acheteur] who pays it in the end confounds it [le confond] with the price. Some authors have stated that Nero‡ had abolished the twenty-fifth penny arising from the sale of slaves; and yet he had only ordained that the tax—excise—should be paid by the seller instead of the consumer. This regulation, which left the impost entire, very speciously [*specie*] seemed to abolish it.

"There are two kingdoms in Europe," continues the President, "where they have imposed very heavy duties upon liquors; in the one the brewer alone pays the impost, in the other it is levied indifferently upon all consumers. In the first, no one feels the rigor [and yet the rigor is identically the same in both cases] of the impost; in the latter, it is regarded

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* We call it *Machiavellianism*, and so it was; but Machiavelli was scarcely more responsible for this subtile policy than any historian for the events he describes. It is true, he wrote his "Principe" in the didactic form, to recommend himself to the "Medici," but in a historic form it would have been but a fair history of the times in which he lived, and of the Italian policy thus uniformly practised by courts and princes.

† Sir James MacIntosh classes "the President" Montesquieu with Grotius, Locke, and Adam Smith. "The Treatise," says he, "on the Law of War and Peace—the Essay on the Human Understanding—The Spirit of Laws, and the Inquiry into the Causes of the Wealth of Nations, are the works which have most directly influenced the opinion of Europe during the last two centuries. They are also the most conspicuous landmarks in the sciences to which they belong."

‡ Vectigal quoque quintæ et vicessianæ venalium mancipiorum remissum, *specie* magis, quam vi, quia cum venditor pendere juberetur, vi *partem pretii* emptoribus accrescebat.—*Tacitus, Ann.*, Lib. XIII., § 31.

We read that Augustus, in the consulship of Metullus and Nerva, A. U. C. 755, imposed a tax on all commodities exposed for sale. Dio says it was at first the fiftieth penny; but we find the tax was subsequently doubled.

as a burden. In the former, the citizen only feels the liberty he enjoys of not paying; in the latter, he only feels the necessity which compels him to pay."*

To the next succeeding chapter, the VIII., "the President" has given the following most flagrant and unequivocal caption:

"COMMENT ON CONSERVE L'ILLUSION."
"HOW TO PRESERVE THE DELUSION!"

The chapter then opens thus:

"In order that the *price* of the article and the *impost* may be CONFOUNDED TOGETHER IN THE HEAD OF THE CONSUMER, [*puissent se confondre dans la tete de celui qui paie,*] there must be some proportion between the price of the merchandise and the amount of the impost," &c.

Once more, "the President" says:—"The object of commerce is the exportation and the importation of merchandise *in favor of the state—en faveur de l'etat,*†] and the object of customs, [*douanes*] is a certain impost upon this same exportation and importation, *also in favor of the state.*"‡

This may seem a startling doctrine, but it is the legitimate offspring of the other. The consumers, with their "heads all confounded," see no taxgatherer—feel no tax—acknowledge no burthen—and, of course, cheerfully surrender all commerce and imposts, and the regulation thereof, to the state, as affairs which no way concern them. Thus the "delusion is preserved."

McCulloch, in his work on Taxation—the best European authority—takes a similar view. He says:—"Indirect taxes have, with few exceptions, been the greatest favorites with both princes and subjects." "The burden of direct taxation is palpable and obvious. It admits of no disguise or concealment, [can't "confound it" in the consumer's innocent "head,"] but makes every one fully sensible of the exact amount of his income taken by the government." Were this the proper place, we would show that this very objection to direct taxes is the most perfect palladium of popular safety from governmental oppression, and the most adequate security against governmental wars, ambition, and extravagance.

Again; McCulloch calls the impost tax "an *ingenious* plan, that conceals the amount of taxation."§

Napoleon very early discovered the virtues of this wonderful "ingenuity"—this panacea for political ills—this bread of life for financial inanition—this regular *Poor Man's Blister*. As early as 1795, the Revolution had left everything in the most miserable situation. The treasury was in a state of frightful exsiccation—the people starving—the armies destitute—the generals discouraged.‖

For ten long years matters grew worse and worse—until in 1805 the territorial burdens of France had become enormous, and crushing to the last degree of human endurance. At this most eventful period *the war must have terminated from sheer lack of resources to prosecute it*, had not Napoleon discovered the *Poor Man's Blister*, which McCulloch thinks so "ingenious." Direct taxes, like Sangradoism and Thompsonianism, had created a vacuum in the epigastric regions, emptied the veins, and ex-

* L'Esp. des Lois, Liv. xiii., ch. vii.
† "The State."—Montesquieu's Master, Louis XIV.—"*L'etat c'est moi.*"
‡ L'Esp. des Lois, Liv. xx., ch. 13.
§ On "Taxation," p. 148, 9.
‖ See Alison's History of Europe, I., chap. xxiv., p. 483.

hausted all the secretions of the body politic—when lo! this Poor Man's Blister is discovered, and, presto! the patient is cured. "The enormity of the evil at length attracted the attention of the Emperor, and his sagacious mind at once perceived the superiority of taxes on consumption—which, *confounded with the price of the articles* on which they were laid, were hardly felt as a grievance—over an enormous direct payment from the proprietors to the government, which fell with excessive and intolerable severity upon a particular class of society."* "Ingenious," was it not? But it was eminently successful in enabling Napoleon to continue his wars against the sections of the British oligarchy, for the restoration of legitimacy. "The longer his experience extended," says the same author, "the more was he attached to the admirable system of indirect taxation, the only secure basis for the permanent income of a great nation. "The principle I should wish to see established," said he, on the 20th of Feb., 1806, "is to introduce a great number of moderate indirect taxes, susceptible of augmentation when the public necessities call for their elevation."† That is, "after exhausting the virtues of phlebotomy, hot water and lobelia, the principle I should next wish to see tried is the application of a great number of moderately sized Poor Man's Blisters, susceptible of augmentation whenever it shall be discovered that the patient has gained strength enough to endure them."

Napoleon was a great master, and he had a pupil of remarkable precocity‡—a perfect Neckar in finance—the pride of Old England in the way of a Prime Minister, and a rare specimen in the cabinet. It came to pass about the period of Pitt's death,§ that Dr. Sangrado and Dr. Thompson had pretty nearly done for John Bull—even in like manner as they had done for his enemy, Crapeau. The precocious Prime Minister, however, did not die till he had made great discoveries into the dazzling beauties, the hidden mysteries, and the *lasting* virtues of the same "ingenuity," which had already so delighted his master before him. Had Pitt died a little earlier he would scarcely have been able at his death to bequeath to his admiring countrymen and fellow subjects an annual tax, to be paid as long as grass grows and water runs, upon a sum of money, which ultimately rounded its proportions into *four thousand millions of dollars!* To William Pitt, the precocious Chancellor of England's Exchequer, the foster-father and admiring patroon of Dr. Price's Sinking Fund, be the honor of establishing the principle in English Finance, that throughout a wire-drawn eternity, the annual interest upon the British National Debt shall be paid by a tax, the depth of whose "ingenuity" is only paralleled by the breadth of its "delusion"—disguised under the name of Customs, and "confounded" with the price in the tax-payer's honest "head." Preserve the delusion!‖ And what

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* Alison, II., xxxix., p. 308, and xlvii., p. 573.

† Alison, II., chap. xxxix., p. 308, and xlvii., p. 573.

‡ Pitt was born in May, 1759, and was made Chancellor of the Exchequer and Prime Minister of Great Britain in July, 1782, when he was twenty-three years and two months old!

§ In 1806.

‖ "The interest [1806, before the minister's death] of the loans annually contracted, and laid as a permanent burden on the nation, was provided for in the mitigated form of indirect taxes." * * * "It is regarded as a capital excellence of Mr. Pitt's financial measures, that he not only provided, in PERMANENT IMPOSTS, *for the interest of the whole public debt*, and the sinking fund [Price's humbug] necessary for its redemption, but made that provision exclusively in taxes, in the indirect form, the burden of which, [being 'confounded in the head,'] is imperceptible, and is never the subject of any general complaint." * * * "No complaint was

are all these "permanent" and eternal indirect taxes, for the payment of a "permanent"—an eternal—national debt: what are they, but so many mortgages, annually foreclosed, upon the brains, the sweat, and the sinews of posterity forever!

We do not on *this* occasion propose to go into the history of the impost in this country, but shall content ourselves with remarking that our forefathers legitimately inherited the imposition from their English ancestors, and with that "timid" reverence, of which Guizot speaks, for the ancient ways,* forebore to interfere with a principle whose truth was universally admitted. It was not to be expected that their intelligence should be in advance of the rest of mankind, in a science they had never studied. Political economy was then in its very infancy. Accordingly, we are not to be surprised that President Monroe—following in the footsteps of all the great statesmen who had preceded him—should, in his inaugural message,† speak of the extraordinary prosperity of the country, in that expenditures, to the amount of 37 millions of dollars, had been defrayed, as he remarks, (*specie magis, quam vi.*) "*without a burthen on the people*—the direct tax and excise having been repealed soon after the conclusion of the late war." So $37,000,000 paid by 9,000,000 of people, with their "heads confounded," is no "burthen"—although the sum would average more than four dollars apiece paid by every man, woman, and child in the United States! Any scheme of taxation that can work such wonders, must, indeed, be "ingenious." At any rate the "delusion is preserved," thanks to "le President" Montesquieu.

Since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the people of the United States have actually paid into the Treasury of the general government taxes to the amount of *one thousand millions of dollars*, all under the seductive name of tariff, or the more specious title of Customs or Impost "confounded with the price" of the goods they have consumed! And probably not one in a thousand of the people is in any way conscious of the amount of his own payment and proportion of this immense sum, save that he is deeply sensible, and sorely feels, that he is poor—works hard—has no market for his produce—and barely makes the two ends of the year meet together. All this, and more, he is ready to admit; but he has not the remotest conception that he has ever paid a solitary unit of all these millions of money. And *can* all this be done, and no deception practised? "Preserve the delusion!"

Yes, the delusion must be preserved. You will, therefore, in the next place, inveigh earnestly, patriotically, and piously, against all luxuries and superfluities, as unsuited to the condition and pernicious to the morals of the laboring poor.‡ Teach them that luxuries are the chief object of

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made during the war of fifty-five millions [$275,000,000] levied annually, by means of indirect taxes, on the people of Great Britain; but so burdensome was the income tax, producing only fourteen millions a year, felt to be, that all the efforts of government could not keep it on for one year after its termination." [Can such things be, and the people not be deceived? *Populus vult decipi*—and if they do, then let them be deceived.] * * * "Of all the parts of Mr. Pitt's financial system, none was more worthy of admiration than that which provided for all the *permanent* [the italics are Alison's] expenses of the nation, in the indirect taxes." * * * "Mr. Pitt's financial policy is calculated to stand the test of ages, [we "calculate" it will, too, unless the people repudiate,] and appears now in imperishable lustre," &c.—*Alison's History of Europe*, Vol. II, chap. xli., p. 400–1.

* Stare super vias antiquas.

† A. D. 1821.

‡ And pray why not point to Ireland, as a happy illustration of the absence of luxuries and superfluities?

commerce,* and that commerce is altogether an affair of the State, and quote Montesquieu for authority. Assure them that luxuries are for the aristocracy—necessaries for the people. The one leads to vice, the other to virtue. Preach up poverty, humility, and contentment—to all which nothing is so conducive as an impost.

Franklin often speaks of luxuries as ruinous to the rising colonies and young states, and yet † we find him more than once brought to a stand, and to very grave doubts, whether after all, the temptation of luxuries did not stimulate to new industry, greater enterprise, higher views; in short, he was not quite sure that levelling down these aristocratic cumulations of luxuries, and diffusing them among the people, might not promote general civilization, and tend to elevate and refine man. But Jefferson was afflicted with no doubts. He thought exemption from the influence of luxuries cheaply purchased,‡ even at the expense of a ruined national credit.

But as this subject involves the whole question of sumptuary laws, we must pass it over. They fill many and many a long page upon the statute books of our honored English ancestors, whose pride it was "to stand in the ancient ways" and fill many and many a page of English history; but happily they could not forever withstand the onward progress of man, and they have long since gone to rest along with the kindred laws and prejudices pertaining to trial by ordeal—debasing money—the burning of heretics§—fixing wages—granting monopolies—judicial torture—purveyance—forestalling—regrating—alchemy—astrology—witchcraft—persecution of the Jews—prejudices against the use of coal for domestic purposes—against machinery—against numbering the people—against enlarging London—*et id omne genus;* gone—all gone to a cemetery, where no resurrection will ever find them. "*Hic jacet*" sumptuary laws and prejudices against luxuries.

The truth is, that the luxuries of Athens and Rome, which have so much excited the spleen of moralists and the ingenuity of historians, were the ill-gotten products of rapine and injustice—never the proceeds of honesty and industry. Luxuries gained by honest industry never corrupt, but always elevate and refine. The hope of their fruition constitutes the most powerful incentive, and the highest reward to popular industry. Nearly all the commonest necessaries of life have in their day been esteemed luxuries—and the luxuries that now are, will in their turn become necessaries—their history ever marking the progress of man in refinement and civilization.

But against all these advantages, impost erects its brazen front. The impudence of its assumptions are ever equalled by the success of its impositions. And we are accordingly next prepared to find its friends coolly and complacently putting forward the claim, that it is not only

* Jefferson, an inveterate hater of luxuries, never lost an opportunity of bearing testimony against them. "The great mass of the articles on which impost is paid, are foreign luxuries purchased by those only who are rich enough to afford themselves the use of them."—Annual Message, December 2, 1806. [*Am. State Papers*, vol. v. p. 458.] Same in his inaugural address, 1805. We cannot stay now to expose these errors, but take the one article of iron—from 10,000 miles of railroad iron down to a cambric needle—and there is not a farmer, laborer, nor housewife in all the land, that does not feel and groan under the impost upon the article, although they may not be able to tell how they are aggrieved by its mysterious influence, any more than they can describe the mysterious cause of the cholera. The effects, however, are sufficiently apparent in both cases.

† Works, Vol. I. 577.

‡ Works, Vol. I. 344, 433.

§ De hæretico comburendo.

negatively no tax—no burthen—but even that is positively a great blessing! Massachusetts, whose principles of political economy, and theory of national greatness, are as variable as the winds that first blew commerce to her shores, and subsequently wafted it away again, stoutly maintains in 1850, that the higher the tariff, the greater the blessing—the weightier the tax, the lighter the burden. And Pennsylvania verily believes in her heart that an increased impost on railroad iron is the only salvation of the country. Of course railroad iron is a luxury for the rich, and all who ride on railroads, and all who own or purchase merchandise transported on railroads—from the merchants and their customers of Wisconsin, to the emigrants from Ireland and Germany, all—all are wealthy aristocrats! And the price of railroad iron must be raised higher yet to mark it as an imported luxury, corrupting to the popular masses!

We must now bring this article to a close, having rather exhausted our space than the subject. Should it meet with acceptance from the friends of free-trade, we may subsequently take up the history of the impost in the United States, on which occasion its deceptive character will still farther appear. It is indeed not only a stupendous imposition upon man, but it is a hideous monster—for what else but a monster can be hailed in Pennsylvania as the greatest good to the state and salvation to the country—and in South-Carolina be denounced as the greatest evil to the state, and the ruin of the country!

It is humiliating to know, and painful to feel, that the same truth and honesty, so becoming, so useful, and so beautiful in all the social relations of life, are still regarded with suspicion by princes, and distrusted by cabinets.*

It is impossible there can be two opposite rules of morality—one, of swindling and fraud for the use of governments, politely called policy—and another, of truth and virtue for the use of the people, vulgarly called honesty.

Impost, as its name betokens, is not only an imposter, and a two-faced monster, but it is the fundamental resource, as we have seen, for the support of wars, and the payment of war-debts. Abolish impost, and the tap of 500,000 drums will rouse to war no more.

It discourages agriculture by closing its markets.

It discourages commerce by curtailing its business.

It seduces government to unlimited extravagance by cheating the people into the belief that it is neither a tax, nor a burthen, but a positive blessing.

It confuses industry, unsettles trade, and perplexes capital, by its constant fluctuations, and the absolute certainty that the only quiet it will ever have is quiet in the grave.

It requires no small amount of courage to invade an ancient way, or attack a beaten path.† Yet we have implicit belief in the general tendency

* "Nothing is so mistaken as the supposition that a person is to extricate himself from a difficulty by intrigue, by chicanery, by dissimulation, by trimming, by an untruth, by an injustice. This increases the difficulties tenfold; and those who pursue these methods get themselves so involved at length, that they can turn no way but their infamy becomes more exposed."—*Jefferson*—in a letter to Peter Carr, dated Paris, August 19, 1785, vol. I, 286.

† "Stand in the ancient ways"—*stare super vias antiquas*—is a time-honored maxim, but honored in the breach as well as in the observance, for it has successively and successfully been invaded by every railroad and canal, and demolished by every invention and improvement, in all the civilized globe. The Earl of Normanton's motto, "*Via trita, via tuta*"—the beaten path is the safe path,—is not adapted to human progress.

to human perfection, and a firm conviction that the progress of public opinion is ever from evil to good—from wrong to right—from error to truth.

We are fully aware of the great unpopularity, not to say odium, that must necessarily attend an attack upon a long established custom, and especially when that custom, like impost, is a financial custom, and the source of untold millions of revenue to civilized governments.

Still the frequent assertion, and publication of truth, can never be without effect.* It is an old proverb, that truth, though often in eclipse, is never extinguished.† It is a most consoling reflection to the practical philanthropist that the progress of improvement is irresistible. "Time, and change of circumstances and opinions, have the same progressive effect in rendering modes of government obsolete, as they have upon customs and manners."‡ The present progress of man is the best evidence of his past errors. In what condition would the world now be, had man in every age still continued to stand in the old paths!

NOTES ON THE NATURE OF INSANITY.

Life, mind, soul! Physics, intelligence, immortality! Who can connect, or who sever these? Poetry and insanity—wisdom and folly—contend for audience, while they descant upon them.

The mystery of life, and the aspirations of the soul, have founded in the human heart the most absurd, the most disgusting, and the most cruel superstitions. The lights of science and reason, gleaming into the darkness of superstition and of ignorance, have revealed the true character of vitality wherever it exists, and have divested it of its wonderful and supernatural properties. It is now known that vitality, in every condition of its existence, is essentially the same; that the lichen, the shrub, and the animated body, are all formed by similar vital processes, modified only in their mutual relations by the character of surrounding material elements, and by the circumstances of singular or multitudinous vital existences being joined within a given body. The body of man has lost the peculiar and incomprehensible interest which ignorance once threw about it, because it *lives*. There is no more reason for attributing to the human organization, because of life, qualities of infinite and immortal character, than there is to the lower animals—to the vegetable, or even to the inorganic creation. The human body is mere *matter*, and its growth and decay are no more wonderful than the life and death of the simplest

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* There is at least one benefit to be expected from the open assertion and publication of sound maxims, which is, that even those who relish them the least are thereby laid under a necessity of keeping within some bounds, lest they should forfeit their characters altogether.—*Vattel*, Bk. II., ch. i., § i.

† Veritatem laborare nimis sæpe, aiunt, extingui, nunquam.

‡ Paine's Political Writings, vol. II. 149.

organized substance. This is the lesson of science; and it is already approved by the intelligent and thoughtful.

In meditating upon this lesson, its truth is evinced. The intellectual vision is brightened, and the gaze of mind reaches far beyond its former boundaries. Truth always expands the mind and beatifies the soul. The pride of man is humbled; his selfishness vanishes, and charity finds rest in his bosom. What right has man to say that *he* is the only recipient of the immortal spark, which ever aspires to the eternal throne? Why may not matter in other forms, as well as that of the human frame, be possessed of a conscious, though enchained soul? Are all the great burning planets—all the cold, frigid stars,—all the rocky, barren, uninhabited and uninhabitable worlds throughout the expanse of heaven made for nought? Or, from earth, and every star in the heavens,—from the milky-way, whose myriads of worlds spread a mantle of glory through the sky, and from each lone and brilliant orb which glitters in the ether of heaven, shall not immortal souls congregate in the everlasting habitations? None can say no! Nor is it even known in what shape, whether of earth or air, or rock or shrub, or of all the invisible spirits which surround us, and with which we sympathize, exist.

There has been a doctrine, or rather a feeling, common to all the philosophers of every age, that the human mind and soul are separate elements, distinct in their duties and powers. Some holding this opinion have thought that mind is of earthly beginning, though of infinite existence hereafter; while the human soul has its origin, as well as destiny, in eternity.

There are, however, sufficient reasons for believing that the human mind is not the consequence of elaborative vital actions. The intellect of the child is as powerful, there is good reason to believe, as that of the oldest or wisest man. The efforts of intelligence in the infant, evince as much innate force and scope (when its relations with new and untried instruments are considered,) as the sublimest reaches of matured reason. The silly, gabbling idiot, (if he has intellect at all,) will display as much rationality as the most splendid mind can do, operating under the disadvantage of his imperfect physical instruments of mental manifestation. The slowest, as well as the quickest intelligence, can be brought to an equality of knowledge, if trouble, corresponding with the differences in the perfection of their mental instruments, be employed to teach the more obtuse. Finally, there are no known boundaries to the intellectual scope. Intellect, in every relation—in the young and old—the silly and the wise, the ancient and the modern, has no limit to its power. Mind is absolutely equal in power, it matters not where it may be found—for, it is *infinite*. But vital actions are not equally perfect in the organizations of men. Nor has the human body stamped upon it any of the elements of infinity. Mind, then, notwithstanding its variableness in *appearance*, cannot be dependent upon the body for existence, or upon vitality for elaboration.

The human mind is able to exist independently of the body. The decay and death of the material organization of man affects not his mind. The instruments of the material relations of mind may perish, and possibly those relations may cease. But the power which drives the human machine, does not necessarily perish with it. Many strange phenomena, and especially those of insanity, prove that the usual relations of mind and matter, through the medium of the human body,

may be greatly modified; and they go far to show that there may be intellectual existence independent of physical.

A few observations, explanatory of the essential nature of insanity, delirium, and dreams, may not be improper in the present connection.

In the body, the mind is addressed and affected by external or relative, and by internal or organic sensation. The organs of external sensation are the ordinary sentient instruments of mind. Through their operation, mind is brought into relation with the external world, and thought is aroused, and knowledge is secured by intelligence.

In its material relations, mind must operate upon the things of earth through a material medium. And it must reoperate upon its kind also through its material instruments of manifestation. Internal, or organic sensation, is quite of a different character. In the usual microscopic operations which result in the growth and decay of the human body, minute changes occur, minute bodies change position, and minute currents are set in motion. These all make a certain marked impression upon the nervous system, and are noticed more or less distinctly by the mind. But the ordinary circulation of the blood in the larger, and especially in the capillary vessels, and the movements of the red particles of the blood before and against nervous filaments, give rise to still more marked sensations. These, inasmuch as they occur *within* the compass of the body, may all be termed *organic sensations*. Now, intelligence cannot, in its human connection at least, take notice of many subjects at a time. And it is a well known fact, that *attention* can be only directed to a single object (or sensation) at the same instant. It may, therefore, be said, that there is a kind of controversy between relative and organic sensation, as to which shall absorb the attention of the mind.

In the unborn infant, the active movements of vitality impress sensations upon its mind. Who can tell the dreamy visions which brighten the way of the young soul, as it fades from the eternal world and gradually puts on this "muddy vesture of decay?" Who knows the lessons first taught to the wondering mind of man, by the soft impress of slumbering sensibilities? Ah! doubtless they flit across the attention often, as we explore the stores of memory, and we know not where we obtained them. But at birth new relations are entered upon by the human body. New and intense impressions are at once made upon the mind. Light, heat, sound, and external touch, painfully impress the senses; and, by their greatly superior intensity, distract the attention entirely from its former dream-like employment. The observation of these, and the actions to which they give rise, constitute the ordinary life of man. Insanity, delirium, and dreams, are the consequences of the withdrawal of the mind from some cause or other, from the dominion of external sensation, and the consequent domination of organic sensibility in affording it food for ideas, thought, motive, and action. There is no such thing as a sick mind, an impaired mind, or a deranged mind.

Observe a man in a high fever. The excitement of the nervous system is such that the nearest, and first, and most constant impressions upon it, absorb it altogether. They are of themselves sufficiently intense, under the circumstances of fever, to take possession of the attention and affect the operations of the mind. These impressions are made by the internal agents of sensation. The circulation is rapid. The blood hurries through the capillaries, and is forced into close contact with the finer nerves. The

sensations of the body are aroused, and the mind takes cognizance of them. Memory refers each sensation of a particular part of the nervous system to a corresponding impression made at some time or other, by some agent of relative sensibility; and the mind thinks, and perhaps the man talks, of something out of doors, and possibly far off, and unknown to those present. The man is delirious. It may be that in the excitement of this discord, his eyes may become injected by the pressure of the blood through the capillary vessels, particles of blood pass and repass before the field of vision, and unable to refer the phenomena to its right cause, he mistakes them for flies or bugs. Sometimes, in a peculiarly excitable state of the nerves, the ordinary inorganic sensations, which are unusually unnoticed on account of the more intense impressions of external agents, become troublesome and affect the mind even when there is no fever. In the best health, if a person will press a pillow upon his eyes and attend strictly to his sight, he will see innumerable little spots moving about, though *grouped* in stellate masses. These are blood corpuscles. They are often mistaken in fever for flying insects; and sometimes when there is no fever, they take many imaginary shapes, and account for many of the *visions* and sights of those who, excited and starved, have been in a "*trance.*"

In delirium tremens, the mind is depressed and depraved, and naturally dwells upon the horrible. Here the moving blood corpuscles are taken for flies, bugs, lizards, serpents, and even devils, while the roaring of the blood, as it rushes in the proximity of the nerves of hearing, is imagined to be the yelling and groaning of the damned.

In dreams, the nervous system is composed during sleep; the ordinary agents of sensation are in part withdrawn from the body. Light and sound are partially inoperative. The attention is not sufficiently awake to take note of things which might operate upon the mind from without; yet it is sufficiently active, from ill health, over-eating, or some other cause, to be aroused and fixed by the agents of internal sensation. Accordingly, as the mind may be despondent or elated, the molecular activity of vitality, and the circulation of the blood, will originate visions and trains of thought which are unpleasant, or are delightful. Sometimes a sound from without, or a brilliant glare upon the eyelids, failing entirely to awaken the sleeper, will start the ever watchful mind into activity, and busy life is all enacted in its hopes and fears, and labors—in dreams. In dreams, too, it may be remarked incidentally, sometimes there is exemplified a curious proof of the eternal nature of mind. The untrammelled mind takes no note of time. Time is only measured by the notchings of *pain* upon the body of man. A sound will cause the sleeper to dream of the thundering battle-storm, or the deadly fray, with toil, and danger, and intense anxiety. Hour after hour will be passed in the scenes which imagination will create, incident to the prevailing idea. At length, overcome with numbers perhaps, or just escaping with life, the dreamer awakes—and even yet the noise of some falling, rattling article in the room, echoes in his ears. Yet how much has that mind suffered and endured in that brief instant! Such things make men ponder. The eternal mind makes no note of time. The everlasting elements of eternity are not divided into periods or parts, and the immortal soul crowds years into an instant, and can, doubtless, equally as well, make an instant of infinite delight seem years of pleasure.

As the mind in delirium, and dreams, and infancy, and disease, may be withdrawn from its ordinary external relations, and put on a new life under new auspices, retired from the influence of external things and men, so in insanity, by some agency or other, (and it is of little consequence what,) the organic sensibilities obtain partial or complete control of the mind—get unrivalled possession of its *ear*, so to speak—the consequence is, that while intelligence is perfect in itself, and thought, and motive, and conduct, are strictly rational, considered with reference to the information which the mind receives; yet, to those whose conduct is swayed by the situation of agents without, and who are accustomed to judge of others as though influenced in the same manner, the conduct of the insane,—harmonious with the impulses of internal sensation,—jars upon the mind and displays no evidence of reason, or of a sense of the fitness of things.

These facts indicate that the common relations and reactions of mind, are not the only ones that apply to it, even in its human connection. Mind, while yet in the body, may be placed in various strange positions, and still exist; and, moreover, display perfect strength and integrity, and operate naturally and fitly, according to the circumstances by which it is surrounded, and according to the impressions which are made upon it by agents without. This view of insanity is the only one which can be supported by physiological and pathological science. It is perfectly explanatory of *all* the strange delusions which have harassed the world; and it alone is in accordance with the sublime doctrine of the immortality of the soul. The soul is an eternal element, and fades and falters not, although its earthly prison-house sickens and dies. It is an evidence of the exalted nature of the soul, that it loves truth. Truth and the soul of man are the sole offsprings of eternity which are upon earth. They affiliate together, and seek out each other, and are happiest when united.*

THE HAIR AND WOOL OF THE DIFFERENT SPECIES OF MAN.

Our much esteemed friend, the ingenious, indefatigable and learned Dr. Browne, of Philadelphia, has for some time devoted much attention to the teguments of mammalia, and particularly to the pile of the several species of man. We have just been favored with the subjoined communication from him, which will, no doubt, be highly valued by many, and especially scientific readers. We will take this occasion briefly to notice his excellent paper read to "The American Ethnological Society," of this city, on the 3d November last, in conjunction with a few suggestions on the paper now before us; as what we have to say will form a suitable

* The writer has said in another place, (Notes on the theory of Human Existence, p. 35,) that the sense of the *appreciation* of *conceptions*, or *knowledge*—that is, the *love of truth*, characterize the soul. He sees no reason to change his opinion. There can be no greater delight hereafter than the contemplation of truth, (and perhaps of other eternal elements which are unknown to us here,) and of God. No other existence that we know of, but man, seeks truth *for the love of it*. Beasts, although they may possess minds, have no souls.

preface, or introduction, to his present communication. These investigations of Dr. Browne bear directly and importantly on the question of the unity or diversity of the human species, and, consequently, naturally follow in the train of argument advanced in the series of articles contained in our periodical for several months.

But the researches of Dr. Browne, valuable as they are to the naturalist and physiologist, bear a relation to the agricultural industry and wealth of the nation of far greater value. His article in "The Plough, the Loom and the Anvil," for May last, in which he gives the accurate diameters, or degrees of fineness, of sixty-four specimens of wool collected from all parts of the world, and the comparative capacity of this country for the production of this valuable staple with the best wool-producing regions of Europe, is the most valuable contribution science has yet made to agriculture. It exhibits—not by argument, supposition, or experiment, but from specimens of wool collected from an extensive region of our favored country—1st. That the wool of imported sheep, *without crossing, actually improves by domiciliation of the animals in our climate and on our soil.* 2d. That *we can produce finer wool* than they can in Wallachia, Mexico, Buenos Ayres, Deccan, (East Indies,) Van Dieman's Land, Odessa, Australia, &c., and *as fine as they can in Saxony*, where, hitherto, the finest grade of wool in the world has been produced from sheep. Such facts are worth volumes of speculations, or experiments conducted by wealthy and abstract men, whose teachings are worth little or nothing to the practical agriculturist—whose object is not to ascertain what can be done by a disregard of expense, but how the most money can be made by the smallest outlay of capital, under ordinary thrift and management. But we must confine ourselves to the special subject of this article.

It is not our design to examine the details of the paper read by Dr. Browne to the American Ethnological Society, which are new, very curious, and highly interesting facts; but to confine our present remarks to the conclusions resulting from his microscopic investigations. The conclusions are:—

"1st. Hair is, in shape, either *cylyndrical* or *oval;* but wool is *eccentrically elliptical* or *flat;* and the *covering of the negro's head is eccentrically elliptical or flat.*

"2d. The direction of hair is either *straight, flowing, or curled;* but wool is *crisped or frizzled, and sometines spirally twisted;* and the hair of the negro's head is *crisped or frizzled, and sometimes spirally twisted.*

"3d. Hair issues out of the epidermis at an *acute* angle, but wool emerges at a *right angle;* and the covering of the negro's head issues out the epidermis at a *right angle.*

"4th. The coloring matter of a perfect hair—for example, that of the head of the white man—is contained in a *central canal;* but that of wool is disseminated *in the cortex*, or *in the cortex and intermediate fibres;* and the covering of the negro's head has *no central canal.*

"5th. The *scales* of the cortex of hair are less numerous than those of wool, are *smooth, less pointed*, and they *embrace the shaft more intimately;* and the *scales* on the filaments of the negro's head are *numerous, pointed*, and *do not embrace the shaft intimately.*

"Corollary.—Hair will not felt, but wool will; and the covering of the negro's head *will felt—has been felted.*"

These are the facts actually ascertained from microscopic inspection,

conducted most carefully and conscientiously, without any regard to theories, prejudices, or prepossessions. It appears extraordinary that these discoveries should be reserved to this late day, notwithstanding the attention paid to such investigations by many eminent men in Europe, to be discovered by an American philosopher. In matters of induction, and in new fields of research, so far from being surprised at the greater rapidity and power of American, compared with European genius, we regard them as the necessary results of our climate, political and social institutions, and the impulsive effects of the geographic and scenic features of our extensive country; but we confess we were not prepared for a discovery depending almost exclusively on rigorous, laborious, and untiring research and inspection, in a matter to which many European philosophers have given years of attention. But still more are we surprised, that Dr. Prichard, who examined the pile of several species of men, assisted by Mr. Estlin, "who," says he, "is skilful and long practiced in the use of the microscope," could only see that "the hair of the negro was extremely *unlike* that of wool, and * * * had the *appearance of a cylinder with a smooth surface.*" If our readers will take the trouble of averaging the greater and smaller diameters of the 1st, 2d and 3d varieties of the 2d class of hair in Dr. Browne's subjoined paper, he will find that the average diameter of the three varieties of white men's hair is $\frac{100}{343}$ greater one way than the other; while the average diameter of the two negroes' wool is $\frac{601}{913}$ greater one way than the other. Now, as Dr. Prichard used a glass of about 400 magnifying power, which presented these objects to his view at about an inch in size, is it not strange he could not discover this vast difference between them? And yet more strange, that Dr. Prichard, with the assistance of his powerful microscope and the experienced Mr. Estlin, could not discover the serrations on negro wool, but could see a "smooth surface" where there was none; and yet could easily discover the serrations of merino, tiger, and seal wools, all of which are many times finer than negro wool?

In his "Natural History of Man," p. 7, Dr. Prichard very candidly admits, that he does not "regard the question now to be discussed," (the unity or diversity of the human species,) "as one of which the decision is a matter of indifference either to religion or humanity." "But," he continues, "the strict rule of scientific scrutiny exacts, * * * that we should close our eyes against all presumptive and extrinsic evidence, and abstract our minds from all considerations not derived from the matters of fact which bear immediately on the question." We hope we have found the true excuse for the above strange circumstances, in the piety and humanity of the man having so mastered the philosopher as to shut the eye directed to the eye-glass, to prevent him from seeing "the matters of fact" exhibited on his object-holder. But what shall we say to Mr. Estlin, who "is skilful and long practised in the use of the microscope?" He stands before us nakedly, with his qualifications for accuracy vouched for, but nothing in excuse. What shall we do with him? Let him escape under the ample cloak of his principal, as he saw with his eyes and echoed his sentiments.

Some very curious speculations arise from an attentive examination of the classes and varieties detailed in the subjoined paper by Dr. Browne. For the present we will confine our remarks to the mongrel, or hybrid pile. In every instance of a cross of species, the pile of the progeny ap-

pears to exhibit, distinctly, the characteristic of each parent. It does not appear that an amalgamation of characteristics takes place in the offspring, as might be supposed; as that each fibre would exhibit a medium character between the two parents; but that the two distinct characters of pile are preserved on the head of each offspring. As, for example, in the first variety of "hybrids," the offspring of a negro mother and white father presents some filaments "lesser ovoidal," some "oval," and some "eccentrically elliptical." Here we have two varieties of the white species, separated from the negro characteristic on the same scalp. Whence came the two varieties, and what were the proportions of the three? If it had been "greater," instead of "lesser ovoidal," we might suppose it to be a commingling of functions—a medium between the parents—to this extent; but "lesser ovoidal" is the contrary inclination, and forbids this belief. The same singular peculiarity occurs in the 5th hybrid example, in which an Indian squaw and white produced offspring with "some filaments cylindrical," and "some greater ovoidal;" which is a deviation as far from, and as contrary to, the medium of the parents, as in the first example. But there are also two examples which appear to lean to the contrary of the above—the 7th and 8th—an examination of which we, for the present, omit. It appears from the 3d example of hybrids—"Indian and white, but bred towards the white, A and B plus B"—that the "plus" accompanies the inclination of the progeny to the parental type, as well in respect to pile, as to physical and psychical properties and qualities.

Dr. Browne has opened a new, and, probably, a rich field of physiological investigation. It appears to have a direct bearing on Van Amringe's opinion, "that functions must be the joint gift of both parents;"* but we cannot say, at present, whether it is favorable to it or unfavorable.

Many other reflections might be profitably made on this singular and interesting communication, which we must omit until a more convenient season; but we cannot permit this opportunity to pass without expressing our pleasure at the rapid strides making in our republic in the higher branches of literature and science. That we possess every element of intellectual power, Europeans often deny, or reluctantly acknowledge. Conscious of actual strength, we are under no anxiety to have it acknowledged. The time was when our monetary affairs were wholly disregarded on the Exchanges of London and Paris; when our political institutions were despised; when our commercial, agricultural, mechanical, and manufacturing enterprise was ridiculed; but all these things have changed within the memories of men whose locks are not yet silvered. The crowning triumph is now in progress; and we hail the investigations of Dr. Browne as an omen, that the strife will not last long, and that the victory is not doubtful.

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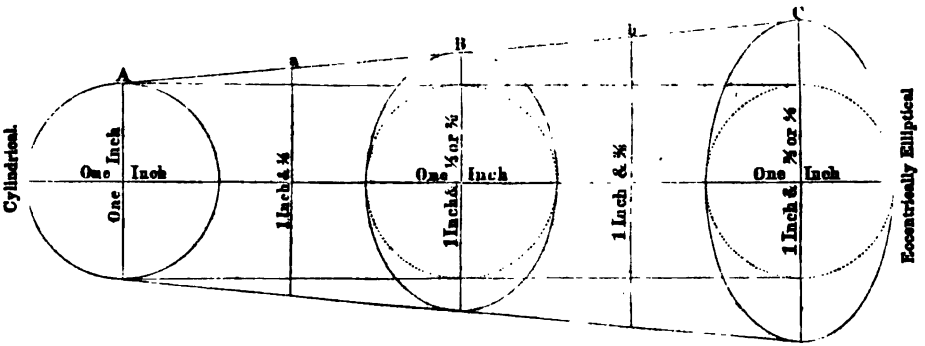
* Van Amringe's "Natural History of Man," p. 706.

SCALE OF DIAMETERS OF PILE TO EXPLAIN THE CLASSIFICATION OF MANKIND BY THE HAIR AND WOOL OF THEIR HEADS.



REFERENCES:—

A.—Cylindrical; both diameters the same.
B.—Oval; one diameter 1-3 more than the other.
C.—Eccentrically elliptical; one diameter 2-3 more than the other.
Pile which exceed the cylindrical by less than 1-6, may be called *cylindroidal.*
Those which exceed 1-6, but not 2-6, are *lesser ovoidal.*
Those that exceed 2-6, but are not 3-6, are *ovoidal.*
Those which exceed 3-6, but do not reach 4-6, are *eccentrically elliptoidal.*

Some examples of the Classification of Mankind, according to the hair and wool of their heads, and the above scale of diameters, based upon actual measurements with the microscope and micrometer, by P. A. Browne.

1st CLASS, including the cylindrical and cylindroidal, i. e., A, and from A to a.

1st Variety, cylindrical, A.

MODERN.	1st. The hair of the head of a Choctaw N. Am. Indian, (Mobile,) diameter 1-277 of an inch, shape cylindrical.		
	2d. Big-water, an Indian chief, killed in Texas,.....	D. 250,.....	cylindrical.
	3d. A Calapoos N. Am. Indian,.....	D. 281,	"
ANCIENT.	4th. From a head brought from the Temple of the Sun, near Lima,.....	D. 364,	"
	5th. From Pachamack, Peru,.....	D. 312,	"
	6th. From Arica, "	D. 338,	"
	7th. From Pisco, "	D. 416,	"
	8th. Aztec. (Mexican,) from Mexico,...	D. 364,	"
	9th. " " " " ...	D. 364,	"
	10th. From Brazil, (the interior of,).....	D. 281,	"

2d Variety, cylindroidal, or less than 1-6th greater than cylindrical: (*See Scale* ä".)

11th. The hair of the head of a Choctaw female of 25 years,.....	D. 364 by 390,	"
12th. The hair of the head of a Choctaw female of 15 years,.....	D. 297 by 312,	
13th. Chinese, Tsow Chaoong,.....	D. 297 by 364,	

2d CLASS, oval and ovoidal, the latter including the lesser ovoidal from ä" to B, and the greater ovoidal from B to b.

1st Variety, Oval :—

1st. The hair of the head of his Excellency Gen. G. Washington,..... D. 312 by 500,.....oval.

2d. The hair of the head of Andrew Jackson,..... D. 242 by 364, "

3d. William F. Van Amringe, Esquire, D. 250 by 364, "

2d Variety, lesser ovoidal, from ä" to B :—

1st. The hair of the Hon. Jn. B. Gibson, C. J. of Penn.,..... D. 237 by 312, less. ovoidal.

2d. The hair of the Hon. Jn. Sergeant, D. 297 by 364, " "

3d. Prof. Samuel S. Halderman,..... D. 364 by 437, " "

3d Variety, greater ovoidal from B to b :—

1st. The hair of Prof. B. Silliman, (Am.) D. 273 by 364, greater "

2d. Count Wass, (Hungarian,)..... D. 281 by 416, " "

3d. Napoleon Bonaparte, (Corsican,)... D. 338 by 458, " "

3d Class, eccentrically elliptical c, and eccentrically elliptoidal from b to C.

1st. The wool of the head of the Bushman boy, (Hottentot,)..... } D. 312 by 356, { eccent'cally elliptical.

2d. Congo Billy, (African,)..... D. 312 by 970, " "

3d. Malay, from the Island of Fidgi.... D. 137 by 416, " "

Hybrids.

1st. The pile of an American mulatto—father white, mother black, B and C.

some filaments, 297—364,..... lesser ovoidal.
" " 416—562,..... oval.
" " 266—625,..... eccentrically elliptical.

Hybrids.

2d. A mongrel, Penobscot Indian and white. A and B.

some filaments, 281,.....cylindrical.
" " 225 by 312,.....oval.

3d. Indian River mongrel, originally Indian and white, but bred towards the white. A and B, plus B..... } D. 312 by 458, { greater ovoidal.

4th. A mongrel Buffalo Indian and negro, (Aurora.) A and C.

some filaments, D. 250 by 416,.....eccentrically elliptical.
" " D. 281 by 461,..... " "
" " D. 364 by 390,.....cylindroidal.

5th. A mongrel Choctaw Indian squaw and white. A and B.

some filaments, D. 237,..... cylindrical.
" " D. 212 by 312,.....greater ovoidal.

6th. Quadroon of Louisiana, white and mulatto, B and B and C,..... } D. 231 by 377, { eccentric'lly elliptical.

7th. Quadroon of Philadelphia, father white, mother mulatto.

some filaments, D. 437 by 625,..... greater ovoidal.
" " D. 364 by 500,..... " "

8th. Double hybrid, Hinton, father white, mother the issue of an Indian and negress. A, B and C.

some filaments, D. 312,..... cylindrical.
" " D. 281 by 416,..... greater ovoidal.
" " D. 250 by 500,..... eccentrically elliptical.

THE FEUDAL SYSTEM IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

The Middle Ages properly embrace the heroic period of European history. Its dusty pages are written over with the bold deeds of men-at-arms, with the gallant exploits of steel-clad knights, and with the establishment of some of the most powerful governments of our time. It was the first period that followed the dismemberment and downfall of the Roman Empire, and the invasion and settlement of barbarian men in western and central Europe. But its early was its unfinished state. And as much may be safely affirmed of it, down to the close of the eighth century, and the days and dynasty of Charlemagne. Then, its position became more permanent. Under his rule, those irregular waves of barbaric incursion, became steady and calm; the rough manners of northern life were moulded into the smoothness and symmetry of a more southern form; and the roving habits of nomadic hordes were supplanted by fixed habitations and steadfast homes. Thus the transition state of society was passed; thus the early features of a new era appeared.

It was not the revival of Roman spirit and Roman patriotism on the one hand, nor the successful introduction and culture of barbarian men and manners on the other, but the obvious blending and union of both; and from the combination thus formed, came forth the morning of a new creation in the history of the nations. Such was the era, when consolidated and complete, which presents us the form and outline of the Feudal System. Historians differ widely about the time this system arose and came to maturity; and were we to follow them in their rancorous contentions, it would be to little profit. It may be said in few words, that the period of its greatest power extends from the coronation of Charlemagne through several succeeding centuries, till it was shaken off from its want of adaptation to a progressive race, or silently lost in the dust of its distant course.

Accordingly, it is the purpose of this paper to classify and develop the character of the Feudal System; then to consider its consequences upon social and civil affairs. The only worth that such a work can possibly possess, may appear upon a moment's thought. In itself, all profane history is destitute of any intrinsic importance; and whatever of interest or excellence it can have for man, must arise from the character or consequences of the actions which that history may delineate and describe. In this way, the past becomes our great teacher; thus, too, we gather some lessons of profit for the present time, from the dim and distant eras of the past.

With these ends in view, we open the pages of the Feudal System, and turning to the chapter on its character, proceed to speak of men and things as we find them there.

About the beginning of the ninth century, Charlemagne was acknowledged emperor over almost all that territory which subsequently felt the influence of the feudal laws and customs. The immediate consequences of his accession to power, were the onset of civil innovations, the organization of an empire from a crude multitude of tribes and tongues;

and the establishment of a fixed national polity. By this polity, not the feudal, but the allodial laws and customs, came into existence and employment. By this system, the duke, or baron, was the free and full owner of the lands he occupied; and he owed nothing to the common sovereign, with the exception of aid and assistance in the public defence. These free proprietors were dispersed throughout the empire, and the duties of military service fell most heavily upon them. In consideration of their exemption from all other burdens, they were required to bring forth their numerous tenantry into the field of battle, and to do it at their own cost. These lands, which they possessed in full right, were the spoils of barbaric conquests; they were seized by the victorious warrior as a rightful recompense for the perils and privations of war; and the possession so required, was held by him as the independent freehold of an independent freeman. So he was free, excepting the tribute of military service; he was at liberty to enjoy his possessions during life, and bequeath them at death according to his own pleasure. It was this entire right to the estate, that gave to the system the name of allodial, and released the possessor from all obligations of honor or homage to any superior; and when he came into the field, as the same system compelled him to come, it was at his own expense and at the head of his own men; while the part he was to act there, was equally at his own pleasure. Like Achilles before the walls of Troy, he might contend manfully in the common cause; but like him, he could withdraw from the contest on the first idle caprice. Such were the laws of the state, and the position of property under Charlemagne; but after his day, arose new lords and new laws.

Hugh Capet was among the first of any note who succeeded to the empire. His state policy took a more centralizing turn; and under him the allodial gradually gave place to the Feudal System. It was his pleasure to build a capital and draw around him a court;—it was his will, to strengthen the king and at the same time to enervate the landed lords. And it was this temptation of a regal court, that broke up, under a succession of monarchs, the freedom of allodial power, and brought all things under the sway of feudal vassalage. The character of this system here presents itself under several striking qualities. But first, and as the foundation of all, was the principle by which, in the end, the king became the actual owner of all the feudal lands in his kingdom. By some short process of justice, these lands were claimed and controlled by the sovereign, and as an equivalent for them, the former owners were compensated with gifts and favors from the hands of royalty. Having these lands in possession, the king enfeoffed, or granted them back again to the original owners, to be held by them, not in fee simple, but in fief only. These owners resided on the estates thus granted, and they, in their turns, enfeoffed the same to a still more subordinate class; and these last conveyed them, by a similar process, to the serfs or villeins who cultivated the soil. Here the circle of dominion and dependence became complete. These relations were established in systematic order. On the one hand, the superior obligated himself to protect the inferior; on the other, the inferior bound himself, in peace or war, to render service and honor to those in the rank above him. Thus the kings of France or England, or the emperors of Germany, were always entitled to the service and homage of the minor princes or lords. Upon them they could call, by virtue of the same right, for men and treasures to meet any real or fancied emer-

gency of the state. The princes too, were approached with deference and respect by the vassals; they were to be served with the same facilities of action for any expeditions of peace or war they might choose to undertake, be the same far or near, great or small. And the vassals, in their turn, commanded the homage, the wealth, and the service of the serfs, who thus stood at the very foot of the ascent.

Originally, these grants from one class to another, were given only as a life-estate, when they reverted to the former possessor. But in France, at an early time, and subsequently in England and Germany, they became steadfast and hereditary in one family, from generation to generation. This systematic relation of the classes to one another, still had its limits marked and its powers definitely defined. The lords and barons were first in consequence; and among their privileges, Mr. Hallam names the following, as the most prominent, viz. :—1st. The right to coin money. 2d. That of waging war. 3d. That of exemption from all tributes, except the feudal aids. 4th. That of freedom from legislative control; and 5th. That of the exclusive exercise of original judicature in their own dominions. All these powers were held by the feudal barons of France, and within their sphere of jurisdiction neither kings nor princes had the power to interfere. Possessed of such prerogatives, we are prepared to find each of these worthy dignitaries surrounded by all the ensigns of royalty; to see each of them a king in himself. He controlled the currency of his realm; he had the advantages of peace or war at pleasure; he paid no taxes, except with his sword; and he was both the legislator and executor of law in his dominions. Such an amount of authority, however it may have affected its possessor, must have greatly diminished the abilities of the king. In fact, the lord or the baron stood up by the side of his sovereign,—and, with the exception of rank and honor, he was his peer in power.

Next to the lord came the vassal, with more limited powers and more onerous duties. He took the oath of fealty to his liege-lord; he paid homage in person, and in war he attached himself to the standard of his master, and followed his fortunes for a specified portion of the year, even if it were in rebellion against his sovereign. In this service the lord appeared in the full dress and armor of a knight; the vassal in inferior dress and armor, while in battle his duty demanded of him every possible assistance to his superior; and the serf, or villein, formed the last and lowest of the feudal classes. He was mostly without honor from men or privilege from law; he was confined by legal provision to the same landed estate, and in case of flight or removal, he could, by the same authority, be claimed and recovered as property. Such was the subservience of the lower classes to the higher—such their dependence upon them; and so far were they stripped of all powers and honors; so far were they shorn of the privileges and rights that belong to our race.

In these brief sketches of the several classes of society, we have the main features in the laws of state and the relations of property; of the system of justice and the relations of man with man, as they existed under the Feudal System.

The origin of this system is a dark point in the annals of the dark ages. It probably arose out of the military system of the Cids, the Goths, the Huns, the Franks, and the Lombards, who extended their conquests and emigrations over the western portion of Europe after the fall of the Ro-

man Empire. These rude nations were born and bred for nothing but war of themselves; accordingly they found their most congenial occupation in its pursuits. Hence, it early became customary for them to employ their subjects, their servants and slaves, by feudal grants, in the cultivation of the soil, and the general fabrication of those articles necessary to the comforts of life. It must not, however, be supposed, that so complicated a system was fully developed and came to maturity at once. Such was, indeed, far from being the fact. Sir Thomas Craig names four distinct periods in its growth and maturity, viz.: 1st. Its infancy, comprehending the period between the first northern invasion and the year six hundred and fifty, when some of its features began to appear. 2d. From the close of the first, to the coronation of Charlemagne, which he calls the period of its adolescence. 3d. From the close of the second, to the year one thousand twenty-four, or the time of Conrad II. and the Salic law, by which the inheritance of fiefs to sons and grandsons of vassals was confirmed, and one brother was permitted to inherit the estates of another. And 4th. From the close of the third, to its final close as a system. This last was the period of its maturity—when it assumed its complete features, and the possession of an inheritance became hereditary in one family. These dates are assumed upon slight authority; still they serve to convey some general view of the successive advances by which the system was gradually extended over the social and civil affairs of European society.

And again, we must not conclude that these movements of the system were uniform in all countries in which it finally prevailed. This would be another mistake; such was not the mode of its march. In France it came to an early completeness under the Carlovingian kings, the heirs and successors of Charlemagne; and before the year one thousand, it was complete in all its parts. But in England, nothing is then seen of its earliest features there, while its maturity must have been subsequent at least two hundred years. William the Norman, commonly called the Conqueror, was the first to introduce the system, and give it permanence in that kingdom. It was then entirely new to his people, and was engrafted upon the Saxon laws and customs which he found in existence on his accession to the throne. In the year one thousand eighty-six, this monarch met his nobility and landholders at Louraine, where they acknowledged obligations of military service, avowed themselves his vassals, and paid the accustomed homage to his person. By this change in the political system of the country, the hereditary estates of the old Saxon nobility were transformed into feudal tenures; and from the permanency of allodial possessions, they became subject to the disposal of the sovereign. The whole system, hence, came into immediate and vigorous action. It imposed heavy burdens upon a people long accustomed to the larger liberty of Saxon law; and whether it was exercised by the king over his vassals, or by them over their serfs, the grievance was rigorous and severe. Its severity, however, was partially mitigated by the charter of Henry, a successor of William. But the murmurs of the people and the indignation of the barons finally rose so high, that they appeared in arms and wrested from feeble king John the Magna Charta, the great charter of English liberty.

The causes of this result lay in the character of the nation. The vassals and the serfs together, formed the middle and lower classes of the

people, and they were numerous and powerful; they were the yeomanry of England, and were of a different character from any corresponding classes throughout the rest of the feudal territories. They had a powerful influence upon the spirits and actions of the barons; many of them were men of talent, most of them jealous of their rights, and all were as ready to sacrifice life as to surrender the privileges that belonged to it. Hence, with a nation of such material, the feudal system finally secured to them a greater degree of freedom. It began by the exercise of some of its most obnoxious features—the supremacy of the sovereign and the subserviency of the subject; it ended in the humiliation of the king and the triumph of the people, in the largest liberty of the time. But in France, it began at the other end, and its progress led the other way. In its first developments in that kingdom, the monarch was only a peer of the realm. He had his own feudal tenures, and within them he was indeed supreme. But in all matters pertaining to national affairs, his voice was only advisory, and his power futile, unless seconded by the great landed lords of the state. Yet these limited powers of the monarch were not, like the limitations that surround our own executive, the inscriptions of a constitution. They were fixed rather by the force of rival chiefs and the precedents of the past. Hence, whenever the king declared for war, it must be done with the cordial concurrence of his lords, or he would be liable to find himself in the field without an army.

Still, these loose regulations were greatly affected by the character of the sovereign and the disposition of the people. As a general thing, the classes claimed but few rights, and were contented with a living; the lords were much more eager to win the empty honors of a monarch's gift, than to preserve their political privileges; and thus the throne added daily to its strength. And when that throne was occupied by a powerful mind—when the sceptre was held by a powerful hand, this course of affairs was rapidly accelerated, until Louis XIV. could dissolve the session of the states-general, and say, "I am the state."

Edward I. of England affords a fine contrast to Louis. He had resolved to enter France, on a war of aggression, in the year twelve hundred ninety-six, without asking the advice or awaiting the consent of his barons. The troops intended for operations in the province of Guienne he proposed to place under the command of Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Herford. But the earl refused the offered command, affirming that he was bound only to follow the person of the king in war. "Sir earl," said the enraged monarch, "you shall either go, or hang." "Sir king," replied the confident earl, "I will neither go, nor hang." As such was the wide difference in the power of the two sovereigns, the rights of their people also received respect from the one and reproach from the other.

And here the character of the feudal system stands fully before us. It was powerful for the external defences of a nation; at the same time it was notorious for its easy toleration of internal oppression and anarchy. The state was safe, for it could legally marshal every man in its defence; but the man himself was the lawful prey of the first assailant of sufficient strength. War was allowed as a profession. And if it was carried on between every rival pair of peers in the kingdom, it gave the monarch no concern—it violated no part of the national compact. Hence, the character of such a system, like the character of the times which produced it, was powerful for good or for evil. Its form was complicated,

and it thus became, by ready interpretations, equally applicable to either extreme of moral action. For civil government, it gave settlement and security to wild and wandering nations; and if it failed to establish the internal affairs of a people by the laws of justice and equity, it still was not without its worth. It did much for its day and time—as much, perhaps, as was possible to be done.

If we look upon it as it divided society into castes and classes, and made the one honorable, the other despisable, and both perpetual, it becomes, in our sight, a system of the most tyrannical despotism. But when we see it securing to every proprietor and every province all the elements of government that can be profitably exercised there, and delegating to the central authority such only as cannot be usefully retained, it became the exact pattern of our federative system. The baronial territories stand in the place of states; and the principle of state-rights and state-sovereignty protected them, as it has since protected the state departments in the republics of the new world.

Thus, liberty and anarchy mingle together; thus lights and shadows spread themselves over the face of the Feudal System.

II. Such was its *character;* let us now consider the consequences that flowed from it. As we have seen, the Feudal System sprang out of the bosom of barbarism, while at the same time, it took to itself the color and shading of a declining civilization. Composed of such contradictory ingredients, we must look for its consequences in the history of its times. With this purpose in view, we turn over the pages that record its works, and proceed to consider what it has done for man; what, for society. The necessity of the Feudal System in the middle ages, is found in the fact of its general prevalence. After the overthrow of the Carlovingians, there was no regal authority that exercised any extensive sway over the civilized nations of Europe. We call them civilized, though their civilization was the production of a recent barbarism; and they had departed from the customs of their ancestors, more from an acquaintance with science and the arts, than by any practice of mercy or morality. Amid this chaos of confused elements appeared the feudal code, and exercised its authority. It began by establishing order and government in society. Its purposes were of a political, rather than an individual character; it sought to systematize and form the state, and we may hence expect that it did little for man as man.

If we take as a specimen a single feudal family, this expectation will be amply justified. That family usually consisted of the baron, his wife and children, and these were all. They lived in a strong stone castle, situated in the central part of the estate; it was built in all the magnificence of military style, and adorned with the armorial ensigns of their ancestors. The ladies of this castle usually employed themselves in the lighter graces of the needle, &c., in simple amusements, or in accomplishing themselves in the stately etiquette of the times. But the baron, the lord of the inheritance, when not abroad waging war with his equals, was mostly engaged in hunting in his forests, in feasting his friends, or in studying schemes of honor, or aggrandizement, for himself and his family. Surrounding his residence, and in its immediate vicinity, were the houses of the vassals and the huts of the serfs. But there existed no tie of relationship between him and them;—they bore not his name; they made no claim to interest or equality with him or his family. A separation which

threw both parties into such extremes, must have had its peculiar influence upon each. The baron and his family were commonly concerned with war when abroad; with the cultivation of domestic manners when at home. Hence, every tendency contributed to accomplish them in these pursuits and pleasures—to make these the objects of the most earnest efforts. But these ends were external. And when a family, from one generation to another, made these the only objects of its struggles and endeavors, but little leisure could exist, and less inclination could be found, for any more exalted labors. The refinement of such a family must have been the refinement of the surface, with no pretensions to anything that exalts the nature and ennobles the character of man. Cruelty in war, and corruption in private life, were tolerated by the laws of honor. While the heart learned no sympathy, the soul sought not to bind itself by bonds of lasting love unto the brotherhood of the human family.

If we turn from the baronial family to the classes that surrounded its habitation, we find there, the artizans, the mechanics, and the agriculturists, of the middle ages. Yet all labor was mere menial service,—its pursuits were without honor—and they who followed them felt the degradation of their position. They longed for the public parade, the chase, or the strife of arms—as by service there, in holding the stirrup of their lord, or in bearing his ponderous weapons, they, too, might merit applause. The chief virtue allowed to exist among these classes, was that of legality to their liege lord. They approached his presence with profound reverence, heard his commands only with the desire to obey, and was happy, though at the cost of life, to do his will. Such was the practical working of the purest and best principle that bound the two classes together. It was the same spirit which has been perpetuated to more modern times;—the spirit that now binds the subject to the sovereign throughout the kingdoms of the old world, and secures the attachment in the hearts of stout Englishmen for Victoria and her numerous family. But in the feudal ages, this was a blind spirit; it led the masses with a strong hand, which nothing could shake.

Such was the man of the middle ages. With him, the whole world of thought and principle revolved in a narrow circle. There was no progress. All things were stationary; law and government, mind and morals, were regulated by the same fixed standards. It is only when we turn to society —to man in his social state—that we get a complete view of him while under the influences of the Feudal System.

Chivalry arose in that society; it took a prominence among the institutions of the time, and become one of the leading features in social life; and no sooner had it sprung up, than it spread itself rapidly over Europe. It was the embodiment of an ideal code of honor, morals and etiquette, which entered extensively into the practices of the times. It originated the order of knighthood, and made the profession of knighterrantry the end of all accomplished gallantry, the aim of all aspiring ambition. Chivalry itself had its origin among the fierce tribes of Germany; it went forth with them, in all its spirit, into whatever lands they carried their conquests or emigrations. Hence it early appeared in France and England, and an acquaintance with its laws and a practice of its duties were among the necessary accomplishments of every worthy gentleman. The characteristics of the order were, military valor, as shown in actual exploits; personal devotion, as a servant of servants to some worthy prince or peer;

and lastly, the offer of heart and hand to protect the honor, and defend the rights, of the fair sex. In these employments, the pupil of chivalry found a constant service; and led by a romantic love for his profession, he was ready to contend for the first place in the assaults of war,—in the defence of sworn friends, or in all honorable labors to serve his favorite lady. Knighthood contemplated these ends; and when it was administered, the condition was considered as solemnly set apart to these services. It was conferred on the field of battle, for valorous action,—on state festivals, or the occurrence of marriage in the royal family; and it constituted a brotherhood, as all its members met together on the same level, from the king to the poorest knight. Thus prepared for fulfilling their vows, the kingdoms of Europe were overspread with wandering knights in search of adventure,—or seeking to defend the rights of the feeble and the honor of the forsaken. These labors the order were pledged to perform; they became with them the cardinal virtues of life—the highest and best of all exalted actions. Society hence assumed these characteristics; a species of popular honor and gallantry became its basis,—and, together with the passion for military glory, they made up the general features of the social state.

It was but natural that a life of so much ceremony and brilliancy of display must have its public exhibitions, to perform its rites and win the popular applause.

Tournaments were accordingly established. They were a species of mixed military and civic games, in which martial feats were achieved, and pledges of gallant prowess won. These sports were held in the open field, and on their occurrence, the barons displayed their armor, and kings dazzled the sight of their subjects with the riches and splendor of their courts. The exercises consisted in the personal encounter of rival knights, who entered the arena on horseback, and rode to furious contest with blunted spears, and encased in coats of mail. The object of each was to foil or dismount his rival. Sometimes the combat was waged between opposing companies or troops,—and then the assault was often made at the peril of life or limb. At other times, the attack was made on foot,—and then with helmed heads and battle-axe in hand, the victor must overthrow and disarm his rival. But returning in triumph to his judges, no laurel-wreath was prepared for him; no warrior's hand bestowed the badge. The lady whom he chose to honor, met him with smiles, and rewarded his valor with tinsel gifts; and these were the favors that had urged him on,—these had led him forth and strengthened his arm for the conflict. Tournaments thus became the great festivals of chivalry—thus they impressed its daring spirit upon the middle ages.

But its noblest work was the emancipation of woman from the servile slavery that had hung over her past history. This was done by the transforming power which it exerted upon the character of the times. Thus chivalry struck away another link from the lingering chain of barbarism; thus too, it gave an equality to the sexes, and balanced the social state anew. Woman appeared in a higher sphere. Whether in the camp or in the court—at the feast or in the field, she now had an influence over her companion; and that day she acquired a power for good, that was henceforth never latent and never lost. The rude fashions of society assumed a greater degree of refinement; in public, the people were more civil,—and in private life, a higher state of morals came into immediate practice. Yet

chivalry was about to assume still another feature,—and under the guide of the Feudal System, it was soon to enter a broader field of labor.

Religion thus far in the middle ages had reposed in ease and indolence. Allied to power, and manifesting itself at pleasure through the arm of state—it had hitherto found little occasion to exert its influence by direct appeals to the image, nature and sympathies of the masses. Now the time had come. The foot of the infidel Saracen trod in the steps of the prophets,—and the blood of believers crimsoned afresh the hill of Calvary. The religious enthusiasm of the age was aroused. The heart of all Christendom was moved. The Pope nodded his approval, and the voice of Peter the Hermit was heard through the kingdoms of Europe, preaching the first crusade to the Holy Land. Of stormy eloquence and fanatic zeal, he was the man for the time and the work. His message resounded from the hill-tops, and was repeated from the valleys;—it found an echo in winds and waves,—until every heart burned with fire—and every soul was strung for action. Thus began the most remarkable series of wars recorded in all history. The whole feudal territory, from the centre to the circumference of its extent, was shaken by the commotion,—chivalry imparted its spirit—religion uttered its solemn sanctions—and soon a breathing stream of life began to set towards the rising sun. Godfrey of Bouillon was the successful leader who first reared his banner over the city of David; of the same spirit and in the same company were Robert of Normandy, Hugh of Vermandois, Raymond of Toulouse, Bohemond of Tarentum;—and with him rode Tancred, the noblest spirit of all Christian chivalry. But the cross of St. George and St. Louis triumphed for a brief time only. The next generation dawned on the success of Saladin, the Saracen. Then, Richard the lion-hearted of England, and Philip Augustus of France went forth to the rescue, with the battle-cry of "God wills it," upon their lips. Still, after two centuries of conflict, the tombs of the prophets and the sepulchre of the Saviour, remained in heathen hands. The treasures of the west had been prodigally poured out upon the east, and five millions of men slept amid the sands of Asia. Religion too, had learned a lesson of great truth; in the name of Him, who conquered only by love,—the kings of Christendom had hastily seized the sword, and they had perished by the sword. The contention, however, had enabled religion to shake itself from the dust of its past degradation—it taught it, "to put not its trust in princes;" it well prepared the way for that greater conflict, which was soon to set it free forever.

But we begin here to pass the limits of the middle ages—we see before us the dawning light of modern history—the sequel of this subject. It only remains under feudalism, to show the remote remnants of civil liberty, that still struggled on through all the period of its power. We have seen already, the tendency the system had taken. In France, the feudal laws came to be looked upon as encroachments upon the rights of the sovereign;—in England, as trespassing upon the privileges of the people—and the result was the same in both kingdoms. It ended in casting off those laws, and in bringing society into new combinations, and under new constitutions. As it left the aspect of affairs in France, it encourages us to look for little of liberty there; but in England, the prospect was far more promising. Hence, ever after the grant of the great charter by King John, we find a strictly limited monarchy in our own fatherland. The boldest of her statesmen and the meanest of her kings,

may have risen at times against this settlement of the popular power;—but when the contest was settled, it was ever upon this foundation, and the popular rights prevailed. The old Saxon heart was made of stern stuff; and if it allowed the right of kings to reign, it did not allow them the right to rule with oppression and injustice, without a successful resistance. This firmness on the part of the people, broke up the old bounds of feudal power—it gave the people a knowledge of their own strength, and that was something they never lost. The new paths that were opened to arts, agriculture, and commerce, also added their aid to the attainment of these ends. The crusades had called for ships and for seamen,—the merchandise of the Mediterranean had brought in the wealth of the east, and the riches of Europe came gradually into the hands of merchantmen and voyagers. Wealth had changed hands,—and laws and customs, privileges and powers, must follow it. The middle class—the class of enterprise and industry, became its keepers,—and hence their rising consequence in the state, as with their sanction, the government was irresistible; without them, it must fall by its own weight. Occupying this integral point in political affairs, we see the causes of that constant jealousy which they were accustomed to fall by for the safety of their civil rights.

Froissart, the famous chronicler of the olden time, gives us a picture of this popular feeling, as it existed in the times of Edward III. A crazy priest, as he says, in the county of Kent, called John Ball, was accustomed to meet the people on their return from church, and say to them: "My good friends, things cannot go on well in England until everything shall be in common; when there shall be neither lord nor vassal, and all distinctions leveled; when the lords shall be no more masters than ourselves. How ill they have used us! and for what reason do they thus hold us in bondage? Are we not all descendants from the same parents, Adam and Eve? And what can they show, or what reasons give, why they should be any more masters than ourselves? except, perhaps, in making us labor and work for them to spend. They are clothed in velvets and rich stuffs, ornamented with ermine and other furs, while we are forced to wear poor cloth. They have wines, spices, and fine bread, when we have only rye and the refuse of the straw. They have handsome seats and manors, when we must brave the wind and rain in our labors in the field; but it is from our labor that they have wherewith to support their pomp—we are called slaves, and if we do not perform our services, we are beaten, and we have not any sovereign to whom we can complain, or who will hear us and do us justice. Let us go to the king, who is young, and remonstrate with him on our servitude, telling him we must have it otherwise, or we shall find a remedy for it ourselves." For these and the like speeches, he was much beloved by the people, and they were accustomed to say—"John Ball preaches such and such things, and he speaks truth."

These sentiments of the crazy priest, although so repulsive to the haughty heart of royalty, have since done their work in the world—they have formed the basis of every genuine reform in government down to the present day—they are the same sentiments which a subsequent age embodied in the broad principles of American liberty. Through dangers and defeats—through perils and persecutions, they have still held on their way. As we see them feebly struggling up from among the poor peasantry of England on the one hand, on the other we behold the departing

footsteps of all feudal doctrines and divisions in society. The baron lost his military vassals, the king was compelled to leave legislation to his parliament.

The last of the feudal forces in England, was the most gifted, the most glorious body of men that ever trod her soil. It was commanded by Fairfax; it was graced by the presence—it was honored by the talents, and adorned by the virtues, of the justly lamented John Hampden—it was finally led to victory and to empire by the world-renowned Oliver Cromwell, before whose genius and statesmanship the history of England's past and present sovereigns is as the history of little children.

But the commonwealth appeared before its time—it passed away with the life of its master-spirit—and the corrupt Charles and his court came, with the sad story of his father before him. This puerile prince saw that his safety lay in an army of mercenaries, who had hands to fight, but not heads to think. At his command, the feudal forces of the Protector rolled back into the ranks of private life, and never more appeared in the wars of England.

Simultaneously with this event, finally fell the fabric of the feudal system throughout Europe. The arms of chivalry were rusting from neglect—knighthood had lost its charm—the cavalier cast off his clothing of steel and became a man—and the minstrel could only sing legends of the past.

Thus passed the period of the middle ages. At its close, the vices of feudalism died, or they lived only in a lingering death; its virtues can never die—they survive in those systems of a federative state which have been re-written in the constitutions of free governments, and are now so rapidly rolling round the world. So steals the stream of time away. Thus, in human affairs, as in quick nature, nothing effete and lifeless remains. The evil vanishes, and what element of good it contained enters into new forms and living combinations; while the good is gathered into golden sheaves, and its precious seed shall be scattered again for a more abundant harvest. Thus, too, the Feudal System, like a mighty river, has mingled itself in the vast ocean of the past—its sounding surges have reached the present, and are still rolling on towards the unknown future. It is this linked connection of all ages—it is the fact that one age arises out of another in a series of ceaseless succession—that makes the past and its events precious unto us.

May we so read its pages and ponder its lessons, as more clearly to apprehend our own destiny and duty; and may the wisdom which it imparts be shown in our actions and adorn the history of our lives.

G. W. G.

SKETCH FROM THE LIFE.

BY DUDLEY PERKINS, LL.D.

Of all the miserable drudges living,
There's one who's called respectable; but oh!
A mere machine—high-pressure, never low
Is he, who through his knotty brain is sieving
'News' for a daily paper—copy-clipping—
Romantic murders cutting down to facts—
Chasing up strangers and their stranger acts,
And into every body's business dipping;
Always in haste, at breakfast, dinner, supper,
Swallowing as quick as he throws 'copy' out:
His right-hand is a perfect 'item' scupper,
Be it for 'leves' or a pint of stout—
Of all the wretched souls existent,
It is, good lord! an EDITOR'S ASSISTANT.

FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL REVIEW.

THERE is a continued abundance of money in the market, with every prospect that the usual course of business will produce the customary result,—viz., a growing abundance towards January. When the crops first begin to come down, money is in demand; but as the supplies reach market and find sale, the funds employed in its transfer revert to the great reservoirs, and seek other employments. When capital is in excess of the regular calls of business, speculation is usually generated; but both here and in England money has for a length of time been abundant, without producing that customary result. What direction the next speculation fever may take, it is difficult to determine; but some decided movement may be reasonably looked for during the ensuing winter and spring.

The continued production of gold in California, and the receipt here, is gradually creating that superfluity of coin which must result in an increased export of the metals. The following table shows from the mint returns, the receipts and coinage of California gold:

CALIFORNIA GOLD RECEIVED AND COINED AT PHILADELPHIA MINT.

	Received.		Coined.
1848	$44,177		$44,177
1849 to September	1,740,620		1,740,620
" December 31	3,740,810		3,740,810
1850, 1st quarter	4,270,714		4,048,465
" 2d "	6,920,496		6,066,756
" July "	$2,600,000	$1,927,835	
" Aug. "	3,250,000	1,832,105	
" Sept. "	3,400,000	2,512,300	
" 3d quarter	9,250,000		6,272,240
Total	$25,966,826		$21,913,068

With the amount received at New-Orleans, the total to the 30th of September, is $31,000,000. The amount which arrived in October, was larger than for September. It will be observed that from the first arrivals the increase has been progressive, and for the last quarter the amount is 35 per cent. of the whole sum. It is also the case that in the present year over $4,000,000 more has been received than has been coined, through the incapacity of the Philadelphia mint. This inconvenience will be monthly enhanced, to the great detriment of the general interests of the country. The import and export of specie at the port of New-York for the years ending September 30th, have been as follows:

	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.
Import	$8.761,895	$978,944	$3,290,026	$17,056,522
Export	994,096	12,921,685	4,287,816	8,726,930

This gives an excess for four years of some three millions imported as per custom-house returns, and about twenty-four millions per immigrants. The amount in New-York city is as follows, as compared with former returns:

SPECIE IN NEW-YORK.

	June, 1849.	March.	June, 1850.	Aug. 17.	Oct. 7, 1850.
In bank	$9,586,308	$6,861,501	$10,739,957	$9,250,000	$10,082,000
In treasury	1,086,581	4,541,899	2,689,147	5,801,120	5,120,100
Total	$10,672,889	11,403,400	13,429,104	15,051,120	15,202,100

A continual increase is here apparent, although the funds have oscillated between the banks and the treasury. Since March last the increase has been large in both places; and as the season of large imports is over, when the duties will be less, and the payments of the government under the appropriation bills will be more, the quantity in bank will be swollen by receipts from the treasury as well as from California, and in face of falling exchanges. There is, therefore, very little probability that these institutions will be deterred from keeping the line of discounts as high as possible, in order to maintain their dividends by extent of loans in the face of declining rates of discount. This the Boston banks have succeeded in doing up to the present time, as seen in the following figures, which embrace the capital, dividends, and the rates of the latter for several years:

BANK CAPITAL AND PROFITS, BOSTON AND NEW-YORK.

	Boston, Capital.	Dividends.	Per Cent.	New-York, Capital.	Dividends.	Per Ct.
1845	$17,480,000	1,112,100	6 36	$23,084,100	1,433,901	6 21
1846	18,480,000	1,196,000	6 57	23,084,100	1,536,312	6 62
1847	18,180,000	1,281,300	7 00	23,084,600	1,572,158	7 09
1848	18,920,100	1,428,350	7 55	24,284,100	1,883,971	8 10
1849	19,280,600	1,477,350	7 66	24,457,890	1,982,998	8 10
1850	20,710,000	1,534,000	7 68	27,440,070	2,228,967	8 70

In Boston, the Bank of Commerce capital, $750,000, being new, the dividends are earned by $19,960,000 capital. In New-York, deducting new capital, gives $26,190,070, as the working capital, which has paid 7-8 per cent., an increase of 40 per cent. over that of 1845. The higher rates of dividend have been sustained by the enlarged circle of discounts, and the number of new banks is constantly increasing, while the capitals of the old are being enlarged.

The following returns give the leading features of the institutions for many quarters:

BANKS OF NEW-YORK.

	Loans.	Specie.	Circulation.	Deposits.
September 30, 1848	$40,097,890	$4,740,847	$5,726,891	$20,353,365
December 31, 1848	41,031,247	5,850,424	5,783,498	21,443,148
February 9, 1849	43,521,441	4,523,775	5,360,399	22,928,554
June 30, 1849	48,515,471	9,586,308	5,539,572	27,227,134
September 22, 1849	49,922,265	8,022,246	5,990,100	28,482,228
December 29, 1849	53,360,650	7,169,016	6,013,349	28,868,388
March 30, 1850	56,420,647	6,861,561	6,725,688	32,067,937
June 29, 1850	59,888,176	10,650,290	5,918,786	35,861,139
September 28, 1850	62,788,151	9,956,846	6,692,063	37,010,382

As well in Boston as in New-York, have the banking credits been extended; and the western institutions, particularly those of Ohio, have responded to the movement. Boston, the emporium of the manufacturing district, since the reduction of the "*beneficent* tariff" and the formation of the "destructive subtreasury," has increased its bank capital three and a quarter millions, and its bank profits sixty-seven per cent.!—that is to say, the capital averages seven and a half per cent. annual dividends against five per cent. in 1844—a most remarkable instance of decaying trade! That the markets have hitherto retained

a healthy tone is to be ascribed in a great measure to the mutual modifications of restrictions on international trade, and the operation of the treasury plan of the government. The imports and exports of the country have been very large; but there is nothing in these movements like what Mr. Biddle used to call "over-trading"—a term meaningless and absurd when applied to a natural state of trade, but pregnant with fear to those who embarked largely in commerce under the old protective bank credit system—a system which interposed a wall against foreign importations, and then made a ladder of paper credits by which goods could be brought in, but no produce carried out in payment. A moderate importation, therefore, exceeded our means, and there was "over-trading." The reduction of that legal wall and the removal of the bank-machine, permits as much produce to go out as pays for the goods coming in, and over-trading is impossible: the more goods there are sold, the more produce there is bought, and the more the producers thrive. The imports and exports at this port for the third quarter ending September 30th, for three years, are as follows:

IMPORTS OF THE PORT OF NEW-YORK, QUARTER ENDING SEPTEMBER 30TH.

	Specie.	Free Goods.	Dry Goods.	Other Dutiable Goods.	Total.
1848	$395,584	$2,292,357	$13,056.958	$8,515,947	$24,260,846
1849	877,181	1,471,624	15,812,961	14,604,996	31,766,762
1850	7,431,738	2,019,639	22,485,538	15,110,397	47,047,312

The greatest increase this year has been in dry goods, to the extent of $7,000,000; and this has been met by a corresponding increase in the exports of domestic produce, as follows:

EXPORTS OF THE PORT OF NEW-YORK, QUARTER ENDING SEPTEMBER 30TH.

	Specie.	Foreign Goods.	Domestic Produce.	Total.
1845	$969,438	$1,189,858	$6,103,351	$8,262,646
1848	1,577,459	1,309,982	7,356,327	10,243,768
1849	824,104	1,210,578	6,727,243	8,761,925
1850	3,993,734	1,833,172	13,356,227	19,183,133

The increased sales of domestic produce are nearly equal to the increased importation of goods, being in fact but an extended market for agricultural labor. The specie movement is a complicated one. Gold has now become one of the most important of American productions; and we apprehend even the long-eared protectionists will not pretend to build up a "home market" for it, by prohibiting other countries from giving anything in exchange for it. A considerable portion of that put down as imported is merely entered from Chagres, on its way from our own mines. It is not itself directly exported, but becomes manufactured into coin, and in that shape displaces foreign coin and silver, which go to Europe. The specie export must, therefore, be considered a "domestic produce," making the figure $9,798,614 in excess of last year. The re-export of foreign goods, being a carrying trade, is increasing under the operation of the warehouse system, giving our shipping more advantages over the foreign ones. Deducting the increased exports of foreign goods ($622,584) from the increased importation of foreign goods, we have $8,113,409 as the actual increase of goods to be paid for; and for this we have paid $9,789,614—showing a balance of $1,675,205 due this city on the quarter's business with foreign nations. As a necessary consequence, exchanges are falling, as well as the interest on money.

The market for American securities is also extending abroad, and a reliable correspondent, writing from Hamburg under date of October 1st, says:

"The last accounts from the United States have had a most favorable influence here, and large investments will no doubt be made in your securities. I see from the papers, that even a Princess of Prussia is selling off her European securities to invest in United States."

In further confirmation of this, we learn that orders were received to purchase for foreign account, and considerable sales of United States sixes of 1867, were made at 117¼.

The sale of stocks abroad is by no means a matter of congratulation, inasmuch as that it is but a mode of borrowing for which labor must be taxed, particularly for the federal war-debts, which ought to be discharged, principal and interest, by a property tax.

The great features of the European markets for raw produce, in connection with our own, indicate that the coming will be a most prosperous year for farm produce. In the United States, the crops of all descriptions of food are very abundant, with greater facilities of transportation than in former years; consequently, the ability exists to supply all descriptions, at the prices of the past year, and at the same time derive a greater profit. In Europe the crops are not good, and the supply of food for the people in the western nations has much diminished, and the prices of wheat in France and Holland will undoubtedly sell higher than last year. In Ireland, 160 reports from 90 districts results in the conviction that the wheat crops will yield 3-5 of an average only. Oats more than an average. The potatoe is suffering from disease to an extent that, while the breadth of land sown is double that of 1849, the yield of food will be no greater. In England, the wheat crop will be under average in quantity, but better in quality; which is the case also in France. Odessa is the great rival of the United States in the supply of wheat; exported as follows:

EXPORTS OF WHEAT FROM ODESSA, IN CHETVERTS OF SIX BUSHELS.

	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.
To North of Europe	127.116	103.451	52.727	36.042
" Great Britain	263.639	708.918	897.904	844.245
" Mediterranean	1.733.630	1.963.468	1.108.466	834.451
Total	2.124.385	2.775.837	2.959.097	1.714.138

The increased export to Great Britain arises from the removal of the duties which makes the market more reliable.

All these circumstances conspire to enlarge the market for American produce at this year's prices. The prospect is, therefore, good. The cotton crop will probably be short, and the necessity which England has for it will raise the price to an extent which will make the aggregate money value more than compensate for the diminished quantity. The mills last year went from coarse to fine grains almost to the greatest possible extent, thus abandoning the manufacturer to the near factories of the Mississippi Valley. Another short yield will go far to confirm the new location, and those mills in Old England and New England which close work under the circumstances, will never re-open. Two short crop years will reverse the movement of coarse cloths, and New England as well as Old England may draw her supplies from *west* of the mountains. The distress which many manufacturers undoubtedly feel, arises not from insufficient tariff, but from the *transition* of the seat of manufactures. The superior position and capital of England have enabled her, with great difficulty, to retain the suprema

cy for 50 years. That time has now passed, and would long since have passed, but for the protective system. In this manufacture, as all others since the peace, an active international competition has been sustained, resulting in continued new inventions for advancing the quality and cheapening the price of cloths. England has worked cheaply, and finally thrown off the corn duties to work cheaper; also the cotton duty, to reduce its price, and finally the navigation laws, further to diminish its cost. The point of these movements is, to reduce the cost of transportation of food for operatives, and raw materials for their use, in order that the raw material, labor, and profits of capital combined, may result in a cost for the cloth less than that of other nations. Nevertheless, she is remote from raw materials and from food; and *some* transportation, besides merchants' profits, must be charged upon them. Now, it is obvious that, notwithstanding all the protective laws in creation, the seat of manufactures is gravitating towards that point where all the elements that enter into manufacturing exist naturally. That point is, the western valleys. Cotton, wool, flax, coal, iron, and food—every article necessary for the production of the best goods at the cheapest rates—are there thrown together by the hand of Nature in boundless profusion. They are charged with no transportation or speculative profits, and the goods resulting from their combination are charged with transportation only in proportion to the distance that the consumer resides from that centre. To that spot is manufacturing supremacy rapidly and irresistibly gravitating. The protective laws have been enabled to check it on its way, and to retain it for a moment in England and New England; but free markets for western produce are conferring capital, which was all that was wanted to establish the system. By changing the present tariff, and destroying the market for farm produce, the West and South may be retarded in the accumulation of necessary capital, and thereby delay the establishment of manufactures in their midst, to the profit of New England; but this cannot last. The transition is now, thanks to the election of 1844, rapid and irresistible.

A GREAT FACT.

[REDUCED TO THE SMALL COMPASS OF A SONNET.]

BY DUDLEY PERKINS, LL.D.

Half-past twelve, the other night, when lonely
The wide world's Broadway, stepping to my bed,
The stars were in, and all the lamps out, only
Where oyster-stews and brandied stomachs wed:

Beneath a sign—the "UNICORN AND LION,"
Each steadied by the 'scutcheon—up for sport,
Two wits clung, drunk, as ever you clapt eye on,
Chockful of oysters, hiccups, spleen and port.

Quoth Herr to John, (one of them was German,)
John's name was Bull—the German's it was Hermann:

"Ha! meestere Pool, I've drank joost like a Mer'man!
Your mess is goot, and bad cigars von dozen!
Herr Gott, you treats me like a cousin German!"
"And you treats me," growl'd John, "just like a German *cozen*."

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

SKETCHES OF REFORMS AND REFORMERS, OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND; by Henry B. Stanton. Second Edition. New-York: Baker & Scribner.

The children of men are marshalled into two conflicting hosts—the movement, and the conservative. A time has come which admits of no neutrality, when democratic philanthropy, all over the world, has a right to proclaim, "he that is not with us is against us," as the great founder of the movement party declared to his disciples eighteen centuries ago. The noble fraternity of American Democrats includes many names not unworthy of the cause in which they are enlisted, though it may sometimes seem as if the daily besetting sin of the masses of our political brethren were a want of faith in man's high destinies, and his capacity ultimately to fulfil them. To cure this weakness, and strengthen in their good work, the hands of disheartened friends of humanity, there are two infallible remedies, study of the history of progress hitherto accomplished and secured, and familiar acquaintance with the thorough deeds, fortunes and characters of the most devoted of the champions in the struggle for reform, both in their own and in other countries less favored than their own. To those who frame their course of life on sober calculation, embark in no wild crusades, and wish to know not the cost only, but the issue also of the projected enterprise before they peril their standing in the good opinion of their fellow-men, which is the specific danger that appals most timid Christians in the path of duty;—it is consoling and confirming to look back and see even greater evils than we now assail vanquished, and sepulchured beyond thought of a resurrection, greater obstacles overcome, greater changes wrought out than those whom the world calls sanguine enthusiasts, and short-sighted dwellers-in-the-present term crazy fanatics, have ever dreamed of. To those who are governed mainly by sympathy, who burn with emulation at the sight of achievements which they could not have conceived, unless the example had been set before them; to those who, resolving on what is great and good, still rejoice, and are cheered to bolder advances by the companionship of worthy comrades in worthy undertakings, it is a boon beyond price, to open to them the gallery of the apostles, confessors and martyrs of the gospel of progress and reform. It is this service which Mr. Stanton proposes, by presenting outlines of those who speak the language of democracy with an English accent on the other side of the water; sketches of British reformers,—and how successfully his task has been performed, may be judged from the call for a second edition within a few months after the first was submitted to the public.

He has drawn, with the hand of a master, most life-like pictures of the heroes of the controversies of our day, those whose labors have made the British Constitution of the year 1850 an altogether different Constitution from that of 1800, as different mayhap as it would at this day have been, if Bonaparte had landed from Boulogne, and expelled the Lords, before the bayonets of his grenadiers, from St. Stephen's Chapel, to which the continental reaction would soon have restored them, as it did the mouldy emigrants to the Tuilleries. He shows us those who discussed, and settled, or are going on to settle by discussion, "poor laws, pension laws, game laws, corn laws, free trade, universal education, unrestricted religious toleration, standing armies, floating navies, Irish repeal, East and West India emancipation, colonial independence, complete suffrage, the ballot, annual Parliaments, law reform, land reform, entails, primogeniture, the life-tenure of judges, an hereditary peerage, the House of Lords, the Bench of Bishops, the monarchy itself," and all other things good or bad, or imagined to be good or bad, which are involved in "the condition of England question." All those who have not time to trace these men through files of newspapers reckoned by camel loads, and through ten thousand pamphlets, and yet have a rational desire to know how the moral and political world turns round, and what manner of operatives labor at the crank, will find much pleasant reading quite germane to the matter, and make many valuable acquaintances whom they would not willingly forget in these interesting and judicious pages of Mr. Stanton, whom we heartily thank for the service he has done to the democracy of the world, and especially of America, by this timely publication.

JAMAICA IN 1850: OR, THE EFFECTS OF 16 YEARS OF FREEDOM IN A SLAVE COLONY. By John Bigelow. George P. Putnam.

Mr. Bigelow has been frequently before our readers as a contributor to this Review. He is a gentleman of great attainments, and uprightness of purpose. But we are of opinion that his ultra free soil tendencies are calculated to impair his judgment upon the slave question, as connected with the condition and destinies of Jamaica. His work is, however, of great value and interest. It is written in the forcible and elegant style which have ever characterized the productions of his pen. We have deferred to the next number, our intention of examining the statements at length, as to what has occurred under what Mr. Bigelow calls 16! years of freedom.

INDIA AND THE HINDOOS: being a popular view of the Geography, History, Government, Manners, Customs, Literature, and Religion, of that ancient people; with an account of Christian Missions among them. By F. De W. Ward, late Missionary at Madras. Baker & Scribner, 134 Nassau-street.

This work is a most interesting description of social life and manners among the 150,000,000 British Indian slaves. The old story of the missionaries, that great results are about *to take place* in that benighted country, is reiterated by Mr. Ward; but we apprehend, after the practical experience of this country in the expenditure of enormous sums of money, very few persons have any faith in the Christianizing of any of the dark races. The whole mission system up to the present time is void of results. The narrative of the sojourn among the strange people of that remarkable country, which has been the *El Dorado* of commercial nations through so many centuries, and which has been the theatre of the bloody crimes by which England has enriched herself, is of great interest. It throws great light upon the manner of life in them, and gives glimpses of the dark and ferocious deeds of English agents, although the author is evidently disposed to palliate the slaughter of thousands, and the oppression of all, for the sake of the protection which missionaries enjoy.

THE LEATHER STOCKING TALES; by J. Fennimore Cooper. Author's Revised Edition. THE LAST OF THE MOHICANS: A Narrative of 1757. Complete in one volume, revised and corrected; with a new Introduction, Notes, &c., by the author. George P. Putnam, 155 Broadway.

This, probably the best, as it certainly was the most successful of the Leather Stocking Tales, has, perhaps, done more than any other of the author's great romances to extend his fame over Christendom. Its pure originality took the reader by surprise, and its rare merits fixed the admiration which the novelty of the theatre of its action inspired. It has been naturalized in most of the languages of Europe, and although of course with some detriment to its text, is equally popular in all; although a quarter of a century has nearly elapsed since we first read it, a re-perusal revives the vivid impressions it made upon our boyish fancy. Since the advent of Mr. Cooper, no sneering "Scotch Reviewer" has ventured to ask, "who reads an American book?" The response of Christendom, if the question of the reviewer could be as extensively circulated as these American books, might give an unwelcome reply. The standard edition of these novels by Mr. Putnam, uniform with the works of Irving, is indispensable to every American library, and the number of them increases annually by thousands.

LESSONS FROM THE HISTORY OF MEDICAL DELUSIONS; by Worthington Rooker, M. D. Baker & Scribner.

This work is that which obtained the prize dissertation of the Rhode Island Medical Society. It is of great interest, and is beautifully printed in the prolific press of Messrs. Baker & Scribner.

LATTER-DAY PAMPHLETS. Edited by Thomas Carlyle. No. VII. HUDSON'S STATUE. No. VIII. JESUITISM. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1850.

These pamphlets are to be regarded as prose satires upon what the author considers not so much the follies, as the great and grave sins of the age. These he treats in a style peculiarly his own, now with grotesque humor, anon with piercing sarcasm or withering contempt. The style and sentiments of these pamphlets have offended many, and given pain to some of Carlyle's most sincere friends. And we think there are few even among his warmest admirers, who would hesitate to grant that his *Life of Schiller*, his articles upon *Goethe*, *Jean Paul*, *Burns*, and the "*characteristics*," possess merits to which most of his later works have much less claim, as well as a comparative freedom from faults and blemishes which have since, like noxious weeds and rubbish, deformed and concealed many a beauty and many a pearl. And the question often arises in our minds: "What phasis will he next present, and what will be the final appearance of this wonderfully eccentric luminary?" Will he never leave the fathomless and troubled sea of politics and reform, and return to the calmer works of higher literature? Will age, itself, bring no repose to his spirit? Is there no peace, no genuine *satisfaction* for him in this world? We would fain hope so; and, moreover, that he, with whom, as critic and reviewer, only Macauly of the writers of the present age can be mentioned in comparison, (and we well know that in originality, in depth of insight, in true sympathy and humor, there is no comparison,) may yet produce something of a permanent literary value which, rightly judged, shall not be found inferior to the splendid monument upon which the latter has had the good fortune to inscribe his name for all coming time.

"*Hudson's Statue*" is, perhaps, not inferior to its predecessors of this series. It is a satire, of the genuine Carlyle-ish stamp, upon the prevailing folly of worshipping the "successful" schemer—successful in filling his own capacious pockets—not in nobly performing the task of a genuine hero.

"*Jesuitism*" the author defines as a persuasion. "That to please the supreme Fountain of Truth your readiest method, now and then, is to persist in believing what your whole soul found to be doubtful or incredible;" which he thinks the characteristic of the present age throughout all Christendom.

It is easy to perceive occasionally, by the tone of this pamphlet, that Carlyle is not entirely insensible to the storm of abuse he has awakened. The hide of the rhinoceros has been pricked a little, but not pierced by the sharp weapons of his assailants.

Notwithstanding their faults of style, and exaggeration, we honestly think these pamphlets will do any man good that can read them. Call them, if you will, sermons, by a rather over-zealous preacher; his faults we shall hardly acquire, and he may possibly correct some of our own.

CHRISTIANITY REVIVED IN THE EAST: OR, A NARRATIVE OF THE WORK OF GOD AMONG THE ARMENIANS. By H. S. O. Dwight, of the American Board of Commissioners.

This volume is of great interest, inasmuch as it contains much information in relation to the comparatively little known country of Armenia, its People, their Manners and Habits. Those interested in missionary operations, will find much in the statements in relation to conversions, to keep alive their hopes in that direction.

THE SCALPEL: A Journal of Health, adapted to Popular and Professional Reading, and the Exposure of Quackery. Edited by Edward H. Dixon, M.D. Published by the Editor. For sale by Berford & Co., 2 Astor-House; Charles H. Ring, corner of John-street and Broadway; Mariner & Lockwood, corner of Grand-street and Broadway; Dewitt & Davenport, Tribune Buildings.

The present number completes the second year of this spirited and useful Quarterly. It shows no signs of decay, but is written throughout with a freshness of a first issue. Price, $3 per annum, or 25 cents per number.

GRAHAME: OR, YOUTH AND MANHOOD. A Romance. By the author of "Talbot and Vernon." Baker & Scribner.

This is a story of considerable interest, embracing the leading military operations upon the American continent in the present century, including the battle of New-Orleans under the immortal Jackson, and the career of Bolivar. The author apologizes for deviating from the generally received opinion in relation to Bolivar's merits, but "pleads the truth in justification." The typographical appearance of the work is such as does justice to the well-known reputation of Messrs. Baker & Scribner, who are among the most enterprising and successful of our publishing houses.

THE RELATION OF THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR TO HIS COUNTRY, AND HIS TIMES. Being an Address delivered before the Associate Alumni of the University of Vermont. By Henry J. Raymond. Baker & Scribner.

Mr. Raymond is well known to the reading world as an able writer and sound critic. Although very young, he has already acquired a position which opens to him a long and honorable position. Albeit, the political party to which he belongs is not famous for its justice or discrimination.

ELEMENTARY SKETCHES OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY; delivered at the Royal Institution in the years 1804, 1805 and 1806. By the late Rev. Sydney Smith, M. A. Harper Brothers.

The world-wide fame of the late witty and sarcastic prebendary of St. Paul's, London, is sufficient to attract attention to his heretofore unpublished works, although they may be those of his earlier years and fragmentary in their character. Like the sermons published at the date of the delivery of these lectures, they are remarkable for an honest earnestness of style and for good sense, rather than for originality. Although they are without that sparkling wit which distinguished the late miscellaneous writings of that celebrated author, they are highly instructive and entertaining.

SPIRIT OF '76 IN RHODE ISLAND: or, Sketches of the Efforts of the Government and People in the War of the Revolution; together with the Names of those who belonged to Rhode Island Regiments in the Army, with Biographical Notices, Reminiscences, &c. By Benjamin Cowell. A. J. Wright, 3 Water-street, Boston.

Mr. Cowell, it seems, has for a long time been engaged in the prosecution of claims growing out of the War of the Revolution, and the investigation of documents naturally brought to light a vast number of facts of great interest to the American, and of importance to the history of the country. These reminiscences of the struggles, hardships and privations of our fathers in the cause of Independence, and in the formation of that glorious Union which we enjoy, are a severe rebuke to those infamous men, who, for purposes merely selfish, lay their sacrilegious hands upon the most noble political structure ever reared by man, and dare breathe the word disunion among the descendants of those heroic men.

BIOGRAPHICAL ESSAYS. By Thomas De Quincey, author of "Confessions of an English Opium Eater," &c. Ticknor, Reed & Fields, Boston.

The publishers are producing in their peculiarly elegant style, a series of which the first volume contains the celebrated "Confessions of an Opium Eater," and "Suspizia De Profundis." The second contains Biographical Essays; and the third, shortly to appear, the most interesting papers of Mr. De Quincey, from the English magazines. Mr. De Quincey is a son of a London merchant. He is of great literary attainments, but was addicted to opium in a most incredible degree, but after a great effort conquered the habit. The memoirs he has written, particularly of Shakspeare and Pope, are some of the most admirable in the language. To these are added Charles Lamb, Goethe and Schiller, forming a most charming volume.

During the past six months, Mr. Theodore Augustus Foster, connected with this Review, has made a tour of the Southern and Northern sections of the States, calling personally upon all the leading democrats of each locality. In every quarter he has, without exception, met with a warm-hearted and generous response to the claims of this work upon the great Democratic Party, as the national exponent of those great principles for which it has ever contended. The confidence reposed in the course of the Review is expressed in the following paper, signed by more than two thousand democrats, of all sections. We append a portion of the names in this number, to be continued in successive numbers, with the additional names furnished by Mr. Foster, now on his Western trip.

We, the undersigned, subscribers to the United States Magazine and Democratic Review, feel deeply interested in its success, and recommend it to all our democratic friends. Its primary objects are to advocate and disseminate true Democracy, (such as was taught by Jefferson and Jackson,) and we feel confident, that such being the character of the work, all true democrats will feel the same interest that we do in the promulgation of those principles, and will be found to contribute to its support and development. We feel a national pride as well as duty in liberally supporting the only organ of the National Democratic Party in this great republican country; and we are confident in assuring our friends, that if they will do their duty, that the editor and proprietors will make this organ, both as a literary and political Magazine, equal, if not superior, to any work published in this country or Europe. We would further add, that their general canvassing agent, Mr. Theodore A. Foster, is now on his Southern and Western tour, and we earnestly recommend all good democrats to avail themselves of the present opportunity of enrolling their names on the books of the Democratic Review.

TWO THOUSAND NAMES CONTINUED:

Charles P. May,	*Montgomery, Ala.*	John Steele,	*Mulberry, Ala:*
Joel Riggs,	do.	J. H. Campbell,	*Cahaba, Ala:*
S. N. Brown,	do.	J. T. Jarnett, M. D.,	*Vernon, Ala:*
B. K. Jones, M. D.,	do.	Lewis Guthrie, Miller's P. O.,	*Ohio.*
A. J. Pickett,	do.	E. R. Phelps,	*Albany. N. Y.*
M. H. Wright,	do.	J. W. McAlpine,	do.
H. W. Laird,	do	William A. Furnold,	*Troy,*
M. Harwell,	do.	T. Wells, Farmers' Bank,	do.
Fort Hargrove,	do.	James R. Fonda.	do.
W. T. Tranum,	do.	Nathan Taylor,	do.
E. J. Donnell,	do.	George R. Davis,	do.
J. P. Sappold,	do.	John C. Mather,	do.
D. B. Graham,	do.	R. D. McDonald,	do.
Benjamin T. Hassell,	do.	D. K. Neal,	do.
A. B. McWhorter,	do.	Augustus Viele,	*West Troy,*
George Cowles,	do:	James Roy,	do.
J. J. Belser,	do:	J C. Bedell,	do.
John McGar,	*Tuskegee, Ala.*	M. D. Taylor,	do.
James Verney,	*Columbus, Geo.*	H. Breslin,	do.
Percy Walker,	*Mobile, Ala.*	James Brady,	do.
B. Bryken,	do.	Daniel C. Stewart,	do.
Samuel B. Horne,	do.	Edward Learned, Jr.	do.
J: Ely,	do:	Edward Learned,	do.
Watkins & George,	do.	Charles G. Learned,	do.
John T. Taylor,	do.	W. B. Corey,	*Lansingburgh,*
Henry B. Holcomb,	do.	John Money,	do.
T. J. Butler,	do.	John Conaughty,	*Waterford,*
John A. Winston,	*Gainesville, Ala:*	G. W. Kirkland,	do.

Walters W. Whipple,	*Troy, N. Y.*
W. H. Hollister,	*Cohoes,*
S. A. Beacher,	do.
Crawford & Phelps,	do.
William Osterhout,	do.
A. F. Patch & J. B. Whitlock,	do.
Rodney E. Pike,	*West Troy,*
Hitchcock & Learned,	do.
Abram Whitlock,	*Troy,*
Archibald Bull,	do.
R A. Lottridge,	do.
John S. Ide,	do.
C. S. Houghton,	*Lansingburgh,*
John Cramer,	*Waterford,*
W. A. Beach,	*Saratoga Springs,*
A. D. Marvin,	do.
George Young, Jr.	do.
John Willard,	do.
D. S. Shepherd,	*New-York City.*
Hon. Lincoln Clark,	*Dubuque, Iowa.*
A. H. & D. Platt,	do.
Dr. H. Alden,	*Leroy, Ohio.*
Charles P. Snedeker,	*Haverstraw, N. Y.*
James Hill,	do.
Charles Smith,	do.
Thomas Doyle,	do.
D. Kennedy,	do.
David Mackay,	do.
Peter Riley,	do.
A. B. Conger,	do.
A. Debaum,	*Clarkstown,*
E. E. Conckling,	*New-York City.*
E. B. Clayton,	do.
W. A. Brown,	*Defiance, Ohio.*
P. A. Browne,	*Philadelphia, Pa*
Abijah Enos,	*Schenectady, N. Y.*
Edward Rosa.	do.
J. H. Boyd,	do.
W. B. Walton,	do.
G. G. Maxon,	do.
Stephen Yates,	do.
G. Harnley,	*Albany,*
J. O. Sales,	do.
Horatio Seymour,	*Utica,*
J. B. Garvin,	do.
J. H. Read,	do.
T. F. Bowman,	do.
H. Denio,	do.
N. C. White,	do.
J. Watson Williams,	do.
Aaron Hackley,	do.
J. H. Hubard,	do.
E. S. Barnum,	do.
John F. Kittle,	do.
John J. Francis,	do.
J. N. Meacham,	do.
David Wager,	do.
C. E. Barnard,	do.
M. M. Mitchell,	do.
Luther Leland,	do.
William Clark,	do.
A. W. Lature,	do.
C. C. Comstock,	*Rome,*
G. R. Thomas,	do.
G. W. Bissell.	do.

J. Armstrong,	*Rome, N. Y.*
H. T. Utley,	do.
John Striker,	do.
N. H. Leffingwell,	do.
Samuel Chapman,	*Saratoga Springs,*
W. J. Skinner,	*Little Falls,*
C. Priest,	do.
Isaac Small,	do.
H. Link,	do.
Charles Gray,	do.
James C. Ladue,	*Detroit, Mich.*
J. A. Rasbach,	*Herkimer, N. Y.*
Herkimer Democrat,	do.
E. A. Munson,	do.
William Smith,	do.
R. M. Gray,	do.
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S. L. Avery,	*Salina,*
M. E. Lynch,	do.
M. W. Bennett,	do.
John Wilkinson,	*Syracuse,*
James Manning,	do.
F. Wellington,	do.
John H. Housman,	do.
Conkling & Smith,	*New-York City.*
E. T. Robinson,	*Vernon, Ala.*
John W. Bridges,	*Camden,*
James Corning,	*Mobile,*
F. A. Leslie,	do.
John S. Geyer,	do.
Alexander Auld,	do.
James G. Ingraham,	do.
H. O. Brewer,	do.
John Stephenson,	do.
John Reid, Jr.	do.
J. C. Du Bose,	do.
Isaac Bryan,	do.
L. T. Woodruff,	do.
J. M. Dabney,	do.
J. J. March,	do.
Fountain & Dent,	do.
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Jacob Reese,	do.
E. L. Fleet,	do.
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James Sands,	do.
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John W. Hutchinson,	do.
J. B. Todd,	do.
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Thomas McGraw,	do.
John G. Davis,	do.
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J. C. Mott, M. D.	do.
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H. Chamberlain,	do.
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James Martin,	do.
J. W. Leserve,	do.
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Theo. A. Starke,	*New-Orleans, La.*
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Elmore King,	do.
Samuel Lock,	do.
H. C. Vantagen,	do.
R. Stackhouse,	do.
Lucius Y. Lusk,	do.
Joseph Moss,	do.
F. F. Folger,	do.
A. Flask,	do.
James McPherson,	do.
E. Wood Perry,	do.
Richard Valentine,	do.
A. H. May,	do.
Joseph H. Moore,	do.
H. J. Baer,	do.
James R. Conway,	do.
Francis A. Boyle,	do.
James H. Caldwell,	do.
J. G. Boyce,	do.
E. H. Hicks,	*Rodney, Miss.*
L. Saunders,	*Natchez,*
B. Pendleton,	do.
W. K. Henry,	do.
G. W. Turner,	do.
Robert Stewart,	do.
William E. Hall,	do.
W. H. Fox,	do.
T. A. Doniphan,	do.
Richard Ellis,	do.
Gov. J. A. Quitman,	*Jackson,*
T. W. Swain,	do.
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Shepherd Brown,	do.
C. J. Searles,	do.
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J. Roach,	do.
William Potterfield,	do.
James Cathell,	do.
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J. Bell,	*Louisville, Ky.*
W. S. Carroll,	*Memphis, Tenn.*
Samuel Walker,	do.
Leroy Simms,	*Holy Springs, Miss.*
O. H. Side,	*Memphis, Tenn.*
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F. Titus,	do.
John Wm. Lumpkin,	do.
T. J. Turley,	do.
R. H. Byrn,	*Jackson, Miss.*
A. P. Miller,	*Boonville, Mo.*
F. N. Haralson,	*New-Orleans, La.*
Oliver H. Perry,	do.
Joseph Genois,	do.
J. S. Whitaker,	do.
William Monaghan,	do.
William H. Poole,	do.
Abel Dregfous,	do.
Walter M. Robinson,	do.
F. H. Musterson,	do.
S. W. Oakey,	do.
R H. Sterling,	do.
A. B. James,	do.
Newton Richards,	do.
Thomas J. Beck,	do.
John C. Stewart,	do.
George Dirmeyer,	do.
Thomas Grace,	do.
James Dunn,	do.
Charles J. Leeds,	do.
Archibald Mitchell,	do.
T. A. Johnson,	do.
Edward Grinnell,	do.
Joseph Lynch,	do.
John Armstrong,	do.
M. Aspill,	do.
James McIntosh,	do.
John C. Pooley,	do.
Walter Turnbull,	do.
A. Pricur,	do.
Edward Durrive,	do.
O. H. Polk.	do.
Samuel Jamison,	do.
Charles Pride,	do.
John Clark,	do.
Robert Moores,	do.
L. E. Hooper,	do.
Eugene Lassen,	do.
J. M. Kennedy,	do.
M. F. Bowzano,	do.
J. C. Shannon,	do.
Frederick Wing,	do.
W. W. Payton,	do.
Peter Marcye,	do.
Jonas Baldwin,	do.
Richard Sutler,	do.
James Hickman,	do.
Samuel H. Toney,	do.
James A. Bass,	do.
W. Randolph,	do.
T. M. Hooper,	*Lafayette,*
Hugh Grant,	do.
J. H. Doherty,	do.
Augt. W. Jordan,	do.
Clement Brown,	do.
Pierre Durvernaez,	do.
John C. Huey,	do.
Chester Bisber,	do.
A. Duplantine,	*Baton Rouge*

George S. Lacy,	*Baton Rouge, La.*
William Hubbs,	do.
John Garyin,	do.
J. Lasguire,	do.
J. J. Burke,	do.
B. T. Tisdale,	do.
M. B. Wolfe,	do.
Judge Richardson,	*Lake Providence.*
E. Fremont,	*Lafayette, La.*
E. Woodroff,	*Carlton,*
William M. Hall,	*Bedford, Pa.*
Genl. G. J. Pillow,	*Columbia, Tenn.*
William H. Polk,	do.
Wm. Overton,	*Little Grove. Montg'y Co.*
John Poindexter,	*Clarksville, Tenn.*
A. O. P. Nicholson,	*Nashville,*
J. Irwin, M. D.	do.
Franklin McGarock,	do.
N. C. Miller,	*Millersburg.*
B. Gordon,	*Williamsport.*
J. E. R. Ray,	*Dresden.*
D. B. Grier,	*Little Rock, Ark.*
T. H. Bradley,	*Marion,* "
D. R. Ghooch,	*Nolensville. Tenn.*
J. D. Green,	*Carolina,*
S. R. Anderson,	*Nashville,*
Wm. B. Shephard & Co:	do.
A. W. Johnson,	do.
Johnson & Weaver,	do.
J. H. Buddeke,	do.
S. P. Cheatham,	do.
John W. Walker,	do.
Thomas Gilbert,	do.
Alfred Ball,	do.
Willoughby Williams,	do.
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Joseph Phillips,	*Murfreesboro',*
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T. Jones Stewart,	*Woodville, Miss.*
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O. S. Rawson,	do.
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H. A. Clover,	do.
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L. Case,	*Newark,*
H. M. Ware,	*Columbus,*
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Very respectfully
Your obt Svt
Alex. W. Bull

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THE

UNITED STATES MAGAZINE,

AND

DEMOCRATIC REVIEW.

VOL. XXVII. DECEMBER, 1850. NO. CL.

JAMAICA.*

Among the most instructive passages in the history of the present century will doubtless be found that which treats of those changes in the destinies of countries, which have been wrought by the operation of the commercial principle, the development of which was a consequence of the separation of the American Colonies from the mother country. During the period which terminated with the 18th century, embracing one hundred and fifty years, the colonial and protective systems co-operated to keep England in the ascendant, as the first commercial nation, only by cramping the energies of her colonies, and paralyzing their enterprise. In all that time, the resources of the colonies were allowed to develope themselves, only so far as they administered directly to the profit of the mother country; and every means, no matter how atrocious soever was its moral nature, was sanctified to the aggrandizement of the British Islands. The murderous atrocities in the East Indies, and the horrible circumstances of the slave trade between Africa and America, were regarded as praiseworthy and commendable in the actors, because attended with profit to the Imperial Islands. From the earliest times, intercourse with India has been the object of ambition to commercial nations, and the source of vast wealth to those who have prosecuted it. A country of great resources, densely peopled with an industrious race, in the lapse of ages could not but accumulate immense wealth, the existence of which has ever been amongst the most vivid impressions upon the European mind; and the "wealth of India" has been the phrase by which an idea of the splendor of limitless riches has most aptly been conveyed. That vast and wealthy country, about the middle of the 18th century, was invaded by Clive, one of the most relentless and bloody instruments of British rapine and cruelty. Bengal was soon conquered, and its vast wealth furnished the means of a more extensive field of conquest, until 150,000,000 souls have, by fraud and violence, become subject to British sway. From the mother Islands poured forth a continued stream of officials,

* Jamaica in 1850; or the Effects of Sixteen years of Freedom on a Slave Colony. By John Bigelow. George P. Putnam, London and New-York.

civil and military, for the sole purpose of enriching themselves at the expense of the natives, by every possible means of oppression, in order to return as speedily as possible to the British Islands with their ill-gotten wealth. The most numerous of the large fortunes of England have ever been those of these Indian "nabobs." This process of exhaustion has gone on until the surplus wealth of that country has been transferred to the British Islands, leaving the once happy people of the East in a condition fast sinking towards a state of savage nature. The government is now maintained only by the coerced culture of opium, the sale of which is forced, at the point of the bayonet, upon the people of China. The new Emperor of China, it is said, will pursue a course the reverse of that of his predecessor. Instead of vainly striving to suppress the trade, he will authorize the growth of the poppy in China, thus supplanting the sale of the Indian drug, a course which will be as fatal to British rule in India, as would be an effectual suppression of the trade. India having been thus robbed for nearly a century, presents the same sinking aspect as Ireland, which has been subjected to a similar policy a century longer. As the annual product of Irish white labor has, for ages, been transferred to pamper English splendor, so African black labor applied to the soil of the West Indies and North American Colonies, was for a long time made a source of profit. The navigation and colonial laws were designed to cause all the productions of the colonies to be sent to the Imperial Islands, as those of India and Ireland were sent thither. It was in that view that blacks were brought from Africa, and forced upon these colonies, until their resistance led to separation. From that moment a new state of things became inevitable. The moment the United States became free, they suppressed the African slave trade, and began to accumulate capital here, to extend the freedom of commerce and prosecute every branch of industry. Three great events followed—England was compelled also to abolish the African slave trade, and also, virtually, her navigation laws, which had stood 150 years, by the treaty of 1815. The French Revolution, by emancipating the blacks of Hayti, gave an impulse to the abolition of slavery, which England followed, upon the erroneous assumption, that free black colonies would be as profitable as slave colonies; and to ensure this result they sought, under the plea of philanthropy, to make slave labor more expensive.

The efforts which have been made by the English ministry to manufacture in Europe freedom for slaves as they manufactured a claim against Greece, and a King for the Mosquitoes, by means of new clothes and old rum, serve only as a severe sarcasm upon the whole system of European governments. All the nations of Europe, including England, contain absolute and miserable slaves, deluded with the name of freemen. Not the most advanced of these races has reached the degree of improvement, politically and physically, that marks the black race in the Southern United States. From the nature of their geographical position, it results that although most of the nations of Europe contain races whose life, liberty and property are at the mercy of masters, without appeal from their caprice, yet none of these are *black*. In the United States none but black hold a subordinate position; hence no kind of slavery in Europe is bad except black. In this view, the English Government, after it set rum Sambo astride of a cask of Jamaica, with the style and title of King of the Mosquitoes, used is influence to induce the little piratical nations of Europe which possessed

black slaves to free them, and get their pay out of the skins of the white slaves. The Danish Government followed the English example of turning slaves into apprentices without wages. In 1846 the Swedish Government paid $50,000 to free the few negroes in the Island of Saint Bartholomew, which amounted simply to turning adrift a few useless negroes. The most brilliant triumphs of this nature were, however, in Tunis, Egypt, and Bohemian Wallachia. In the last named country, there is a population of 1,747,815 souls, including Goths, Gepidæ, Huns, Lombards, Tartars, Turks and Gipseys. These are all slaves, most abject and miserable, hardly above the savage condition—the women being compelled to do the labor, living in under-ground caverns, and using dry dung as fuel to cook a scanty meal. These poor creatures are owned by a nobility and clergy, who are exempted from taxes and the payment of private debts. The most inconsiderable in numbers and lowest in the social scale are the Gipseys, of whom there are about 150,000, owned by individuals and the government, the latter holding about 60,000. They pay 30 piastres, or $2.10 per annum per head, for the privilege of being at large, upon binding themselves not to quit the country. In 1846 the government was induced to waive its ownership of these poor creatures, who are but strolling vagabonds; and this "triumph of philanthropy" was proclaimed throughout Europe as a long stride towards universal freedom, and an example to the United States, although the slavery of all those *not belonging* directly to the government remains as before. The next "grand triumph" of freedom was a successful negotiation in 1847 with the Pacha of Egypt for the release of his *black* slaves. The population of Egypt numbers 2,500,000, the larger proportion are Arab Egyptians, and all are the property of the Pacha. There is in Egypt no personal liberty whatever. The government claims and enforces its right to the labor of every man, willing, or not willing; and no labor is performed unless under the immediate direction of the government officers, from whom alone the individual can procure supplies. Amidst this community of slaves, there are Caucassian men and women, white slaves to the rich, and a few negro slaves brought from Numidia. The English philanthropy had such an effect upon the Pacha as to induce him, March, 1847, to free the last named, allowing the rest to remain as before! Soon after, similar influences began to work in the Barbary states, where the absolute dependence of all persons in life, liberty and property, upon the nod of the Bey, makes life valueless to a man. The trade of these poor creatures, who send three caravans a year into the interior, involves the bringing back occasionally a few negro slaves. As these were no particular benefit to the Bey, who owns the whole 2,500,000 people, he was induced by the English agent, for a small consideration, to follow the illustrious example of that ultra-democrat, the Pacha of Egypt, and alter the style of the servitude of those blacks, and Exeter Hall had another "triumph," and again the United States were bade to imitate the glorious example of the Mediterranean pirates.

The experience of the French government in its dealings with the black race, has been even more unfortunate than has been that of the English. The bloody disasters which overtook the once magnificent possession of St. Domingo, have for more than half a century remained a monument of black brutality. Taught somewhat by that lesson, the French government, in 1831, by a law of that year, provided for gradual emancipation

in its remaining colonies. Under the operation of that law the number of slaves diminished from 294,481 to 258,956 in 1836. The productions of the islands were not, however, materially checked, and the system seemed to work well. The revolution of Feb. 1848, repeated the error towards the blacks committed by that of 1791, and slavery was suddenly abolished. That the same bloody results have not followed, is because the home government promptly laid the islands under martial law, as the only means of preserving the whites from massacre. The presence of a sufficient force is all that stays for the moment a war of races. In relation to labor, the consequences are the same as in Jamaica, viz.: a prompt abandonment of work at any price. In 1836, 4,932 hands produced in Martinique, 6,056,990 lbs. of sugar, or one hhd. each; in 1849 the proceeds averaged one hhd. to 34 hands. The official returns of the French government for 1849, are not yet received; those, however, for 1847 and 1848, the last being the year of abolition, are as follows:

IMPORTS FROM AND EXPORTS TO THE WEST INDIA COLONIES FROM FRANCE.

	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
1847	73,347,168	39,954,084	113,301,252
1848	35,992,153	19,239,604	55,231,757
Decrease	francs 37,355,015	20,714,480	58,079,495

This shows more than one-half decline in the first year, and for 1849, it is greater. The sugar imported into France fell off one-half, and was made up by receipts of foreign slave sugar. The experience in relation to St. Domingo will be confirmed in the other islands.

Indian and Irish wealth had been, for ages, transferred directly to the British Islands, but the West Indies had neither wealth nor laborers. They had only most fertile soils, capable of growing tropical productions in great abundance. To make this available, it was necessary to furnish laborers from Africa. The negroes were, therefore, purchased in Africa and sent to the West Indies, as a raw product, to be wrought, as it were, into coffee and sugar, for the use of imperial Britain, in a manner similar to that by which raw cotton is purchased in the United States to be made into cloth in Lancashire. The effects of climate and hard usage were so fatal to the African frame, that it required an importation of 10,000 negroes annually to keep up the supply of labor in the British West Indies. These negroes were obtained on the African coast from their cannibal captors, in exchange for articles of British manufacture, including powder and muskets, used in the internal wars in which the captives were made. These wars were much promoted when the captors found that, instead of eating their victims, they could sell them to the British; an operation which might, therefore, increase the numbers, although, possibly, it might change the destiny of the captives. Thus a triangular trade was established. Slavers left London and Liverpool with goods for the coast, exchanged them for negroes, whom they carried to the Islands, and returned thence to England with rum, sugar, &c.

The English statistical returns show the course of this traffic in a remarkable manner.

BRITISH IMPORTS AND EXPORTS TO AND FROM AFRICA AND THE WEST INDIES.

	EXPORTS TO			IMPORTS FROM		
	Africa.	W. I.	E. Indies.	Africa.	W. I.	E. Indies.
1794	749,823	3,632,762	2,924,829	48,865	4,782,616	4,558,475
1800	1,098,832	4,087,112	2,860,397	96,563	7,369,287	4,942,275
1806	1,433,151	4,733,815	1,936,954	115,947	8,815,329	3,755,396
1820	309,586	4,352,514	3,272,812	95,920	8,011,335	7,562,648
1828	428,478	4,049,856	6,388,330	224,051	8,908,672	8,764,875
1833	—	2,597,587	2,864,724	—	—	—
1842	—	2,591,425	5,169,888	—	—	—

While this trade lasted the cost of negroes in Africa was apparently about $5,000,000 per annum. During the 14 years, ending with 1807, the excess of exports to Africa over the imports thence to England, amounted to £13,000,000. In the same period, the receipts from the West Indies exceeded the exports thither by £46,000,000. This sum, less the cost of the negroes, £13,000,000, leaves £33,000,000 as the profits of the slave trade and labor. In the same period, the excess of imports from India was £37,000,000. These two sums make £70,000,000, or $350,000,000 as the proceeds of the plunder in India and the slave traffic in the West Indies. The Indian country, however, becoming gradually exhausted of its surplus wealth, the avails of the intercourse have sunk to the profits on the supplies furnished to a poverty-stricken people. The example of the United States, which abolished the slave trade, and declared it piracy after 1808, compelled England to do likewise; and the carrying of slaves from Africa to the West Indies was not only prohibited, but, to prevent frauds, the transfer of slaves from one British Island to another, was found to be necessary. From that moment slave labor began to diminish in lucrativeness, the more so that, while the supply of labor was cut off, the government prolonged and continued its exactions from the produce of the remaining labor. While the West Indies were compelled to confine the sale of their produce to the British Islands, it was subjected to so burdensome a tax, as materially to circumscribe the demand for consumption. The supplies of the Islands could only be drawn in monopoly ships from the mother country, at monopoly prices. The overworked negroes broke out into frequent and bloody insurrections, causing great expense and loss of property. These general circumstances, added to the want of any accumulation of capital in the Islands, rendered impossible by the absence of owners, threw the trade altogether into the hands of those merchants in England who advanced on the produce, and sacrificed it to their own profit at every turn in the market. Under such circumstances there was an increasing poverty. Every year the mortgages on estates were increased, until the interest, payable on them annually in England, was estimated to reach to 40 per cent. of the revenues of the Islands. The emancipation of the negroes finally stopped the production of regular staples, and condemned the Islands to barbarism.

The radical error of the British Government was in interfering with a system of labor which had sustained a rigorous colonial policy, before relaxing that rigor. The owners resident in England, the merchants who received the produce and held mortgages on the estates, the shipping interest, the brokers and the government, altogether derived annually a sum which seems incredible, from the labor of negroes in the West Indies. To interfere with the supply of that labor without mitigating the exactions

of the government, seems preposterous, and yet that was done; that is to say, slave labor was prohibited, but *free* labor was not emancipated. Parliamentary returns furnish us with the following items, which were derived solely from West India slave labor in 1830:

Value of produce imported from West Indies into England		£6,758,084
Customs duties paid on W. I. produce to the Government	£7,732,688	
Colonial Government expenses	574,910	
Freight on produce	1,000,000	
Commission, brokerage and agency	400,000	
Interest due in England on the India mortgages	1,000,000	
Profits of planters living in Great Britain	1,100,000	
Total derived from West India slave labor		£11,807,593

This most incredible sum of $55,000,000 per annum was, by official reports, drawn from islands that in 1830 had 696,918 slaves, and 101,851 white inhabitants. In addition to this, were losses by slave insurrections, amounting to not less than $1,000,000 per annum. When we now reflect that the produce of these 798,769 persons was taxed in England nearly £8,000,000, while the excise upon productions of 20,000,000 inhabitants of the British Islands was but £12,000,000, we derive some idea of the horrible oppression which compelled the planters to continue to buy supplies of England at monopoly prices and then abolished slavery, still keeping up that enormous scale of taxes. So oppressive had been this system, that from 1800 to 1831 the consumption of sugar did not increase, although the population of the British Islands more than doubled. The following figures show the import of West India sugar into England at different periods, with the rate of duty, the average price exclusive of duty, according to the London Gazette, the value of the sugar at those prices, and the amount of duty which it paid:

IMPORTS OF WEST INDIA SUGAR INTO ENGLAND, RATE OF DUTY, PRICES OF SUGAR IN LONDON, VALUE OF THE SUGAR, AND THE AMOUNT OF DUTIES PAID ON IT.

	West India Sugars. Cwt.	Rate of Duty. Per Cwt. £	s.	d.		Average Price in London. £.	s.	d.	Value of Sugar. £.	Amount of Duties. £.
1807	3,490,130	1	7	0		2	14	0	5,923,290	4,311,493
1814	3,403,793	1	10	0		3	13	4	12,484,714	5,232,886
1824	3,718,372	1	7	0		1	11	0	6,149,294	5,070,897
1831	3,815,976	1	4	0		1	4	1	4,945,869	5,346,428
1841	4,057,628	1	4	0	and 5 per cent.	1	18	3	7,714,820	7,214,390
1847	3,186,293	0	16	0		2	0	0	6,312,000	1,803,919
1849	2,838,836	0	12	10		1	18	0	5,320,180	1,631,240

In 1846 a change was made in the sugar duties by which the slave produce of Brazil and Cuba was admitted to English consumption with that of West India, the duties on all being reduced. The result of the reduced duty has been to promote consumption to such an extent, that 6,420,863 cwts. were taken in 1849, against a total of 4,057,628 cwts. in 1841. The effect of this increased consumption was to raise the price from 24s. per cwt. in 1831, before emancipation, to 40s. in 1847. But this improved price, although it proves the erroneousness of those who ascribed colonial difficulties to the absence of protection, could not increase the West India production in the absence of sufficient labor. The value of West India sugar in 1814 was increased by the prohibition of grain for distillation,

causing a substitution of sugar, and this influence again prevailed in 1847. From 1814, however, to 1831, a depreciation of 60 per cent. in the value of West India sugar took place. This was caused mainly by the increased breadth of land under sugar culture, with an exclusive and unexpansive market. The consumption of sugar per head in Great Britain in 1800 was 30 lbs. per annum; in 1821, 19¼ lbs. per annum; in 1832, 19 lbs. per annum. It appears that, by taking off 50 per cent. of the duty in 1846, the consumption of sugar has increased 50 per cent. at a price of 20 per cent. higher. Thus, the figures show that the West Indies sent 1,000,000 cwt. to England in 1849 less than in 1831, but the diminution of the duty had been added to the price, and the planters actually got £400,000 more money for 2,800,000 cwt. in 1849, than for 3,800,000 cwt. in 1831. Had the product of 1847 sold at the price of 1831, it would have realized £3,406,601, or £2,000,000 less than the actual value. A fact conclusive of the beneficial operation of free trade. Had this modification taken place at the peace of 1815, when the navigation laws were first abrogated in favor of the United States, the value obtained by the planters for their sugar would have ruled probably 30 per cent. higher than it did; while the people of England would have been supplied cheaper. This would have made a difference of £40,000,000 sterling to the planters, obviated the necessity for mortgages, and kept up the circulating capital of the islands, so that the emancipation of the blacks would have been comparatively easy. The continued exactions to which the islands were subjected left them without the means of employing labor; the cash part of the indemnity received for the slaves being applied by those in debt to their obligations, and those who were not in debt emigrated with their money.

The black race has inhabited the African continent as long at least as the whites have occupied Europe, and the yellow and red races Asia. All these have more or less advanced from the rudest savage state, in manner and degree, according to their inherent intellectuality. The black race, however, has made no progress whatever. They were without invention, almost without language, and destitute of the faculties or wish to advance. These beings, or such of them as had by the fortune of internal wars become the victims of their cannibal captors, were rescued from that fate to become forced cultivators of sugar upon the soil of Jamaica, owned by residents of England. A few years of that compulsory labor was supposed by the English Government so to have changed their natures, that, made free, they would not resume the indolent and savage habits which had marked their race since the creation, but would become so perseveringly industrious for wages, as to enable their employers to compete with the slave owners of Cuba and Brazil, in supplying Europe with sugar, and to pay one-fourth of the customs revenue of Great Britain. The erroneousness of this view has, by experiment, now been proved to all the world. The irrevocable step of freeing the blacks has been taken, and the island is retrograding to a condition worse than when it was discovered: worse, because the race which then peopled it was superior to that which will speedily become its sole occupants. This inevitable tendency is fully shown by all the accounts which have been published of the island, and by none more clearly and conclusively than by the well-written, and agreeable book, quoted at the head of this article, although its author draws a different conclusion from what information he has gathered.

The many speculations which have been attempted in relation to the

"decline of Jamaica," and the number of which has been increased by the appearance of Mr. Bigelow's book, strike us as altogether misplaced. They all assume that Jamaica has been prosperous as other countries are prosperous, viz., by the development and enjoyment of its resources by its inhabitants. This, as we have hinted above, has never been the case with any of the West Indies, except to a certain degree in Cuba. When the Spaniards were dispossessed of Jamaica, the English Government came into possession of an island 4,000,000 acres in surface, invested in the crown. This land was patented out in estates, of greater or less extent, to English capitalists, who paid a quit-rent to the government, and 3d. per acre tax. These persons employed agents to overlook the slaves brought from Africa, and who worked the estates; the whole pro ceeds were sent to England, leaving, at the end of each year, still only the land, the negroes and their drivers, upon the island. The quantity of land that paid quit-rent in 1789 was 1,907,589 acres, of which 1,059,000 was under culture, and 3,000,000 acres were still vested in the crown. In 1839 the grants had increased to 3,403,359 acres, of which 2,588,056 acres paid quit-rent, and 815,303 acres were liable to sequestration for non-payment, and of the remaining 596,641 acres not granted, much is liable to rent for occupation by private persons. Now we observe that in 1788, there were 256,000 slaves on 1,059,000 cultivated acres. In 1817, these slaves had increased to 356,000 by importation; since when, occupation has gone on with a diminishing number of workers, and the amount of their surplus earnings for transmission to England has annually diminished, until their manumission, by removing from labor the motive power, left the idle blacks the sole occupants of the land they refuse to cultivate. In all this process there has never been any prosperity in its true sense. There has been simply a compulsory labor which produced results, and a cessation of labor without results. The profit on the labor gave a value to the land, which was an instrument. That instrument was of no value, and could not be sold when there was no labor to use it, and this is called a depreciation of property. The blacks no longer perform regular labor, but each occupies a small patch, which, under the tropical sun, supplies his wants without labor; or, at most, according to Mr. Bigelow, one day's labor in the week suffices for the highest cultivation. Almost any of the country villages of New-York and Pennsylvania present the same scenes. The descendants of the old slaves occupy huts on patches, which supply food, and they work for wages only in case of dire necessity, when theft and chance will not supply their daily wants.

The only real prosperity which the West India Islands ever enjoyed, was when, during the war of 1793 to 1815, they became entrepots for the trade with South America. On the return of peace, that trade becoming direct, the business of the Islands relapsed into its slave products. The question of Jamaica prosperity is, therefore, simply one of compulsory labor, or no labor at all. Mr. Bigelow does not coincide in this view. He ascribes the decline of the Island, first—to the "degradation of labor," saying: "I could not perceive that sixteen years of freedom had advanced the dignity of labor, or of the laboring classes, one particle. That fell legacy which slavery always leaves behind it, I found here neither wasted nor reduced." Second in importance he places "absenteeism and middlemen." Thirdly—"encumbered estates." Fourthly—the

"magnitude of the estates." It is obvious, from what we have already said, that these causes of decay, in Mr. Bigelow's estimation, are but details of the whole system of colonial occupation and labor, which violated, from its inception, every law of political economy, and could, therefore, exist only for a time, and that only by external aid. The capital came from one quarter of the world, the laborers were brought from another, and the scene of their combined action was in a different hemisphere from the market for the sale of their products, and where they were subjected to a tax of 100 per cent. for the support of the imperial government. The laborers were prohibited from drawing supplies elsewhere than from England, and could send only thither their products. As long as the cannibals of Africa freely supplied laborers, and Great Britain offered a monopoly market for sugar and coffee, the planters had only to contend against the monopoly prices; they were required to pay for supplies, for governors and officials, and the tax which the home government laid on their products. These enhanced the cost of production, and lessened the profits of capital. The moment the supplies of negroes were cut off, the cost of labor was increased. When the government thus compelled the planters to pay more for labor, it did not remit any portion of its tax upon the planters' sugar. When the government prohibited slave labor, free labor should have been disenthralled from restriction; but the government proceeded a step farther, and released the laborers from work, still requiring the planters to pay monopoly prices for supplies, and retaining the enormous duty imposed upon their sugar in England. Under this progressive violation of principle the planters became poorer, and were obliged to mortgage; and these mortgages Mr. Bigelow appeals to as proof that the Island was bankrupt at the date of the abolition of slavery, and that that event only hastened the inevitable ruin. In enumerating the causes which made the planters poor, Mr. Bigelow strangely overlooks one pregnant fact, viz., the losses sustained by slave insurrections, and the cost of their suppression. Since 1790 there have been ten slave insurrections in Jamaica, destroying large amounts of property, besides the cost of suppression, and the necessity they created for a continued and expensive standing army on the Island. The last insurrection, in 1832, was suppressed at an expense of £161,596; 200 slaves were killed, and 500 executed. Property to the value of £1,154,587 was destroyed; and Parliament loaned £500,000 to assist the ruined planters. Such occurrences, at intervals of four years, were among prolific causes of mortgaging. Why Mr. Bigelow does not allude to them, we do not know. It indeed places our own blacks in favorable contrast, and it becomes an important distinction between the system of British slavery and that of the United States—when no such events ever occur here. That losses by insurrection, and the disadvantages which attended production on the colonial system, should have entailed mortgages upon the land, is not surprising; but that affords no evidence that a relaxation of the colonial system would not so have improved the operations of the planters as to have enabled them to discharge their debts, if only the blacks had been held to the work of production.

Mr. Bigelow is, doubtless, right when he asserts that the money paid the planters in indemnification for their negroes, was absorbed only in the partial discharge of their debts. But it is obvious that those debts had

been forced upon them by the government, which had exacted from West India products more than half as much revenue as from all the products of the British Islands. The nature of the indemnification Mr. Bigelow does not, however, seem to understand. Thus he states, page 72:

"The Commissioners appraised the slave property of all the British West Indies at £43,104,889 8s. 6d., and the government, finally, allowed the owners £16,638,937, or less than 50 per cent., whereby the slaveholders sustained a loss of over £26,000,000 in addition to the loss, supposed to be twice as much more, sustained from the depreciation in the value of fixed property." * * *

"This bill (emancipation bill) also provided for a system of apprenticeship, that was to last *twelve years*, and then give place to unrestricted freedom." * *

"If, in the sixteen years, during which the negroes have enjoyed their freedom, they have made less progress in civilization," &c.

Such passages frequently occur, showing that the author misapprehends the emancipation act and its principles; a correct understanding of which is indispensable in forming an estimate of British philanthropy. We will recur to its history. May 15, 1823, Mr. Buxton introduced a bill into Parliament for the abolition of slavery. Mr. Canning amended it on its passage, so as to prepare for gradual emancipation. Lord Bathurst notified the colonial legislature of the fact. This induced lively remonstrances on the part of the colonists, but these did not deter the government from taking those preliminary steps in 1831, which resulted in the bill presented by Lord Stanley in 1833, and which was adopted June 18, and sanctioned by the crown August 28, 1833. The principles of the bill were briefly these: After the 1st August, 1834, slavery ceased, all blacks above the age of six years became apprentices, under three heads—1st. Rural Apprentices, attached to the soil. 2d. Rural Apprentices, unattached. 3d. Non-Rural Apprentices. The two first classes were to work six years for their masters without pay, and the third class four years. The labor was limited to 45 hours per week. The blacks could *buy their time* of apprenticeship from their masters, if they had the means. The power of punishment was transferred to the magistrates.

The compensation for the blacks was to be at the rate of their average value in each island, between the years 1822 to 1830. Thus the whole number of slaves was 780,993, and their value £45,281,738. This sum was paid *in full in cash* and *work*. Thus $\frac{3}{7}$ths in money, amounting to £20,000,000, and the remaining $\frac{4}{7}$ths in the right *to the work* of the prædials six years without pay, and non-prædials four years. The number of claims was, for prædials attached, 5,562; do. unattached, 1,708; non-prædials, 9,075. The average valuation was £44 15s.; the average money paid for each slave, £19 15s. 4$\frac{3}{4}$d. The work of a slave generation in the West Indies was valued at 7$\frac{1}{4}$th years, and the years of apprenticeship assigned were considered $\frac{4}{7}$ths of the pay. At 25 cents per day, which Mr. Bigelow states is the current cash wages in the island, six years' work would amount to $432 each hand, from which deducting the cost of support at $50 per annum, leaves $132, or £25—which added to the £19 15s. cash, made the whole value of the slave, viz., £44 15s. Although the British Government, with its usual self-sufficient insolence, laid claim to the full merit of paying for the slaves, these had to contribute a large share of the remuneration for themselves. This arrangement, however, dissatisfied everybody. The slaves, who had hoped for immediate emancipation, were very impatient under this regulation, while the government agents

so harassed the planters, that they were glad to sell out the time of the slaves. In Jamaica, from August, 1834 to August, 1839, $300,000 were paid by apprentices to masters for unexpired time; and, finally, when the four years of non-prædial service had expired, the planters abandoned the remaining two years of the prædials, and August, 1838, was a day of jubilee. The valuators then reported the number of prædials at 218,669; non-prædials, 37,144—total apprentices, 255,813. Free children, under six years, 38,899; aged, 15,656—total, 310,368, against 309,167 apprentices and 38,754 free children, returned in 1834; showing an increase of 145 children, and a decrease of 53,354 apprentices. The first use of freedom was a prompt refusal to work at all; some demanded $1, $2, and $3 per day. From these details, it is apparent that slavery, in so far as it consisted of forced labor, without wages, did not cease until 1838, and, therefore, the adult slaves have been free but 12 years; but all those who have now reached the age of 22 years have never been slaves at all. They have not only enjoyed freedom, but have had the advantages of an excellent system of education.

A liberal system of moral and religious education has existed in the island, and for a long time prior to emancipation. Under this system the church expenditures averaged since 1832, $200,000 per annum, and for schools $50,000 per annum. In 1838 the number of free children of apprentices in Jamaica was 38,754, and the average attendance of free children and adult apprentices at 183 day, 139 sunday, and 96 evening schools, had been 30,541; and according to the report of J. C. Latrobe, Esq., special commissioner of the home government in that year, to inquire into the subject, their progress in writing and arithmetic, was "truly extraordinary." The number of teachers was 381, of whom 102 were advanced black scholars, educated at these schools under the slave system. From this amount of religious and moral instruction, continued for so long a time and with apparent success, no other results are manifest than have attended the same efforts with the same race in Massachusetts and elsewhere. Upon this point we shall quote from the work before us:

"It was sixteen years in August, since slavery was abolished on this island; and the apprenticeship system, which took its place, was abolished four years later. Since that period, the laws have recognized no complexional distinctions among the inhabitants. The black people have enjoyed the same political privileges as the whites, and with them have shared the honors and the patronage of the mother and local governments.

"The effect of this policy upon the people of color may be partially anticipated; but one accustomed to the proscribed condition of the free blacks in the United States, will constantly be startled at the diminished importance attached here to the matter of complexion. Intermarriages are constantly occurring between the white and the colored people, their families associate together within the ranks to which by wealth and culture they respectively belong, *and public opinion does not recognize any social distinctions based exclusively upon color.* Of course, cultivated or fashionable people will not receive colored persons of inferior culture and worldly resources, but the rule of discrimination is scarcely more rigorous against those than against whites. They are received at the "King's House"—it is thus the Governor's residence is styled—and they are invited to his table with fastidious courtesy. The wife of the present Mayor of Kingston is a "brown" woman—that is the name given to all the intermediate shades between a decided white and a decided black complexion—so also is the

wife of the Receiver General himself, an English gentleman, and one of the most exalted public functionaries upon the island."

This certainly is very satisfactory, but we shall presently see that this leveling has been *down*, not *up*.

"While the *entente cordiale* between the whites and the colored people is apparently strengthening, daily, a very different state of feeling exists between the negroes or Africans, and the browns. The latter shun all connection by marriage with the former, and can experience no more unpardonable insult, than to be classified with them in any way. They generally prefer that their daughters should live with a white person upon any terms, than be married to a negro. Few will need to be told, that where such is the condition of public sentiment in a class, the standard of female virtue among them cannot be very high. It is, perhaps, a trifle higher than among the slaves.

"It is their ambition that their offspring should be light complexioned, and there are few sacrifices they will not make to accomplish that result, whether married or not. Color with them, in a measure, marks rank, and they have the same fear of being confounded with what they deem an inferior caste, that is so often exhibited by vulgar people, who have no ascertained or fixed social position."

The whites being an insignificant and diminishing portion of the people, and destined shortly to abandon the island, there remain the browns and blacks; and notwithstanding public opinion does not, according to Mr. Bigelow "recognize any social distinctions based exclusively on color," yet the "browns," who are one-fourth the population, prefer that their daughters should be concubines to whites rather than wives of blacks, through fear of being confounded "with an inferior caste," "color" being the "mark of rank," and their morality in this respect is a "trifle higher" than among blacks. These statements of the moral condition of the blacks are corroborated by the criminal returns of the island, which show an awful increase of crime; felonies having quadrupled in the first four years of apprenticeship. Mr. Bigelow's book, although well written, is replete with these dyspeptic symptoms, which we shall have further occasion to notice, in relation to its general subject.

The condition of the black race in Jamaica is certainly a most interesting subject of investigation. It offers practical evidence in relation to the capabilities of the race in a state of freedom. One-half the black population has been free twelve years, and the other have never been slaves. All have had the benefit of white contiguity and teaching, and as Mr. Bigelow assures us, have for many years, certainly during the period of their freedom, been petted by the government. The policy of which, as explained by him, has been to court the support of the black race against the payers of taxes, who are indisposed to continue the high salaries exacted from them for officers sent from the imperial islands to rule them. The offices, both civil and military, have all been given to the blacks, and the social influences of the white official families have been exerted to conciliate them. The ultimate object of the government is stated to be to cause the island to be abandoned by the whites, and to retain it as a black colony. From the necessarily desultory statements in Mr. Bigelow's book, it is very difficult to get at the facts of the case, but we will enumerate consecutively what appears to be their position. In the first place, black, white, and brown are supposed to be equal in the eye of law; but the

government, in the exercise of its policy, discriminates in favor of the former, who are by far the most numerous; the soil is of unsurpassed fertility, and we are assured by Mr. Bigelow that it can be had in any quantity at five dollars per acre, and in "lots to suit purchasers" at fifty cents to one dollar per acre. The possession of three to five acres entitles the owner to vote, and by one day's labor in the week it can be kept in the highest state of cultivation. Under such circumstances it will suffice for "all the physical wants" of the negro. For the other five days in the week he can earn twenty-five cents per day the year round, by working on the sugar estates of the planters. Having five acres of land which support him and qualify him to vote, with a quick market for produce, as also for his labor at twenty-five cents per day for the remaining five days, it is clear that for every twelve days' work the negro could buy an additional three acres of land, or twelve acres per annum, of even the best land, and which is second to none in the world, for capacity to produce, "table provisions," which are enormously high. In Kingston, according to Mr. Bigelow—"Flour is $18 per barrel;" "butter, 38s.;" "eggs, 3 to 5 cts." Now here is cheap land, a high market for its produce, perfect freedom in every respect, with a liberal supply of the best schools and churches; and yet poverty, ignorance, immorality and indolence are universal, and constantly increasing as the habits of industry inculcated in the older inhabitants in a state of slavery are worn off by lapse of time. A completely savage state is being rapidly approximated.

The practical difficulty which presents itself is, that the negroes will not work. The planters pay, Mr. Bigelow tells us, twenty-four cents each, per day, for labor, the negro finding himself. This is as high a rate, it would seem, as the planter can pay and sell his sugar in England in competition with slave sugar. At this rate, however, the blacks will not work, and Mr. Bigelow gives the following as the reason why they will not:

"To my utter surprise I learned, that the price for men on the sugar and coffee plantations ranged from eighteen to twenty-four cents a day, and proportionably less for boys and females. Out of these wages, the laborers have *to board themselves.* Now when it is considered that in the largest market on the island flour costs from sixteen to eighteen dollars by the barrel, butter thirty-eight cents a pound, eggs from three to five cents a piece, and hams twenty-five cents a pound; does not the cry of high wages appear absurd?*** The fact is, the negro cannot live on such wages, unless he owns in fee, a lot of three or five acres, or ekes them out by stealing."

We are here told, that unless a negro owns a three to five acre lot he cannot live in Jamaica on twenty-four cents per day, because "table provisions" are so high; not so, however, with clothing: we are told, page 172, "woolens of all kinds, and linens, can be procured cheaper than in the United States." Now, the inference from the above statements is, that very few blacks own land, and therefore their services cannot be had in sufficient supply at twenty-four cents per day. On page 115 and 116 we are told as follows:

"I was surprised to find how general was the desire among the negroes to become possessed of a little land, and upon what sound principles that desire was based. In the first place a freehold of four or five acres give them a vote, to which they attach great value, and in the next place it enables them with two or three months of labor upon wages, during the cropping of the sugar, and one day in each week devoted to their little farms, to live in comparative ease and

independence. From five acres of land in Jamaica, a negro will supply almost all his physical wants. I have seen growing on a patch of less than two acres, owned by a negro, the bread fruit, bananas, yams, oranges, shaddocks, cucumbers, beans, pine-apples, plantain and chiramoya, besides many kinds of shrubbery and fruits of secondary value.

"I was greatly surprised to find that the number of these colored proprietors is already considerably over one hundred thousand, and constantly increasing.

"When one reflects that only sixteen years ago there was scarcely a colored land-holder upon the island, and that now there are a hundred thousand, it is unnecessary to say that this class of the population appreciate the privileges of free labor and a homestead far more correctly than might be expected, more especially when it is borne in mind that seven-tenths of them were begotten in slavery, and spent many years of their lives as bondsmen.

"Their properties average, I should think, about three acres. They have a direct interest in cultivating them economically and intelligently. The practice of planning their own labor, encouraged by the privilege of reaping its rewards themselves, exerts upon them the most important educational influence, the results of which will soon be much more apparent than they are now."

Now, then, we have 100,000 black proprietors, entitled to vote, and outnumbering by 20,000 the official return of black males over ten years of age, as given by Mr. Bigelow on page 40, which shows 181,633 males upon the island; of these, 114,222 are over ten years of age. Of these, about 80,000 only are blacks. These persons, however, do not work, notwithstanding that they own land. They will not work for others, and will not raise sugar themselves, for the following reasons:

"Even negroes are not generally so stupid as to attempt, on five or ten acres of land, without capital, to enter into competition with three-fifths of the capital of the island, by cultivating sugar, where butter is worth thirty-seven and a half cents a pound, eggs three cents a piece, potatoes six and a quarter, and onions twelve and a half cents a pound, and other provisions ranging at the same extravagant prices. They can turn their lands to better account."

Now, then, it seems blacks will not work for wages on sugar estates' because they own no land, and have to *give* such high prices for provisions. They then suddenly become all landholders, but will not raise sugar themselves, because they *get* such high prices for provisions. Now, if there are 100,000 land proprietors, of three acres each, then 300,000 acres of the finest land in the world are cultivated by 100,000 persons, and only required to feed 277,433 persons, besides the cultivators, and yet our author laments:

"Table provisions too, as I have also stated, are generally higher than in New-York, and yet the choicest varieties could be procured here for less than half their cost in the New-York market."

Again, one of these small freeholds carries a vote:

"The blacks are ambitious to possess and exercise the privilege; it causes them to be courted and respected. They are daily becoming better acquainted with the advantages which the elective franchise confers, and the prospect of attaining it, is with them one of the strongest incentives to effort and economy. The recent election of several of their order to the Assembly, has greatly inflamed this ambition."

On page 57 we are told any quantity of land may be had for $1 per acre. Four days' work, at the planters' price, will buy an acre, and four

acres allows them to vote, a privilege they greatly covet, and yet, on page 40, we are told, "the average vote of this entire island had never exceeded 3,000, or three-quarters of one per cent."

As there are 9,289 white males, and 31,646 browns, it would seem that notwithstanding this ambition of the blacks, the cheapness of land, the high prices for its produce, and the demand for labor, at a price of one-fourth of an acre of land for a day's labor, no negro has achieved a vote. But Mr. Bigelow regards the price of labor as very low; although he admits that in the neighborhood of Kingston, where provisions are dearer than in New-York, four days' labor will buy an acre of land, and four acres will support a family and confer a vote. A quarter of an acre in the neighborhood of New-York, where its produce is cheaper than in Jamaica, is worth $25, equal to twenty-five days' labor. Again: our author does not take into consideration the *quality* of the labor. This he describes as follows:

"In the sugar mills, from twenty to thirty men and women will be employed to do what five American operatives would do much better in the same time, with the aid of such labor-saving agencies as would suggest themselves at once to an intelligent mind. Everything is done in a way rather to increase than diminish the number of hands required."

It appears that between American and Jamaica labor the proportion is five to one. In Lowell, Mass., the average wages for skilled labor are $2 per week, and $1 25 for board: say $3 25 against $1 50 in Jamaica. But the Lowell operative gives five times as much work, consequently his employer gets for $3 25 what the planter can only get for $7 50. But Mr. Bigelow reckons seven-tenths of these extraordinary land proprietors as begotten in slavery; yet we gather from the official returns found on his pages, that one-half of the existing black population have not only never been slaves, but have been educated, and even petted by the whites. From the contradictory and tortuous statements given, the proof is adduced, that a more worthless and incapable race than the blacks of Jamaica cannot easily be imagined.

Our author proceeds:

"These causes, in my judgment, would have conducted Jamaica to inevitable ruin, had the tariff laws never been altered nor the slaves been set at liberty.

"But the question arises, is this state of things to be perpetual, or where or how is it to terminate? I answer, that it must continue until the land gets into the hands of people who are not ashamed to till it."

By persons "not ashamed to till it," is meant the blacks who, as we have already seen, possess as much as they will cultivate. But Mr. Bigelow states that the plantations now average mostly 3,000 acres each; (in this he differs from English official returns, which say there are none over 1,200 acres,) and the product of each of these large plantations is required to support the expense of costly works, necessary to manufacture the sugar. It is supposed that it is indispensable that each plantation should have its own mill, because, unless the cane is ground as soon as cut, it is spoiled. As a remedy for this, Mr. Bigelow proposes what is very feasible, viz., to divide the land up into small farms, for the growth of cane, and have the grinding, as in grain countries, a distinct business, performed by a single capitalist at a central mill. This plan is the more

practicable, that a recent French discovery for the extraction of saccharine matter from cane-juice by chemical process, and by which the most expensive machinery is dispensed with, has been tried successfully in Louisiana on a small scale. To this must be added the improved crushing mills, and the drying machine of Mr. Drumm of Barbadoes. Under such a system, growers of cane might sell their produce to the sugar maker, and the whole soil be cultivated by small farmers to better advantage. There is only one obstacle, and that strikes us as insurmountable. The showing of our author, added to all other evidence, proves conclusively that the negroes will not work on any consideration, neither for wages nor profit; neither as laborers on the estates of others, nor as independent cane growers on their own soil, will they do violence to their nature, by raising a hand above what the exigencies of the day require. This is the material point which has been proved, and all the collateral argument about land tenures, absenteeism, middlemen, &c., has, in our judgment, no application whatever. The reforms, hinted at, in these respects, would be indispensable in the progress of the white race, but their most perfect consummation will not make negroes work. In this view it is, that Mr. Carlyle, in his recent article upon the West Indies, applies the true principle of land reform to their condition. His argument is briefly this: The soil of the West Indies will alone produce certain articles necessary to the wants of the civilized world. As all men have a right to land, and its products, so has no man a right to take possession of land, refusing to work it himself, and preventing, by that possession, others from working it.

Now the drift of Mr. Bigelow's book is, that, with the reforms about land tenures, &c., negroes will become industrious, and that in their hands the Island will become prosperous, and, ultimately, come into the United States as a free black state, furnishing an example to the South. In this respect we regard it as a complete failure. He shows the ignorance, in spite of schools; the immorality, in spite of church; the indolence, in spite of land-ownership and high wages; the poverty, in spite of commerce; the want of ingenuity, in spite of the most ample materials for manufactures, which characterize the black race. He shows its complete inferiority to the white race, and its utter incapacity to maintain by itself the state of civilization, to which it has been advanced by white aid. The example of England has, in this respect, afforded a valuable lesson to the United States. This great and glorious nation has been built upon a soil, previously occupied for countless ages, by a race who never improved it. They have been removed, and their possessions given to another race. Three millions of the black race are now in a high state of civilization under the direction of the whites, and both blacks and whites progress, physically and mentally. Should the example of England ever be followed in its treatment of the same race, and three millions of blacks be emancipated, a rapid retrogression would result, until the blacks, having receded to the savage state of the aborigines, would be displaced and exterminated, as they have been. The policy of the English Government has long been to sow dissension upon this continent, in the same manner that Russia promoted discord in Europe; while the latter remains united against the Cossack power, the glittering domes of St. Sophia will remain beyond the grasp of the Czar; while the United States remain in harmony, the chances that England's aristocracy will remain at the head of the Anglo-Saxon race, yearly diminish. An adroit use of the slave question is the only hope of discord.

SECRET HISTORIES AND MYSTERIOUS MEN.*

Frederick Bulau is professor at the University of Leipzig, and associate editor of the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. He is also favorably known in Germany, by a history of Saxony, published in 1849.

In his researches, the professor has examined some passages in history, to which mystery has lent a peculiar interest—particularly in regard to individuals whose inexplicable lives and uncertain fate made them wonders in their own times, and romance heroes in ours. In many cases he has had placed in his hands authentic MSS., by the families of the actors in the scenes related, and he invites in his preface, any and all persons similarly rich in unedited treasures, to trust them with him, offering this volume as a proof that such a confidence will not be abused.

But no matter where Bülau got his facts, his book will be found entertaining, by that large class of readers who like the middle ground of literature; conscience-pricked if they waste too much time over mere fictions, and unwilling to make the exertion demanded of them by a stately history; lovers of memoirs, biographies, and sketches, who prefer Horace Walpole to Dr. Lingard, and Arsené Houssaye, or Philarete Chasles to Sismondi, Thierry, or even Thiers.

If the dark ages, as historians tell us, ended with the seventeenth century, the eighteenth was a twilight age, presenting a curious mixture of skepticism and mysticism—in metaphysical and religious matters, unbounded skepticism. An honest indignation against the errors and impositions of the past, hurried the philosophers too far in the opposite direction. In their eagerness for truth, they resembled Diomedes at the siege of Troy, who thinking he was pursuing a mere enemy, wounded a divinity. In society, it was out of fashion to believe in religion, a future, or even a God; but it was impossible to deny poverty, disease, and death. If these could only be got over, what a charming world to live in! And they set themselves to work to find the great specific. It was necessary to believe in something—the habit of credulity and faith was not to be shaken off in a single age, then why not believe in specifics? At that time there was not enough known in chemistry or medicine to destroy the hope of attaining the philosopher's stone and the elixir vitæ; and more than human wisdom was still supposed to dwell in the East—the mother of all knowledge. Murray's Handbooks,' Titmarsh and Eothen were not there to tell them how dirty and how ignorant were both Turks and Egyptians, and that wise men no longer came from the Levant; so that, after all, there was nothing so very absurd in providing oneself with a crucible and retort, in the hope of making one's fortune. Restless, ambitious, active-minded men, who fifty years later would have occupied themselves in haranguing the people in the *carrefours* of Paris, or in making war on the enemies of liberty, devoted all their energies to supernatural science and free masonry. It was a time of humbug and credulity—the halcyon days of adventurers and sharpers. The doctrine ob-

* Secret Histories and Mysterious Men: By Fr. Bülau.—Vol. I.—Leipzig.

tained, that it was necessary to be a Jew to succeed in the Kabbala; and that the ancient Hebrew writers were authorities in the art of gold making. The Countess Closel, mistress of Augustus II., received Bodenschatz, whom she employed to translate Jewish MSS., in the full costume of a High Priest of the Old Testament. Cagliostro pretended to be of Jewish descent. Duchanteau had himself circumcised in Amsterdam, before undertaking a curious method of producing the philosopher's stone in his own body, by starvation and other practices too unseemly to relate. He died on the sixteenth day. The ways of making the philosopher's stone were numerous, and some of them fearful. Clavières, the Genevese, a friend of Dumont, a Girondist and minister of state, who killed himself in the Conciergerie, in 1793, to avoid the guillotine, was the author of a treatise prescribing the following recipe:—"Take a virgin man and a virgin woman; marry them under the proper constellation; their first child must be a boy. Take the boy as soon as born and place him in a glass retort, air-tight, and stew him over the fire—by-and-bye the child will change into a substance which is not only the universal medicine, but also the philosopher's stone, and will increase in strength for a thousand years." Bûlau says that a German princess actually contemplated the experiment, but found it too difficult to procure the materials. Besides this, the adepts had the power of evoking spirits; not meagre manifestations by knocks under a table, but genuine apparitions, moving and speaking. Mme. de la Croix cast out devils, and Marshal Richelieu, with the Count Schomberg, saw them after they were cast out. George Schrepfer, in a small, dark theatre, called up spirits of the departed, who appeared to Benningsen and the Duke of Courland, and gave information concerning hidden treasures. Bûlau narrates, as some explanation of the means used by the ghost-seers, the story of a professor in the University at Halle, who about 1750, performed these miracles. Frederick the Second having repeatedly heard from trustworthy officers, that they had witnessed his apparitions, sent for the professor, and requested him to display his power before him. The professor answered, "I am by no means certain that my secrets may not exercise a deleterious influence on the brain, for which reason I always take certain precautions myself. God forbid, then, that I should risk your Majesty's health by practising upon you. I will do better; I will explain the whole thing. My secret consists in an incense which is diffused through a dark chamber, into which the spirit-seeking spectator is introduced. This vapor has a twofold operation. It throws the patient into a half sleep, which allows him to perceive what passes around him, but not to reflect upon it; and it heats his brain in such a way that his imagination paints all that he hears, as if it really existed and occurred. He is in the state of the sleeper who weaves into his dreams the slight sensations he experiences. After a conversation with the inquirer, during which I learn as well as possible the habits, peculiarities, figure, and dress of the person he wishes to appear, I send him into the darkened room. When I think that the incense has begun its work, I follow him, protecting myself against the vapor by a sponge soaked in a certain liquor which I have here with me. Then I say to him: 'You see such a person, dressed so and so;' whereupon his heated imagination sees the form. Then, in a loud, harsh voice, I ask, 'What would'st thou with me?' The spectator is convinced that the spirit addresses him. He answers—I reply—and the conversation is continued until he swoons. This last effect of the vapor throws a veil

of indistinctness over all that he has seen and heard, effaces the little discrepancies he might otherwise have recollected, and leaves him, after recovering his senses, awe-struck and convinced." The king made the experiment, and finding that the professor had not exaggerated the efficacy of his incense, he deposited the recipe and the instructions for the use of it in his collection of MSS. Nevertheless, Bischofswerder & Co. mystified Frederick William II., at Sans Souci, by a succession of brilliant apparitions.

We have no mysterious men now. We wonder, to be sure, how some people live; but they are looked upon merely as financial problems. In the eighteenth century it was different. Men not only lived, no one knew how, but like the Count de St. Germain, no one knew how long. Instead of Orphan Asylums and Abolition Societies, they devoted their time to the lodges of the Rosy Cross and the Illuminati. In those days "our foreign correspondence" existed not; common schools were unknown, and traveling not yet made easy. Every square mile of Germany had a prince and a court. Russia was sometimes spoken of as a flourishing young barbarian, and the terrible Turks make their yearly excursion over the Danube. Adventurers swarmed. Young men, who in 1850, would take to California, if poor, or to the foreign tour, if wealthy, left home to offer their swords to Charles XII., or to Peter, or to Austria, for a campaign against the followers of Mahomet. What stories they could tell, and did tell, when they returned! It would be fearful to think of the untruths our ancestors swallowed, did we not recollect the excitement they enjoyed in believing the marvellous. Among those whose names have come down to us wrapped in a pleasing cloud of mystery, not the least remarkable is the androgynous Chevalier D'Eon, who, like Tiresias, enjoyed the privilege of wearing both trowsers and petticoat. Born in 1728, at Tonnerre, in Burgundy, he was christened Charlotte Genevieve Louise Auguste Andreas Timotheus D'Eon de Beaumont; his baptismal names presenting a mixture of male and female, not, however, very unusual in France. He studied in Paris, attracted the attention of government by some political tracts, and was appointed secretary to the Chevalier Douglas, sent in 1757 to St. Petersburgh. In Russia D'Eon managed to ingratiate himself with Count Woronzow, and through him established a confidential correspondence between Louis XV. and the Empress Elizabeth; out of which grew the quadruple alliance of 1757. D'Eon brought the news of the treaty to Versailles, and received as a reward, a commission of lieutenant of dragoons. He returned to St. Petersburgh, under the orders of the new minister, Marquis d'Hôpital, and remained until 1758. Leaving Russia, he joined the army as captain of dragoons, and served under Marshal Broglie until the peace. On several occasions he distinguished himself, and once, at Ultrop, he was severely wounded in the head and thigh. In 1743, Louis XV. established a secret diplomatic system, distinct from the foreign office, and unknown to the minister of foreign affairs; often, in fact, acting in direct opposition to him. The Prince de Conti was the first chief of the secret bureau, and dispatched underhand agents wherever they were needed. These communicated directly with the king, receiving their orders and their pay from his own hands. The prince gave up his place after occupying it for twelve years; the papers were then confided to a man named Tercier and to the Duke de Broglie. D'Aiguillon, who succeeded to Choiseul as minister, was amazed when he

first came on the track of the secret agents. He had Dumourier, (the republican general,) Favrier, and Segur, all of them employeés of the king, arrested in Hamburg, without suspecting that the king directed the whole business; nor did he discover the fact until the Dubarry gave him a letter relating to it she had found in the royal cabinet. This underhand diplomacy lasted until the death of Louis, in 1774. It seems to have been a plaything for his majesty, who took a childish pleasure in knowing more than his ministers about matters of no importance. D'Eon belonged to the corps; when he went to London as secretary of the Duke de Nivernais, he continued his reports to the king, and after the departure of the duke, remained as chargé with the Cross of St. Louis. Horace Walpole praises his talents and literary acquirements. When the new ambassador, the Count de Guerchy, arrived, matters changed. Guerchy was unwilling to allow D'Eon the influence he had enjoyed with his predecessor, and took occasion, in public, to remind him that he was only a secretary. D'Eon, on the contrary, insisted upon retaining his standing as chargé. The chevalier had, moreover, spent a good deal of money when chargé, which he was called upon to account for. All this seems to have affected his brain. About this same time a French adventurer, De Vergy, came to London: D'Eon imagined that he had been sent to assassinate him. At a dinner given by Lord Halifax, he misunderstood some expression of his lordship, became enraged, and attacked him so furiously, that the guests sent for a Bow-street officer, and gave him into custody. De Vergy, too, caused him to be prosecuted for a threatened breach of the peace. His government recalled him; D'Eon refused to go; was dismissed from the service, and the English court was notified of his removal; consequently he was refused the entreé at St. James's. He now became desperate, and to revenge himself, published his "Letters, Memoirs, and Private Negotiations," a volume which contained the letters of the Duke de Nivernais to himself; letters from his friend St. Foix, a clerk in the office of foreign affairs, in which the minister, Duke de Praslin, was ridiculed; and confidential letters from Nivernais and Praslin, praising D'Eon, and speaking of Guerchy as a good fellow, but not the cleverest man in the world. The book made as much noise in London as Jesse Hoyt's correspondence in New-York, some years since. The French embassy demanded satisfaction. An action for libel was commenced. Attempts were made to carry the chevalier off to France, but against these he was warned, it is said, by Louis XV. himself. At last, D'Eon, frantic with poverty and disgrace, threatened to publish his secret correspondence with the king. This menace brought him a pension of twelve thousand francs a year, payable half-yearly, wherever the chevalier might be. The document still exists, written by the royal hand, dated at Versailles, April 1, 1766, and signed "Louis."

In the beginning of the year 1760, the report became current that D'Eon was a woman. In a few years it was generally believed. Perhaps his baptismal names may have excited suspicions which his many enemies circulated with malicious pleasure, and with the more effect, as there was nothing in his appearance to contradict them. At all events, it was universally talked of before he received the order from France to assume the feminine garb. Why the French government directed D'Eon to wear the dress, and why D'Eon consented to do so, is not known. Even if we suppose that Louis XV. imagined this the best means to dis-

arm D'Eon's indiscretions, and that the chevalier himself considered the petticoat a protection against the attacks of his enemies, we cannot help imagining that there must have been some special cause to make it necessary to represent him to the world as a woman, to stifle suspicions which could only be laid at rest by this supposition. That D'Eon was really a woman was not universally believed, although, in his last years, few doubted it. It is remarkable, that in the many wagers laid upon his sex, the French betted mostly for the female and the English for the male. Several suits at law grew out of these bets. In the year 1777 the case of Hayes, the surgeon, against the baker Jacques, came to trial. Jacques had received fifteen guineas, to pay back one hundred if D'Eon should prove to be a woman. The jury found the evidence conclusive, that the chevalier was a woman. The other suits were abandoned upon the decision of the court that such wagers were illegal by statute.* It was said at the time, that this decision saved England seventy-five thousand pounds, which would otherwise have gone to the continent. D'Eon declared that he had nothing to do with the matter, and left England for France, whither Vergennes had invited him. He appeared at court in male costume, and was well received. Louis XVI., however, commanded him to resume the female dress. So proper a king as Louis XVI. would hardly have given such an order had he not really supposed D'Eon to be a woman. The chevalier yielded, though unwillingly, and appeared as the Chevalière D'Eon, decorated with the cross of St. Louis. After living some time at Dijon, he returned to England in 1783, and remained there until his death. In 1791 he petitioned the Assemblée Nationale to restore him to his rank in the army, declaring that his heart rebelled against his petticoats. The republic declined employing him, in spite of the precedent of Joan of Arc. His pension was no longer paid. To avoid starvation, he gave fencing lessons, in his woman's dress; at last, broken by disease, old age and want, he expired in 1810. A post mortem examination proved, that whatever the chevalier may have been during his life, he died a man. The memoirs which exist under his name are spurious.

No man worked the mine of credulity of the eighteenth century so long and so profitably as Joseph Balsamo, better known as Count Cagliostro. The French police and the Roman Inquisition have given us the history of the greater part of his life, without explaining many of the riddles of his career. He himself pretended that his earliest recollections were of the East. In Medina, the wise Althatas brought him up in princely splendor. Countless slaves attended him. The Grand Mufti visited him. In his twelfth year he went to Mecca and lived three years with the Sheriff, his relation. Thence he started upon his travels. In Egypt he studied the lore of the priests, and received with delight the knowledge of an earlier world, which they preserved in the pyramids. In 1766 he went to Malta. The Grand Master received him with distinguished honors. Here he learned that a Princess of Trebisond was his mother, and lost his father in wisdom, Althatas the Wise. Thence he sailed for Naples, accompanied by the Chevalier d'Aquino, who was appointed to attend upon him by the Grand Master, and appeared upon the European stage.

Through a maternal grandfather, named Martello, he deduced his de-

* Roebuck *vs.* Hamilton, Da Costa *vs.* Jones, Cowp. 737, 14, 9, 3, 48.

scent from Charles Martel. An aunt, Madame Cagliostro, furnished him with the name he made famous. The title Count he was obliged to pirate. The truth is, according to Bülaw, that Joseph Balsamo was born in Palermo, June 8, 1743, received the rudiments at the Seminary of St. Roque, and was sent, in his thirteenth year, to the Convent of the Brothers of Mercy, at Cartagirone. The brother apothecary took a fancy to the boy, and probably taught him some of those medicinal secrets he used so successfully afterwards. He appears, indeed, to have had a talent for chemistry and botany. His bad conduct gave the good brothers much trouble. In reading the Martyrology, he substituted names of brigands and loose women for the Holy Saints, and committed other profanities of the like. He ran away, or was turned away, and commenced life for himself in Palermo. His chief studies were fencing and dancing, in both of which he made great progress: using his skill with the sword against the police, and his handiness with the pencil in counterfeiting. Magical apparitions, indications of hidden treasures, forgeries of theatre tickets and papal dispensations, and occasional procuring, furnished him with the means of subsistence; until one day a treasure-seeker, whom he had deluded, and some charitable endowment against whose interests he had forged a will, made Palermo uncomfortable for him. He fled to Messina, and allied himself to one Altotas, (Althatas the Wise of his romance,) a noted juggler, who had wandered in the East. Balsamo, with the juggler, betook himself to the Archipelago, travelled in Syria and in Egypt, learned all the wise man's tricks, and picked up, besides, a smattering of the Oriental languages—very useful to him in his subsequent deceptions. In Malta he was favored by the Grand Master Pinto, who found him of use in his metallurgic studies, and gave him excellent letters to Rome and Naples. In Rome, Baron Bretteville, the Maltese ambassador, carried him to the best houses, and presented him to the Pope. In 1770, he married a servant girl named Lorenza Feliziani, whom he introduced as a Calabrian lady, and baptized Seraphina Felichiani. Lorenza followed him faithfully and profitably until his final catastrophe. He had no hesitation in making use of her singular beauty for the purpose of gain. Soon after his marriage, he engaged in forging bills of exchange with two of his countrymen, Agliata and Nicastro, the latter of whom was hanged, after betraying his associates. They fled to Bergamo, where Balsamo announced himself as a Prussian colonel. The police detected his false papers, and Agliata abandoned him, carrying off all he possessed. Balsamo and his wife escaped, in the disguise of pilgrims, to San Jago di Compostello. A succession of swindling adventures brought them, in 1771, to London, where Madame Balsamo furnished the family with the means of subsistence. Among other victims, a rich Quaker fell into her net, who was made to pay an hundred pounds for his release. Balsamo is said to have been arrested ten times during this London visit, and to have been forced, finally, to betake himself to Paris, and try medicine for a living. The Sorbonne soon put a stop to his practice. He found it convenient to disappear in Germany for a time. Suddenly he came up again in Palermo, as the Marquis Pellegini. Recognized by the police, he was arrested for an old misdeed. The never-failing Lorenza came to his rescue, vanquished by her charms a powerful nobleman, who released him from prison. Balsamo now hastened to Malta, crossed to Marseilles, entered Spain, where he travelled in Prussian uniform, under the name of Dr. Tischio, and

paid his expenses by the sale of cosmetics, by making silk from hemp, and gold from quicksilver; he manufactured large diamonds from small ones, and calculated cabalistic combinations of numbers for loto-players.

Once more in London, he was initiated into the mysteries of Free-Masonry. Hence dates his European reputation. He moved now in high society, spent money lavishly, and gave a new and brilliant character to his tricks. He handled, in a masterly manner, the jargon of mystery-mongers, acquiring an incredible influence over the minds of his followers, particularly of the women. They wore his portrait, and that of Lorenza, in their snuff-boxes, rings and bracelets, and erected busts in their houses, with the inscription, "Divo Cagliostro." By never remaining long in the same place, he kept up the charm of novelty, and prevented too close an examination of his method. If, however, his disciples, tired of waiting for the promised results, complained, he laid the blame upon them. It was their moral impurity which defeated his strivings; and if weaknesses of his own came by chance to light, he informed them, with becoming solemnity, that the man who had attained pure spiritual perfection could not sin with the body.

The unimaginative Dutchmen believed also. In the Hague, the lodges received him as Grand Visitor, with brilliant festivities. Lorenza was entreated to establish a woman's lodge. She yielded, as usual. Cagliostro produced an original system of masonry, which he called Egyptian masonry; established lodges, and devoted himself to their extension until 1784, when he founded, in Lyons, the Grand Mother Lodge of Triumphant Wisdom. The plan of his system he is said to have taken from a MS. in London, written by George Copston. He himself said that he had it from the priests of Egypt, who received it directly from Enoch and Elias, and taught it to him in the pyramids. In the beginning, he announced himself as the missionary of Elias, the Great Kophta; afterward, he assumed the dignity of Great Kophta. He was born (Egyptically speaking) of the loves of an angel and an earthly woman, whence he had authority over the angels, and was come to lead the faithful to spiritual perfection by a physical and moral new birth. The method of the new birth was altogether material in its nature, and curious on account of its absurdity. The faithful might obtain a life independent of the body by means of the Red Powder, or materia prima—one form of the philosopher's stone. The Great Pentagon could restore them to the state of innocence enjoyed before the Fall. To manufacture the Pentagon, it was necessary to build a three-story house on a mountain to be named Sinai. On the second floor (Ararat,) thirteen Masters were to pass eighteen hours a day, for forty successive days, in prayer, contemplation, and preparation of the Virgin Parchment; for which purpose the skin of an abortive lamb, or of the after-birth of a male Hebrew infant, was used. This prepared, the thirteen masters were placed in communication with the seven first created angels, who stamped their seals upon the virgin parchment, and completed the Great Pentagon. The happy thirteen were now masters and chiefs, pure and innocent, unlimited in wisdom and power, and able to seek for the repose of the immortals. Such as they only could say: "I am that I am." This was Cagliostro's answer to those who questioned him on his birth and family. Sometimes, instead of answering, he drew upon the wall a serpent, holding an apple in its mouth, whose tail ended in the head of an arrow. Each newly-

born Master received seven Extra-Pentagons for his friends. Cagliostro built, upon a height near Basle, a three-story pavilion, as a Pentagon manufactory. The physical New Birth was harder to obtain, and the means used equally absurd, particularly as the tiresome experiment had to be renewed every fifty years. It was prescribed to the seeker to retire into the country with a trusty friend, and there to diet strictly for thirty-two days. On the seventeenth and thirty-second days the patient was bled slightly, and six drops of a white mixture were administered; two drops of which were to be taken each day until the end of the cure. On the thirty-first day he was put to bed, and received the first grain of the Materia Prima, which caused a swoon of three hours, accompanied by convulsions. On the thirty-third day the second grain was to be swallowed, upon which fever and delirium set in, and hair and teeth fell out. On the thirty-sixth day the third grain was followed by a deep sleep, and everything grew again. On the thirty-ninth day the sufferer was placed in a bath; ten drops of the balsam of the Great Kophta were given him, and on the fortieth day he arose well and good for fifty years. The treatment could be renewed every half century until the new-born attained the age of five thousand five hundred and fifty-seven years. This gives some idea of the hocus-pocus and jargon of the great quacks of that day.

The business of the lodges was to establish relations with the angels and prophets of the Old Testament; Moses, Elias, and Christ, were the three perfect Masons. To do this, a child was taken—any youngster would do—and called the Dove. The Great Kophta laid hands on the head of the Dove, breathed upon it, and anointed it with the oil of wisdom. The Dove was led into the Tabernacle, and made to look steadfastly into a plate filled with water. Meanwhile the assemblage prayed earnestly. After a time, if Cagliostro was present, the child saw on the surface an angel or a prophet. The Dove addressed the prophet and was answered—the conversation being carefully taken down by the Faithful. Cagliostro's lieutenants were not always so successful. Once, in London, monkeys made their appearance instead of angels; and sometimes the absent Cagliostro and his wife appeared transfigured—who, however, was quite as satisfactory to the initiated as Moses or Elias. This process has never been clearly explained. In his last trial before the Inquisition, Cagliostro confessed all his impositions except this, which he denied to be one, insisting that it was a peculiar gift from God; although a confession would have done him less harm than such a pretension. Lorenza, his wife, admitted, also, that he had explained all his tricks to her, but as regards this ceremony, had told her repeatedly, that she was too weak to comprehend so great a mystery.

In the Egyptian system,* of which, by the way, Alexander the Great, who was still alive somewhere among the pyramids, was Grand Master, Cagliostro retained many of the signs and symbols of Free-Masonry. The lodges were open to men of all religions, particularly to the Jews,

* Besides the Masonic lodges, there flourished, at that time, a number of secret societies, who occupied themselves, more or less, with similar pursuits; among the most known are—The Illuminati; The Union of the XXII; The Society of the Teutonic Chain; the Rosicrucians; the Knights and Brothers of Asia; the African Brothers; the Order of Jerusalem; the Brotherhood of the Cross; the Martinists; the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Brotherhood of the Heart of Jesus.

who were reverenced by him as the chosen people. He assumed the title of the Defender of Religion, and the foe of blasphemy and atheism. His followers worshipped him. For hours they lay at his feet, and believed themselves sainted by the touch of his garments. The psalm "*Memento*" was paraphrased in his honor, and sung, "*Memento Domine Cagliostro et mansuetudinis ejus.*"

In the furtherance of this great work, he visited Berlin, St. Petersburg, Warsaw, Venice, Strasburg, everywhere meeting with many believers and but few sceptics. In Strasburgh he met the Cardinal de Rohan, and journeyed with him to Paris. Suddenly he hurried to Naples, pretexting the call of a dying friend, and then returned to France, where he remained until the affair of the Diamond Necklace. The Cardinal de Rohan and Cagliostro were sent to the Bastile. Against Cagliostro nothing was proved, except that on the day of the cardinal's arrest (15th Aug., 1785,) he had invited his eminence to sup with Henry the Fourth, Voltaire, and Rousseau. Cagliostro's friends believed him innocent. Men of rank petitioned the Parliament in his favor, as a friend of humanity, a distinguished physician, prophet, and ghost-seer. After his banishment they followed him to Passy, and when he embarked at Boulogne thousands stood upon the strand and prayed for his blessing.

But the time was now approaching when the Prophet was to fall. Neither Sinai nor Ararat, nor the white mixture, were as potent in England as they had been. Except Lord George Gordon of No-Popery fame, no person of fortune or influence received him. The sceptics attacked him on every side, and fairly drove him to the continent. Matters were not much better here. He wandered from place to place, until at last his destiny led him to Rome. An attempt to establish an Egyptian Lodge brought him before the Inquisition. He was sent to the Castle of St. Angelo, and after a long and fair trial condemned to death. The Pope commuted the punishment into perpetual imprisonment. Lorenza was placed in a convent of penitents, and so ended the Grand Kophta, the pupil of the wise Althatas. The date of his death is not known.

Cagliostro was small in stature, and well made, with a dark, handsome countenance. In public, his manners and voice were those of an ostentatious quack. He generally harangued his disciples with a drawn sword in his right hand, in a jargon which no one understood. In private conversation he was lively and agreeable. How could a man fail to be so, whose life had passed in wandering about the world preying upon his fellows? He spent money profusely, always traveled with six post chaises, and with the state of a prince.

At the same time, from 1750 to 1780, flourished the Count de St. Germain, a being yet more mysterious; an adventurer whose occult wisdom was profitable to himself without injuring the finances of his friends; a man whose origin was never discovered, who appears to have attained uncommon longevity without the aid of the Materia Prima, or of Mount Ararat; who wandered to and fro upon the earth under various names and titles, enjoying everywhere the consideration of the great, and who finally died in comfortable quarters, full of years.

In Spain he was called Marquis of Montferrat; in Venice, Count of Bellamore; in Pisa, Chevalier Schöning. He figured in Milan as Chevalier Welldone; in Genoa, as Count Soltikow. In Swabia he was known as Count Tzagory, and in France as the Count de St. Germain. Some

people took him for a Portuguese Jew, others for a Spanish Jesuit, Aymar. Many persons thought that his real name was Simon Wolf, a Jew of Alsatia, or else that he was the son of a Piedmontese tax-gatherer at San Germano in Savoy. The Duke of Choiseul, who disliked him, called him the son of a Portuguese Jew. He spoke German and English very well, excellent Italian, French with the Piedmontese accent, Spanish and Portuguese perfectly. The Count was of the middle size, and stoutly built. He preserved the same appearance for a wonderfully long time. Rameau saw him in Venice in 1710; he then looked to be fifty; in 1759 he seemed no older than sixty—and Morin, a Danish Secretary of Legation, who knew him in Holland in 1735, said twenty-five years after that the Count did not appear a day older. To the end of his life he had the mien of a well-preserved man of sixty. It is probable, however, that Rameau may have been deceived by a striking resemblance. His age and his country he never revealed. Even Frederick the Great spoke of him as an enigma he could not solve. St. Germain's *charlatanism* was harmless. He neither borrowed nor swindled, and had always plenty of money. His pretensions were moderate. His chemical scents few, and not for sale. He knew how to make a beautiful amalgam of copper and zinc, and possessed the art of making false diamonds. He once showed the Baron Von Gleichen a small collection of the choicest paintings, and such a mass of glittering jewels, that the Baron thought himself in the presence of Aladdin. In the memoirs of the time, mention is frequently made of diamonds and pearls received as presents from the Count of St. Germain. Once while traveling in Piedmont, the mysterious Count was arrested in a small town, because a bill given by him proved to be worthless, whereupon he immediately produced one hundred thousand scudi in the best of money, paid every thing, and received the homage of the Governor of the place. He neither pretended to have the philosopher's stone, nor the universal medicine, nor supernatural knowledge of any kind. He lived temperately, drank no wine, and when ill, treated himself with a decoction of senna. This was the only advice he gave to those who asked him how they might obtain as long a life as his. Occasionally he appears to have engaged in political intrigues—and frequently he recommended to government speculations and industrial enterprizes, which showed judgment and a knowledge of political economy. The Marquis of Bellisle, when minister of war, sent him to the Hague as a secret agent to negotiate a peace between France and Austria, through the Prince Louis of Denmark, with whom St. Germain was personally acquainted. Choiseul, the prime minister, had different views, and on learning of this underhand diplomacy through D'Affry, the French ambassador at the Hague, sent to have St. Germain arrested. The Count escaped to England, and went thence to Russia, where he must have taken some part in the dethronement of Peter the Third in 1762; because, when he appeared in Leghorn in 1770, wearing the Russian uniform and bearing a Russian name, Count Alexis Orlow treated him with a deference that haughty nobleman showed to no other man; and in 1772, traveling with the Margrave of Anspach, he met Gregory Orlow at Nuremberg, who called him his "*caro padre*," sent him twenty thousand zechins, and said to the Margrave, "*Voila un homme qui a joué un grand rôle dans notre revolution.*" After many wanderings he established himself with the Landgrave of Hesse, and died quietly in 1780. In his last years he was waited upon only by women. His papers remained in the hands of his host, who, however,

never alluded to their contents. The Count treated the Landgrave as a boy ignorant of the higher mysteries. Occasionally he would show him the outside of a letter from Frederick the Second—"Do you know that hand and seal?" he would ask—"Yes, it is the seal of the King." "Well, you shall not know what is in it," and replaced the letter in his pocket.

St. Germain made use of his miraculously youthful appearance to excite the belief of great age. In this he succeeded without hazarding any positive assertions. It is not true that he spoke of himself as a contemporary of Christ, and boasted of his intercession with Pontius Pilate in his behalf. This story belongs to some Parisian wag of the time. But he certainly did hint at a couple of centuries. Possessed of great knowledge of the detail of history, he would describe scenes of the past with such accuracy of time and place, and such a lively picture of the appearance of the actors, their dress, manners and conversation, that it was impossible for his hearers to believe they were not listening to a man who had seen with his own eyes what he related. Sometimes in repeating a conversation of Francis the First, or of Henry the Eighth, he would say in an absent way: "The King turned to me"—then stopping suddenly as if he had forgotten himself, add, "to the Duke, and said," &c., &c. Talking one day to the Baron Von Gleichen, he remarked: "Those blockheads of Parisians believe that I am five hundred years old, and I encourage them, as I see it gives them pleasure: not that I am indeed much older than I seem." St. Germain made no other use of his presumed longevity and his other talents, than to obtain consideration—to live with ease and comfort in the society of the great, and to amuse himself with the wonder he excited.

We have no space to give more of "Bülau's" curiosities. There are many other noteworthy passages in this volume. It contains a detailed account of the Russian Revolution of 1762, which dethroned Peter III., and that of 1801, which cost Paul his life. It gives us a sketch of the diplomatic Princesse des Ursins, and of her rival and successor, Cardinal Alberoni, and short biographies of the renegade noblemen, Ripperda and Count de Bonneval, and of the triple traitor, Lord Lovat. These are followed by scenes of German court and peasant life in the eighteenth century; anecdotes of Schrepfer and La Croix, adventurers in the Cagliostro vein; notices of Oberreit, the metallurgist, who provoked Zimmerman into the work on Solitude; of the Convulsionnaires of Paris, and of Jacob Cazotte, the author of the "*Diable Amoureux*," who is said to have prophesied the impending revolution of 1789, at a dinner given by the Duchesse de Grammont, and to have foretold the melancholy fate of every person present, including his own. In his preface, the professor announces that a second volume is ready for publication. It has not, however, as yet reached this country.

THE HIGHER LAW.*

Among the extraordinary manifestations of the age is to be ranked the schism which has been introduced by the slavery question, into all religious denominations, in regard to the teachings of the bill upon that question. Feeble-minded persons talk of a dissolution of the Union, because politcal parties have been sundered through the use of the slavery question in the hands of demagogues, mostly half-educated lawyers having affinities only for the knavery of the profession, who attempt a forced construction of the Constitution; or, failing in that, reject its authority, and repudiate its obligations. So, also, in most religious denominations, ill-taught and ambitious preachers who take counsel only of their own base desires, pervert the meaning of the scriptures, and attempt to make it a stepping-stone to their own earthly advancement, by adapting their expositions of the holy word to the political prejudices of their hearers. Others of this class, unable to wrest the meaning of God's teachings, have openly denounced his revelation, and publicly trodden it under foot in contempt of its precepts, which do not accord with their superior wisdom. Out of these violent discussions, political and religious, has apparently grown this great good, viz., that the Constitution in the political world, and the Bible in the religious world, have been more thoroughly examined and discussed, and the truth of both instruments has been more clearly developed and impressed upon the public mind. The time has been when the Roman Catholics professing the universal religion refused to receive the Bible as the perfect rule of faith. The abuses into which that religion necessarily and consequently ran, produced the Reformation. The Bible then became the object of prayerful study by all Protestants, and its revealed truths, proclaimed with fear and trembling, were alone referred to as a rule of action. Of late, many preachers have not sought constantly to refer back to the divine revelation, but rather to adapt it to circumstances as they find them, claiming for it an "expansion of sense." It is undoubtedly true that the progress of science in the last fifty years has been such as to change the construction which had been placed upon the geography, astronomy, geology and natural history of the scriptures. These new discoveries, however, have not invalidated, but only served to elucidate the scriptures; and it is matter of great rejoicing that the progress of science has been from time to time alleged to be in opposition to the teachings of the scriptures, since such allegations have led to deeper and constantly renewed research into the true meaning of the divine word, always resulting in its triumph. In the same manner that religious heresies have only led to more frequent reference to the foundation of the Christian faith, have political heresies led to a constant refreshment of the public mind in relation to the stipulations of our glorious Constitution. It has been matter of extreme surprise to many observant persons on the occurrence of any political agitation involving constitutional principles, to find how many intelligent persons are absolutely ignorant even of such primary distinctions, as that between the Constitutions of the several States and that of the Federal Government. A few months of occasional

* 1st. Speech on the Slavery Resolutions delivered in the General Assembly which met in Detroit, May, 1850. By Joseph C. Stiles.

2d. Domestic Slavery Considered, in a Correspondence between the Rev. Richard Fuller and the Rev. Francis Wayland.

agitation like that which we have passed, is absolutely necessary to the political education of the people. So, also, in the religious world, indolent and time-serving preachers go on from week to week, and from year to year, dozing over their divine minion, and wresting its interpretation according to the prejudices ignorantly imbibed by their congregations, as the most ready way of reaching and retaining popularity, until some great popular excitement makes a recurrence to the true teachings of God upon the point agitated indispensable. Then it is that the time-serving supremacy of "blind-guides" becomes manifest, and the cause of religion purges itself of false advocates.

The churches of nearly all the Christian denominations are spread throughout the United States, and all the members of each denomination were in communion with each other, acknowledging the same ecclesiastical discipline as applicable to the principles of faith professed. Each of these denominations followed certain expositions of the Bible, as those which they believed were the true expressions of its teachings. They all based their hopes on the merits of the Redeemer, and lived in harmony, at least within the several sects, even if occasionally some want of charity for the belief of others escaped the more zealous. For more than 1800 years the followers of Christ were slave-holders, and they never in all that time doubted the perfect consistency of their conduct, in that respect, with their religious professions, the commands of Christ and the teachings of his Apostles, in regard to that relation with their fellow-men. The federal compact expressly recognizes the servitude of blacks as a political institution, and until within a few years past that institution of the South existed in the undisputed recognition of the Bible, the Constitution, and religious association. In the course of the excitements which attend our popular elections, political partizans set up a sectional cry against the existence of an institution which belongs only to states, and in their treasonable and unholy zeal, threatened to repudiate the constitutional compact, unless certain sovereign states could be deprived of a portion of their sovereignty which had been reserved to them when the Constitution was formed. The plea was raised, that the admission of new slave states was a violation of the Constitution. To strengthen, prolong, and give effect to these attempts upon the Constitution, a similar heresy was introduced into the several religious denominations, through the influence of partizans over faithless preachers. For we consider a sentinel who admits an enemy through inattention, or want of perception, as faithless as he who does so for a bribe. This heresy was, that the mere holding of slaves is a sin, *per se*, and that the discipline of the church must be invoked upon all who do not instantly manumit their slaves. This conduct has caused the separation of many of the denominations into northern and southern churches. What had been considered compatible with Christian conduct for more than eighteen centuries, was suddenly, under political promptings, denounced as so utterly inconsistent with all faith in Christ, that denominations which had lived in harmony and brotherly love, agreeing fully upon all other doctrinal points, suddenly disagreed on this one head, and separated with angry feelings. The "Higher Law" which a political demagogue had declared superior to our Constitution, religious demagogues declared superior to Christ's mandate—"to love thy neighbor as thyself." Whole denominations divided with ill-nature, and went to law about their common property, because one portion were alleged by the other to have violated, through slave-holding, the command "to love one another!"

The charge made by a class of religionists of all denominations at the North, is, that the holding of slaves, "pure and simple," is "always a sin," "a heinous crime in the sight of God," "a sin of appalling magnitude." If this be true, that slave-holding, under all circumstances, is sin of itself, no matter what may be the conduct of master and servant respectively to each other, what are we to think of that Bible which teaches that a holy, immutable and omnipotent God, not only expressly commanded this alleged sin to his chosen people, teaching them how, and with what to buy slaves; forbidding in the decalogue one man to covet another's slave,* and never intimating, even to his chosen Abraham, a slave-holder, with whom he walked, and of whom he said, "shall I hide from Abraham that thing which I do?" that slave-holding was wrong; but, also, that when the Mosaic dispensation passed away, at the advent of Christ, the Redeemer himself and his Apostles, although denouncing other practices of the Jews, countenanced by precept and example the holding of slaves, even in that dark age of slavery, when under the Roman rule they were so plenty as to have been of little value, and therefore subject to the unrestrained cruelty of capricious masters, who held their lives in their hands, and who, as history informs us, sometimes slaughtered them to flavor fishes, fed with their flesh. How must the devout reader of the Bible, who studies it in singleness of heart, searching after truth as did the Protestants, on their knees, with Bunyan, be struck with horror, when he turns from the holy page, to hear a fierce political zealot, in sacerdotal robes, rudely denouncing, as "a heinous crime," that which "God sanctioned in the Old Testament, and permitted in the New!"

It has been the case, however, that on such an emergency as we have lately encountered, the most eminent minds of all political parties, Cass and Clay, Dickinson and Webster, with numbers of other statesmen worthy of any age or country, have stepped forward and rescued the Constitution from the dangers which it encountered from small ambitious assailants; so also the Bible, in its truth and purity, has not wanted the clear expositions of learned men, sound scholars, and faithful ministers of God, to bring back the public mind, diverted by false friends, to its letter and spirit. The letters of Dr. Fuller, and the address of the Rev. Joseph C. Stiles, before the Presbyterian Assembly of Michigan, referred to at the head of this article, are among the most able and unanswerable arguments in favor of divine truth. Dr. Stiles has, by ill health, been compelled to resign the charge of the Mercer-street church of New-York, and to accept the special secretaryship of the American Bible Society. His great talents, eminent philanthropy and conspicuous piety, will thus find a broader field for their exercise, in a manner which will conduce to his health, and we may, *en passant*, congratulate the society that they have secured the services of one so profoundly versed in Biblical literature, and so deeply imbued with the true spirit of the divine word. Dr. Stiles, in his address, which is very elaborate, takes up in order every argument that has been advanced as a reason why a written treaty should be violated, the rights of others infringed, civil and servile war provoked, the only republican institutions in the world overturned, human progress stayed, and even civilization itself jeopardized; and he has left these blood-thirsty instruments

* The word "Doulos," translated servant, has been as far back as the Hon. Edward Everett's membership of Congress, conclusively shown by him and others to mean slave.

of tyranny no shadow of reason for their position. The address, which was in consequence of a demand for the expulsion of slave-holders from the Presbyterian Church, has two general heads:

What is the moral character of slave-holding?

What the duties of the parties concerned?

Under the first head the memorialists affirm that *slave-holding is a sin.* Dr. Stiles in reply states, that there are three moral grades, one perfectly virtuous, planned by God, and in harmony with Christianity; another purely vicious, forbidden by God, and repugnant to Christianity; and a third of a compound nature, which was neither planned by God nor forbidden by him, and of this nature is slave-holding; but its existence is perfectly consistent with the most devout piety and the most perfect teachings of both the Old and New Testament. The arguments advanced to sustain the sinfulness of slave-holding are classed thus:—1st, "the liberty argument;" 2d, "the Scripture argument;" 3d, "the historical argument; 4th, "the progress argument;" 5th, "the practical argument." These arguments are all, with the greatest clearness and force, shown unanswerably, to operate on the side of slavery, and not against it, under our institutions. Under the second head, viz.:—"the duties of the parties concerned," the matter is plain: slave-holding being no sin, *per se*, the duties of master and servant respectively towards each other can only be subjects of special investigation in each case. If the rules laid down for their conduct in the New Testament are violated by individuals, the conduct of those individuals only becomes obnoxious to the discipline of the Church. God, in the New Testament, commands servants or slaves, "that have believing masters: let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are *faithful and beloved* partakers of the benefit." Here were believing slave-holders, called by God, "faithful and beloved." Thus slave-holding was not sin, although, nevertheless, some slave-holders might commit sin towards their slaves. While such individuals might be arraigned for their special crimes, the system itself could not be denounced as a sin any more than that because adultery is a crime, therefore the marriage state is sinful because it may lead to adultery. Although all the arguments recounted are ably and unanswerably met, we have in the scope of this article only to do with the "Scripture argument," and incidentally with the "progress argument." That the tendency of that course of argument which first assumes what is right, and then endeavors to find warrant for it in the Scripture, is the substitution of human deductions for divine declarations, Dr. Stiles shows with much clearness. The Scriptures, from the earliest period within the scope of the Mosaic history to the latest revelation of the New Testament, command, recognize, and regulate slavery. The Almighty recognizes it in the tenth commandment, commands it to the Jews, through whose priests and leaders it is perpetuated to the time of Christ and his Apostles, who apply to its management the principles that had been substituted for the Mosaic dispensation. This long connection of the Almighty with slavery, sophists now denounce as an immutable sin, because Christ commanded, "Do unto others as ye would have others do unto you." This paradox is produced, because the meaning of the latter clause is wrongly understood. The meaning of the phrase is, that we should do unto others, in *their* circumstances, as we would have them do to us were we in *the same*. Thus it does not mean that we should treat children

as we would be treated ourselves, but that we should conduct ourselves towards them as we would be treated were we children. The instructions to servants to obey their masters, and to masters not to oppress slaves, was in this spirit, and perfectly in harmony with the command. The following are some of the leading passages from the Old Testament, showing the commands of the Almighty in relation to slaves:

"Abimelech took sheep, and oxen, and men-servants, and maid-servants, and gave them unto Abraham."—Gen. xx., 14. "Pharaoh, too, enriched him with 'sheep, and oxen, and he-asses, and men-servants, and maid-servants.'"

"A sojourner of a priest, or an hired servant, shall not eat of the holy thing. But if the priest buy any soul with his money, he shall eat of it, and he that is born in his house, they shall eat of it."—Lev. xxii., 10, 11.

"Both thy bondmen, and thy bondmaids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land; and they shall be your possession."—Lev. xxv.

"If a man smite his servant or his maid with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall be surely punished. Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished; for he is his money."—Exod. xxi., 20, 21.

"And if a man sell his daughter to be a maid-servant, she shall not go out as the men-servants do. If she please not her master, who hath betrothed her to himself, then shall he let her be redeemed: to sell her to a strange nation he shall have no power, seeing he hath dealt deceitfully with her."

"Ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession. They shall be your bondmen forever."—Lev. xxv.

"If thou buy a Hebrew servant, six years shall he serve: and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing. If he came in by himself, he shall go out by himself: if he were married, then his wife shall go out with him. If his master have given him a wife, and she have borne him sons or daughters, the wife and her children shall be her master's, and he shall go out by himself. And if the servant shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife, and my children; I will not go out free: Then his master shall bring him unto the judges; he shall also bring him to the door, or unto the door-post; and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl; and he shall serve him forever."—Exod. xxi., 2–6.

These clear and positive commands of the Deity, in relation to the purchase and treatment of slaves, are too direct to be evaded, although Dr. Wayland attempts to do so, by asserting that the word "shalt" is prophetic, and not mandatory. The commandment says that thou "shalt" not covet thy neighbor's man-servant; that, probably, is as much "prophetic" as in the other case. The quoted paragraphs show not only that the Jews could hold strangers for ever as slaves, but by going through certain ceremonies, Jews also. This slave-holding is what an immutable God commanded, and what pretended preachers of God's word now denounce as a "sin of appalling magnitude." This condition of slavery continued, in common with other Jewish dispensations, down to the advent of Christ. By his teaching he then set aside many things, such as divorce, which had been permitted by Moses; but neither Christ nor any of his disciples ever said a word against slavery. They merely applied the general law of love to relations between master and slave, instead of the harsh authority permitted by Moses; as thus, in the verse quoted from Exodus, there was no punishment for killing a slave, if the slave survived the fatal blow two days; and the reason given is, that "he is *money*"—there was time to sell him. The New Testament modifies this by enjoin-

ing masters to be merciful to slaves, remembering "that they also have a Master in heaven." The following are some of the leading New Testament regulations upon this subject:

Ephesians vi. 5-8: Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, *as unto Christ.* Not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but *as the servants of Christ,* doing the will of God from the heart; with good will doing service, *as to the Lord,* and not to men; knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free."

Colossians iii. 22-25: "Servants, obey in all things your masters according to the flesh; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but in singleness of heart, fearing God: and whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, *as to the Lord,* and not unto men; knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance: *for ye serve the Lord Christ.* But he that doeth wrong, shall receive for the wrong which he hath done; and there is no respect of persons."

1 Timothy vi. 1-5: "Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honor, *that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed.* And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort. If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness: from such withdraw thyself."

Titus ii. 9, 10: "Exhort servants to be obedient unto their own masters, and to please them well in all things; not answering again; not purloining, but showing all good fidelity; that they *may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things.*"

1 Peter ii. 18-23: "Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward. For this is thankworthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if, when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently? But if, when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, *this is acceptable with God.* For even hereunto were ye called: because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that ye should follow his steps: who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth: who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously."

Ephesians vi. 8: "And ye masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening, knowing that your Master also is in heaven; neither is there respect of persons with him."

Colossians iv. 1: "Masters, render to your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven."

Here are constant and reiterated injunctions to slaves to observe passive obedience. Why should this subject so much have attracted the attention of the apostles?—clearly because the general teachings of the gospel, in respect to brotherhood in the Lord, had a tendency to prompt to insubordination in earthly things, especially towards unconverted masters; hence were necessary the continued admonitions of the apostles. In all these instructions, no word escaped these teachers that the relation of master and slave was sinful; but, on the contrary, those slaveholders who obeyed the rules were "faithful and beloved;" not only so, but the apostle Paul himself, at the age of 60 or 70 years, fully recognized the

right of his pious friend Philemon to own the slave Onesimus, but also to punish him with severity for running away; and he requests him to remit this punishment, not because to inflict it would be a sin, but as a personal favor to him, Paul. The case is stated by M'Knight thus:—

"Onesimus, a slave, on some disgust having run away from his master, Philemon, came to Rome, and falling into want, as is supposed, he applied to the apostle," &c. "After his conversion, Onesimus abode with the apostle, and served him with the greatest assiduity and affection. But being sensible of his fault in running away from his master, he wished to repair that injury by returning to him. At the same time, being afraid that on his return his master would inflict on him the punishment which, by the law or custom of Phrygia, was due to a fugitive slave, and which, as Grotius says, he could inflict without applying to any magistrate, he besought the apostle to write to Philemon, requesting to forgive and receive him again into his family," &c. "To account for the solicitude which the apostle showed in this affair, we must not, with some, suppose that Philemon was keen and obstinate in his resentments, but rather, that having a number of slaves, on whom the pardoning of Onesimus too easily might have had a bad effect, he might judge some punishment necessary for a warning to the rest, &c. The apostle would by no means detain Onesimus without Philemon's leave; because it belonged to him to dispose of his own slave in the way he thought proper. Such was the apostle's regard to justice, and to the rights of mankind!"

Now, notwithstanding the solicitude of Paul for the fate of the slave, he never once hinted that his brother in Christ was sinning in either holding a slave or punishing him, but urges thus: "If he hath annoyed thee, or oweth thee aught, put that on mine account." Here is no rampant and furious denunciations of slavery as a sin, like the popularity-hunting Pharisees of the present day; and yet the slave was of the same race and color, and susceptible of the same culture and advancement, as the owner. If under such circumstances neither Christ nor his apostles, although they solemnly declared that "they had not shunned to declare the *whole* counsel of God," could detect sin, whence have the prophet Munday, Abby Folsom, Mr. Beecher, and the negro Douglas, got their inspiration?

We here arrive at a great distinction between ancient and modern slavery, which none of the writers seem to touch upon with sufficient clearness. It is, that the slaves are of a lower race of men, and that their condition of servitude, although lower than the free condition of the white race, is quite as much a condition of *progress*. Indeed, when we consider not only the present cannibal condition of the natives of Africa, as compared with the Christian slaves of the United States, but also the progress of the latter in the last fifty years, we are constrained to admit, that the blacks make greater progress than even the whites. God, as we have seen, recognized Jewish servitude, as well as that of other nations; and the New Testament teachings recognize it among whites. This phase of slavery has passed away, and those Canaanites, or the black race, whom God specially denounced as slaves to the other races for ever, have lived in the lowest state of degradation down to the present day; and only that portion who have fulfilled the divine mandate in serving the whites, have made any progress. To the Christian, the philanthropist, and the friends of humanity, this progress is matter of the most heartfelt rejoicing. The testimony of Dr. Stiles upon this head is of so interesting a character, that we cannot refrain from the following extracts:

"IV.—THE PRACTICAL ARGUMENT.

Brethren contend that *experience* establishes the essential sinfulness of slaveholding. The gospel reforms society. The Church has effectually tried the doctrine that slaveholding is *not* essentially sinful, and nothing is done. And nothing will be done until we change the ground, come back to the truth, and make slavery—*sin.*

To this argument it might be responded: If the tardiness of the operation disproves the genuineness of the principle, why not throw up the plan of missionary operations? Surely our missionary progress has been slow. Why not look up another religion? Christianity, after six thousand years, has yet most of her work to do. But I answer more particularly: *All things considered, if more has been done by the Gospel in many branches of Christian benevolence in this land, during the last thirty years, I know it not.*

Let us study the work of the Southern Church with an impartial mind, and inquire whether opposing brethren, instead of venting a prejudiced conscience fretted by the imagination of a stationary criminality in the whole business, should not thank God and take courage, in view of the wholesome progress of the cause; and instead of calling for discipline upon Southern brethren, whether they should not heartily lend a helping hand in the work they do? I invite my brethren to glance over the field with me, and candidly weigh the following considerations:

I. *The strongest and purest expression of anti-slavery sentiment probably ever made by man, has been uttered by the South.*

I doubt not that pure and strong anti-slavery convictions are entertained at the North, and that our brethren furnish every reasonable evidence of their sincerity and earnestness. But we have no evidence yet of the supreme strength of this conviction. How will you try the purity and the power of a sentiment in the human heart? Surely not by words only; not by any process of stubborn and imperious public agitation; not by any determined political stand against Southern measures; not by any transient aid and comfort rendered to flying slaves. All these and many similar developments may cost but little. On the contrary, the power of a principle exhibits itself in the labors it can put forth, the oppositions it can resist, the self-denials it can bear—in a word, by the *sacrifices* it can make. Where shall we find the most commanding expression of that calm, enlightened, benign, high-souled anti-slavery sentiment which is uttered by sacrifice? You point us to England. For freedom in the West Indies, 20,000,000 pounds sterling!! This was a noble testimony of her will to give freedom to the slave, the like of which our Northern friends have never approached. Three things, however, should work some abatement of our first impressions of British devotion to this cause. This sum was furnished by the very richest treasury in the world. Only the interest of this sum has been paid; the principal never will be until the great English debt is cancelled. Nor do I deem it scandal to say, that probably no small portion of this sum was paid to self-interest, and not by benevolent principle. A friend travelling in England at the time of the preparatory public agitation of the subject, informs me that one argument which told powerfully in persuading the English people to adopt this measure was the widely published doctrine, that, since free labor was so far superior to slave labor, by this operation West India sugars would be purchased in England at a penny a pound below its present cost, so that England would receive 100,000,000 pounds in return for her 20,000,000.

It gives me pleasure to remind you, Mr. Moderator, that near 250,000 slaves are computed to have been freed in this country, mainly at the South. Assuming the average value of the slave to be one hundred pounds sterling, you have, sir, upon this principle, *more* than FIVE AND TWENTY MILLIONS OF POUNDS STERLING *contributed to this cause of putting away slavery from these United States* by the SLAVEHOLDERS of the South. Mark the contrast. This immense sum has been actually paid out, not interest only, but principal also; not by a rich public treasury, but by private families who lived by the slaves they surren-

dered; not before the public eye, but in the retirement of private life; not under the cheering voice of universal praise, but possibly under the chilling looks of many a neighbor who charges the emancipator with the discontent which now springs up in the bosom of his colored family; not under circumstances which provided the slightest hope of pecuniary emolument, but from no other possible motive than conscientious, quiet, kind, anti-slavery sentiment. Let Northern brethren weigh this, and hereafter give to the South the respect due to the very FIRST *position of friendship to African freedom by pecuniary sacrifice.*

II. *The men who dwell south of Mason and Dixon's line have done more to convert the heathen than the whole world beside.*

What is the whole number of converted heathen which the American Church presents this day to the eye of God and the world?—

American Board,	26,000
Baptist Missions,	15,000
Methodist Missions,	13,000
Presbyterian Missions,	250
Episcopal Missions,	71
	54,321

Observe, Mr. Moderator, one branch of one Christian denomination at the South, viz., the Methodist Episcopal Church, numbers 134,722 *colored members.* More than three times as many *heathen* converted through Southern instrumentality as the combined American Church can produce.

What sir, allow me now to inquire, is the sum total of the membership of all the heathen churches in the world? By those best informed on this subject, the number is estimated at something like 200,000. Turn your eyes once more to the South. Say nothing of the colored members of all the churches in the State of Maryland, (and they are numerous,) nor of the Presbyterian Church, nor of the Episcopal Church, nor of the Lutheran Church, nor of certain branches of the Methodist and of the Baptist denominations, in all the South. Simply fix your eye upon one branch respectively of two Christian churches. You will find enrolled upon their list of *colored* members—

In the Methodist Church,	134,000
" Baptist Church,	130,000
	264,000

Thus, sir, a part of the Southern Church holds up this day to the gaze of heaven and earth, *scores of thousands* MORE *of heathen fellow-men hoping in Christ through their labors than all the churches of the Free Soil of the world combined have yet gathered to the Master.* Let philanthropists employ all proper methods to FREE the soil of the world. It is a noble cause, and I will unite with them. But let our Northern brethren weigh one singular fact: these very brethren of the South, upon whom they themselves have been laying on so hard and so long for their cruel oppression of the bondman, and whom, forsooth, from year to year they have been so anxious to persuade Providence to thrust out of the Church, as not worthy of a standing in it—THESE are the *very men* whom that very Providence has made the honored instruments, in one sense at least, of doing *more for the salvation of the heathen world than all the Church militant beside. Yes, let them ponder this.*

III. *The Southern Church has effected a vast amelioration of the social and religious condition of the slave.*

When landed in this country, the African captive belonged to the most degraded heathen upon the face of the earth. His descendant still needs great improvement, but is far removed from the universal debasement of his progenitor.

Changes for the better have marked the history of slavery, from its introduction to the present hour.

1st. The Southern Church has done her part in working *valuable modifications of the laws of the land.* An examination of the slave laws of successive generations will exhibit a steady advance in the considerate benignity of the legislator. Nor should we overlook the beneficial changes wrought in the spirit and power of ancient statutes, through a constantly improving public sentiment. There are benefits conferred upon the slave by statute, which of old never fully reached him in the administration. From the earliest times there existed a law, forbidding labor on the Sabbath. I well remember, when a boy, the universal custom of taking the servants on the Sabbath day to the corn-house to shell, or to the potato-field to dig, that the weekly plantation allowance of vegetable diet might be distributed. This practice, I apprehend, is now universally abolished. That the spirit and principle of the Church did its part in effecting the change, you may learn from this incident. I knew a Church member, who, grieved by the prevalence of this custom, personally persuaded his Christian brethren and friends to abolish it in their respective families, and finding one stout opposer of the innovation, beyond the limits of the Church, he at last calmly apprised him of the law of the land, and of his purpose of becoming public prosecutor if he did not yield to the public sentiment of his neighbors.

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The good influence of the Bible upon the slave, and every man's right of direct access to the Word of God is extensively understood. It has long been a common spectacle to see the children of a Southern family at night, or on the Sabbath, employed in teaching the servants to read. It is many years since night-schools, in which colored adults taught colored children to read, were common in all our Southern cities, and I believe well known to city authorities, and generally unmolested by them. It is worthy of observation, that a few years since, when a Southern Legislature, alarmed by abolition interference, revived this obsolete law, Christian public sentiment at the South felt if Cæsar moved to put away the Bible from the servant, God's people must move, as best they can, to bring it back. A consequent impulse was given to *oral instruction* far and wide, whose results have been singularly happy. One is this: that hundreds of servants learn to read now, where none were taught before. And hundreds of copies of the Scriptures are distributed among the slaves at this day, which would never have been received if the old law had been permitted to sleep. Thus you perceive, that the steady improvement of public sentiment at the South, in part through the fidelity of the Church, has been progressively working a beneficial change in the face of the government toward the slave, not only by procuring the enactment of humane laws, but by breaking down the governing power of unfriendly statutes, and giving force to such benign legislation as was a dead letter before.

2d. The same causes have wrought a corresponding *social improvement* in all things pertinent to the *present comfort and future prospects of the slave.* I apprehend there is but little to be objected to at this day, in the physical treatment of Southern servants. Their condition is at least fair in respect to food, raiment, shelter, work, and general discipline. A remarkable revolution has occurred in the habits of Southern society respecting the discussion of the nature and claims of this relation. Half a century ago, this institution appeared to the mass of Southern population as an impregnable fixture; and yet it is a singular fact, that, as a topic of deliberate meditation or discourse, it was clothed with a forbidding awe, which made it almost as intangible as a plot of treason. Now, he who journeys through the Southern States, in public houses and conveyances may hear as frequent discourse on this subject as on almost any other. And could he compare the sentiments of the present generation with those of the past, he would be delighted to mark the liberal tendency of the times.

The steady advance of the *spirit of emancipation* is another and most interesting feature of the general progress. The records of the American Coloniza-

tion Society furnish gratifying testimony on this point. You will not forget, Mr. Moderator, the testimony of one of our brethren on this floor, that in his immediate vicinity one of his neighbors had recently given to this cause $500; another, $1,000; a third, $2,000; a fourth, $3,000—all men in moderate circumstances. Yes, sir, and in the wealthier sections of the South there are those who are this day giving their $50,000 to the freedom of the slave.

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There are a diversity of established methods in which the master brings the gospel to the servant. In the cities there are large colored churches, sometimes of two or three thousand members. Church edifices they are assisted to erect when necessary. The pulpit is generally supplied by pious, talented, colored preachers; sometimes by white brethren of the very first talent and highest stations in the Church.* Sabbath-schools, under the tuition of intelligent white teachers, male and female, are in common use in cities, towns and villages. On plantations masters frequently conduct family prayer, so as to secure sound instruction to the servant. The travelling minister is almost always put in requisition for this service. Instead of the old-fashioned *negro* "*praise-house*," it is common, in many parts of the country, to build a neat "Plantation Chapel," and to invite all accessible ministerial aid. I am happy to know, that on this subject of giving judicious religious instruction to the colored population, there is a very commendable fidelity on the part of the stated ministry in all sections of the Southern country.

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But the most important features of this reformation are yet to be noticed. *Catechisms*, to aid the master in the private instruction of his servant, have been drawn up, if I mistake not, by every prevalent denomination of the South, and distributed amongst the people. The country, too, has been largely *districted*, (where this operation was most needed,) and a missionary employed to devote himself exclusively to the colored population within the prescribed limit, in preaching, teaching, visitation, and Sabbath-school supervision. It is ascertained that the churches built for the worship of the masters, are in many cases injudiciously located for the accommodation of the slaves; and I am credibly informed that it is quite common to erect a new church in some position selected exclusively for the convenience of the colored population, and devoted entirely to their service. I can think of no religious meetings on this earth more delightful, none that my heart more ardently pants to enjoy, than the worship of the masters and servants of adjacent plantations, under the ministry of their beloved missionary.

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There has been unceasing agitation of this subject, in the wisest and happiest manner, by Southern men, from the date of the landing of the first slave on American soil. You know, sir, that before the Constitution of the United States was framed, while yet we were colonies of England, the Southern States protested against the introduction of this population. Now, sir, from that day to this, I affirm that Southern records, political, religious, literary, and historical, present a constant succession of publications on the subject of slavery, by Southern men of the highest rank and talent, in church and state, embodying as great a degree of accuracy, kindness, discretion and fidelity of sentiment as characterizes any similar number of publications uttered at the North within the last twenty years.

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Prior to the day when the South felt fretted by abolition interference, now

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* One such church finds a regular pastor in the President of a College, who receives a salary from the blacks of $600 or $800. A valued professor in a theological seminary vacated his chair to devote himself exclusively to the instruction of servants. The President of Washington College, Va., recently resigned his office to conduct a periodical designed to convince his countrymen of the evils of the relation of master and servant.

more than twenty years ago, I well remember, that a Christian man, born and bred at the South, rode many miles, called on me at my domicile in the State of Georgia, and solicited me to become a member of a society which he proposed to form, for the "RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION OF THE COLORED POPULATION." This devoted and talented minister of Jesus was himself made the General Agent of the Society originated at that time. Through him we put forth the first year an able tract on the "Degradation of the Southern Slave," and scattered it through the county. This, sir, did its work. We had our anniversary, and reported progress. The second year we drew up, and published, and distributed, an able essay on the "Obligation of the Master." I noticed the effect of this document in all my itinerations. During the third year we published a "Catechism," to aid this responsible master in the discharge of his duty to this necessitous member of his family—a document, let me say, of such singular value, that it found its way across the waters to the table of a missionary of the American Board, who thought he saw in it the precise desideratum for his own field, and had it printed, and set to the work of reformation among the heathen abroad. Suffer me to say, that this society has been in steady operation from that day to this, not only sending its agent around the district to instruct the slaves at convenient station-houses erected for the purpose, but annually reporting, and occasionally publishing, as necessity demanded. To the favorable influence of this movement, first upon the population under its immediate supervision, then upon the counties adjacent, and finally, through its publications, upon the friends of the cause at a distance, and even in other states, multitudes can bear witness. What had abolition to do with the origin or power of this operation?

It was my privilege, about the period of the formation of this society, to visit an eminent Christian who dwelt in a neighboring state, and where, you will remark, there now prevails through all the surrounding country as high a degree of religious fidelity to the colored population as distinguishes any section of the South. I learned that he had been in the habit of employing a minister to preach to his large family of servants for many years. He informed me, that though his neighbors far and near were at that time favorable to this species of operation, yet, when he first commenced it, he was told that his movement endangered the peace and lives of the whites, and he must desist. He answered their arguments, and moved forward in his duty. They became more serious in their objections; he still persisted. At length their opposition waxed so firm and united, that he was driven to tell them:—"Gentlemen, I am engaged in my duty, and before I give it up, I will plant a cannon in every window of my house, and you shall go over my dead body to take away the Word of God from my family." I had the pleasure of preaching the gospel in his neighborhood, when the conversion of some of his early opposers led him to give me this history. Here is an operation that dates back its origin perhaps forty years from this time. What had abolition to do with the waking up of this man's mind to duty? We accord to it, with all its ill-workings, some collateral stimulation of a good cause; and its friends, in turn, should concede that wherever similar improvements are witnessed in Southern society at this day, they may have had a similar independent origin."

The spirit of progress, it will be observed, is exactly in accordance with the gospel and the constitution; an adherence to the latter in its letter and spirit, permits the benign influence of the former to work out its results without disturbing the progressive welfare of either race. When such immense interests of temporal welfare and eternal salvation are at stake, with what horror and loathing are those babbling miscreants to be regarded, who are willing to betray their country and the cause of humanity, deny their Redeemer, blaspheme their God, and devote their children to slavery, for the sake of a personal notoriety.

VALDEZ;

OR THE LORD, THE ALCHYMIST, AND THE POISONER.

A DRAMA IN THREE ACTS.

The appearance of a new drama from the pen of an American writer, is entitled to more than a passing notice, and we are pleased with this opportunity of giving expression to a few of our sentiments. So much has been said and written with regard to the paucity of dramatic writings in this country, that we feel ourselves, in the commencement of this article, under the necessity of offering several remarks upon the subject, not tending, however, to the same point, as the generality of papers, but rather going to prove that the censure so lavishly bestowed is unjust and unmerited; we do not hesitate to admit that it is, in *some measure*, correct and deserved—that there are in the American drama few monuments of durable greatness; but let us endeavor to account for this fact, and in doing so, point out a few evils that call for remedy.

In the first place, authors, as a general thing, write with a view to remuneration; there are few who can afford to bestow their time and labor upon even a favorite calling, without expecting reward and encouragement, and it has been the almost invariable result, in this country at least, that the author who calculates upon these meets with disappointment. Managers are loth to pay proper prices for excellent dramas, nor is it often that they will bargain with an author to share the profits; their reasoning is, that in producing a play they assume the greater risk, and should, therefore, be entitled to the "lion's share," if it prove successful.

In the second place, the English stage supplies a great amount of material, and gives American managers a sufficiency of plays, accompanied with the mere expense of production. This is the most prominent source to which we are to look in accounting for the lack of American plays. Perhaps some will say we should rather be pleased with this than otherwise, because many of the plays thus brought before us have the standard stamp of merit, and have gone safely through the fire of criticism; yet is it not likewise true that many of them are mere trash, from which we derive little pleasure, and still less instruction, and does not their production, in preference to native works, dampen the ardor of our own writers? It is our idea that the genius of our own country should be fostered in preference to that of any other, and that the labors of our own countrymen should receive the first reward. That there is in America a *genius* for the drama, we can produce ample proof, and that if some false prejudices were removed, its exhibition would gratify the public, there can be no doubt. We hail the appearance of foreign celebrities, and give our attention to foreign plays, simply because we have so few of our own; but if we offered the same encouragement at home, perhaps we would have no occasion to seek them elsewhere.

In the third place, there is no disputing the fact, that there is a settled determination in the American public to condemn a play from a native pen—there is a disposition to believe that whatever is native, in the way of literature, must be of secondary quality. We know that many who

read this article will disavow any such prejudice, and though we may exempt some from its influence, we are not willing to make the exemption general. The fact is, there are but a few, out of the mass of mankind, who will assume the responsibility of thinking for themselves, and those to whom the authority is delegated are oftentimes in the wrong—they may be never incapable of discriminating in nice points of reason; it is often so in politics, and why should it not be so in literature? Thus many will judge of a play by the remarks of the press, which upon such matters is the mere mouth-piece of an author, where he may applaud his own performance. Plays and their authors have been lauded to the skies, when they should have been crushed in oblivion; a portion of the press made McHenry a great poet, but subsequent judgments have exploded his claims to the title. Lest it might be considered rude, we will abstain from mentioning the names of many *gentlemen* who strut under borrowed plumes, and make a great noise with other people's thunder, merely hinting that there are *play-writers*, *ballad-writers*, and a host of authors, who "hang upon the skirts of literature," and may be compared to worn-out belles, who hide their wrinkles under coats of paint, and other adornments of art. Cast aside the *rouge*, the false hair and teeth, and what have we left? A mass of deformity. So with these authors—take away what they have stolen from others, and a more pitiable being can scarce be found. The authority of *thinking* is sometimes given to these men, and we can easily answer, when asked, what amount of credence is to be given to their opinions.

It may not be wasting time to glance briefly at the American stage, and a few of the productions that may claim the merit of American origin.

As nearly as we can learn, and for this information we are indebted to "Dunlap's History of the American Theatre," the first American play, enacted by a regular company, was the "Contrast," by (Judge) Royal Tyler, which was played in New-York in 1787. The Judge was the author of several other plays, none of which are now known, except to the curious and inquiring in dramatic literature. In 1788 was produced the "Father of an Only Child," a comedy, by William Dunlap, (called the "Father of the American stage,") likewise author of some forty plays, of varied merit—all of which have seen their day. It would be an endless task to mention the plays that have been written, and the long list of dramatic authors; we must, therefore, content ourselves with mentioning a few of the most prominent.

James N. Barker, Esq., a member of the Philadelphia bar, produced, in 1807–'8, two plays: The first a comedy, entitled "*Tears and Smiles*," and the second a melo-drama, called "*The Indian Princess*," which, as its name betokens, was founded on the history of Pocahontas. This subject has been used in like manner upon several other occasions: in 1830, a play of that name, from the pen of George Washington Custis, was produced with much success; but by far the best drama upon this celebrated event is that generally ascribed to Robert Dale Owen, Esq.* We cannot spare space to make extracts from this play, but we recommend all who decry the American drama as perfectly bare of merit, to read this

* Pocahontas: An Historical Play; in five acts. By a Citizen of the West. George Dearborn, New-York. 1837.

performance. We were speaking a moment since of Mr. Barker, and of the influence of the English stage: in the same connection it may not be unwise to introduce an anecdote showing how much more a foreign effort is appreciated than one by a native genius. Among other of Mr. Barker's plays, was a dramatic version of Sir Walter Scott's poem of "*Marmion*;" it was produced at the Park Theatre, New-York. "Those concerned, apprehending a prejudice to exist against native productions, thought it politic to announce 'Marmion' as from the pen of Thomas Morton,* as having been received with unbounded applause in London." By this stratagem the piece received an impartial trial, and thousands lavished applause, who otherwise would not have endured the strains of an American muse, lest their critical acumen might be called in question.

David Paul Brown, another eminent lawyer of Philadelphia, who still mingles with the busy scenes of life, and who has adorned the literature of America in various ways, has produced two plays of much merit, entitled "*Sertorius*," and "*The Prophet of St. Paul's.*"

Nathaniel Harrington Bannister, ('Poor Nat,' as we have often heard him called,) was the writer of a number of plays, *all* possessing *considerable*, and *some*, extraordinary merit. Poverty, the great foe of genius, forced him to pamper to the low tastes of the less refined portion of the community, and many of his plays were written not with a view to literary excellence, but rather to pecuniary profit. The tragedy of "*Psammetichus: or, The Twelve Tribes of Egypt*," is his most meritorious production.

Robert T. (Judge) Conrad, of Philadelphia, was the author of several fine plays, among them: "*Conrad, King of Naples*," and "*Jack Cade*;" this latter piece was subsequently altered, and as "*Aylemere, or the Kentish Rebellion*," proved very successful in the representation upon the stage; its poetical merits make it an agreeable companion for the closet.

Dr. Bird, likewise of Philadelphia, which seems to have furnished its full quota of dramatists, was author of the tragedy of "*The Gladiator*,"—made famous by Mr. Forrest's personation of the hero. "*Oraloossa*," and "*The Broker of Bogota.*" All have received marks of public favor, and the first and last are frequently played by the distinguished tragedian whom we have named.

John Howard Payne is another name intimately associated with the American stage, both as an actor and as an author. He was born, we have been informed, in this city; he produced a number of plays—too many to enumerate. They are of all classes and qualities, ranging from tragedy down to farce. Those now most familiar are:—"*Brutus: or, The Fall of Tarquin*," a tragedy; "*Mazeppa*," a melo-drama; "*Charles II.: or, The Merry Monarch*," a comedy; and "*Clari, the Maid of Milan*," an opera. The charming ballad of "Home, sweet Home," with which the world has become enchanted, is original in the last named opera.

But our space is rapidly filling up, and we must conclude this portion of our sketch with the mention of the names of Rufus A. Dawes, James H. Hennicott, Anna Cora Mowatt, M. M. Noah, (our illustrious cotem-

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* Author of "Speed the Plough;" "A Cure for the Heartache;" "Secrets Worth Knowing;" "Town and Country," &c., &c.

porary, Major Noah, of the Sunday Times and Messenger,) Jonas B. Phillips, Esq., (our Assistant District Attorney,) John Augustus Stone, Epes Sargent, Silas S. Steele, and N. P. Willis. These are only a few of the better—we could fill a magazine with an enumeration of bad writers. At another time we may offer to our readers some observations upon the writings of these gentlemen, and upon the writings of some others to whom we have not alluded.

But now to *Valdez*, which we scarcely know how to handle; we cannot examine it in the light of an historical play, because, though it talks of kings and conspiracies, it is, we believe, entirely a sketch of fancy. At all events, we do not remember to have met with its characters or incidents in the course of our reading; nor can we examine its merits as an acting drama, before it has made its appearance on the stage. A play that to us might seem full of beauty, and deserving of the greatest applause, might to a *manager* used in such things, appear an unprofitable investment. Take for instance Mr. Longfellow's "*Spanish Student*"—here is a play full of poetry, breathing the divinest inspiration; such a drama will always give a reader pleasure, but we doubt if it would be as successful on the stage as Bulwer's "*Lady of Lyons*," or Mr. Bannister's "*Putnam*,"—both of which it far excels. *Valdez* we must therefore look at as a poetical production, and viewing it in this light, we commence with saying that it has merit of no common order.

Before going further, we will point out a few defects, trifling in their nature, and which appertain to it as an acting, rather than as a readable drama. The first great error into which our author has fallen is that of a somewhat obscure plot. Nothing sooner rivets the attention of an audience than a plot which developes itself in every incident of the play, and at the same time excites admiration and interest in the reader. Popular plays have this distinguishing feature, nor is it to be wondered at, because the plot and incidents are all that give point and influence to language; hence it is, also, that novels are more popular with the generality of readers, than essays upon literary or scientific subjects. Secondly, this play, like every other drama upon which public opinion has not been exercised, requires a careful revision; many of the dialogues, and most of the soliloquies, are too lengthy. Upon the stage the result would be tediousness—a result that will damn any play, whatever may be its merits.

Thirdly—and we are happy to say, lastly, the character of Nourmahliel has such traces of the virago mingled with feminine delicacy, as to give it an improbable appearance, and cause a disagreeable impression. There are not many who combine the two extremes of coarseness and refinement; the greater must eclipse the lesser.

We feel authorized to say, that the author has the capability of improving the faults we have suggested: there is sufficient merit in the play itself to warrant our assertion.

We will now endeavor to convey briefly some idea of the plot. Valdez and Valdivira, nephews of Manuel, King of Granada, are the principal movers in the mimic scene; they are brothers, and the latter, the younger, is the favorite of the King, as well as the chosen Nourmahliel. Valdez thirsts for power, and loves Nourmahliel, and to compass his designs—that is, to win the throne to which he holds himself by right entitled, and to secure the hand of the lovely woman of whom he is enamored—he

enters into a conspiracy with Mozzanna, Torralva, and others, to possess themselves of the kingdom, while at the same time he secretly determines upon the death of his brother—the greatest obstacle in his path to preferment. Valdez is deep in the mysteries of alchemy, and shares with the hag Heclah a part of her cavern, where he devotes himself to culling poisons and compounding death. Manuel, the King, in returning to his capital, is shipwrecked upon the sea-coast,* but escapes from a watery grave only to be the subject of an earthly fiend—Valdez, who attends his couch, and by whose *careful skill* he is conveyed into another sphere of action; after which Valdivira becomes King. On the day of his brother's nuptials with Nourmahliel, Valdez mingles poison in the cup wherein Valdivira is to pledge his bride, and that, too, in the Cathedral, where the ceremonies are to be solemnized; the draught is taken by the innocent victim, who shortly after dies, and his death is generally attributed to a sudden pestilence then just beginning to develope itself. Subsequent events prove that Heclah has given an antidote with the poison of Valdez, and Valdivira merely sleeps.

The story of Heclah is told in the course of the play; in her youth she had been very beautiful, the brightest star in the firmament of loveliness—out of a thousand suitors for her hand, she chose one who was an exile from his native land, banished for love of liberty; a profound student and an ardent lover. For him she left her happy home, her friends; for him she broke the ties of country, content to share his sorrow, so that she might bask in the sunlight of his smile, and reign sole princess of his bosom. His love is but the love of an hour, and he deserts her in a desert waste! By a miracle she is preserved from death, and wanders into Granada, to seek her husband, and her victim. From him she had learned the mysteries of magic; she meets Count Valdez, a stranger to her eyes; he shares her cavern, confides to her his schemes, and when least expected, she finds in him the victim she has sought so long. The *denouement* may be imagined—the brother is restored to his love and the throne, the wrongs of the innocent are avenged, and Valdez falls by poison, from the hands of Nourmahliel, as the vindicator of Heclah.

There are several interesting incidents and other trifling details to which we have not given our attention, because they are not essential to the plot, and moreover they will manifest themselves in the extracts we are about to make.

This plot is, as we have said, an obscure one: it may seem lucid because we have explained it, but it has been with no little difficulty; true, it is hidden under a veil of beauty, but still we could forgive a little less ornament for the sake of more prominent substance. It is necessary that

* And here we must notice another error; the scene of this drama is laid at the city of Granada, the capital of the flourishing province of that name, in the south of Spain. This city is situated in a mountainous district in the interior, and we believe the river Xenil is nearest to it—a gentle stream, not furious enough to battle against the front of a castle, or shipwreck a king. Things may have changed, but we doubt that Granada has changed its position since the time of Mahomet the III., its founder. The author, upon the firing of signals of distress, transports his characters from a room in the castle at Granada, where they have been dancing, to the cliffs upon the seashore—which, as near as our geographical recollection goes—is a distance of between 80 and 100 miles. We can allow ourselves to make imaginary kings and princes, but we must not annihilate time and space in such a manner—and that too, before the existence of steam conveyances. We remember to have seen upon a magazine cover a picture representing the embarkation of the Pilgrims, and judge of our surprise at finding that steamboats were used (in the picture) to convey our forefathers from the shore to their vessels—it created as much surprise with us to find our author capable of an error such as we have mentioned.

a writer should have much skill, to make a play such as this even supportable. In ordinary hands, the character of a fratricide would be too revolting to be looked upon; there must needs be a skilfulness beyond what ordinary circumstances would require, and we will do the author of "Valdez" the justice to say, that he has conveyed to us his meaning, with a delicacy and discernment very creditable to his genius.

We extract at random from several points, and first from page 6, where Mozzanna tells Valdivira that he has supplanted his brother in the king's favor:

VALDIVIRA.

"Let him who envies claim my poor estate;
The head is restless that in glory sleeps;
While yet the heart is wearied with its cares,
Who thinks my lot more enviable than his?
My brother Valdez!—no, it cannot be—
We're brothers, and not friends!"

The sentiment in the second line above quoted is expressed in Shakspeare; our recollection is not exact as to the point or the manner, but it is something like

"Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown."

There is much to be commended, and some little to be censured, in the following soliloquy, from which we make extracts. The inducements which Valdez shows for his crimes is certainly no extenuation of them:

VALDEZ.

"How the dark ocean, battling 'gainst its front,
Lashes the castle! while its inmates hope
To greet with smiles the coming of its lord.
So in my heart ambition's tempest raves,
Destroying peace, creating hell within,
While hopeless faith bids me be hopeful still.
Oh! I have striven for the love of all,
And falling short, I scorn my destiny.
Fate, wreak thy vengeance on this fickle frame,
And having freed the time-worn soul within,
Let the vile trunk into its mother earth
Pay its last tribute, and discharge its debt.
This heart is pure—the world hath raised within
A dark destroyer—a remorseless fiend;
Ambition nurses her fierce children there,
Black-mantled Hate, and Envy, serpent-tongued,
To bitter 't 'gainst the kin I fain would love.
My younger brother was the darling child
While yet my parents lived; my father died;
It was an evil hour, for blight with death
Came to the living mourners of the dead;
Insatiate passions o'er this wrecked soul
Hovered as vultures o'er the field of death.
My brother, then tender in years and fair,
Grew into favor with a royal court;
My mother fostered what my uncle loved,
And Valdivira robbed me of my right,

While Manuel filled the *vacant chair of state,*
Thrusting Count Valdez from his heritage.
Inherent kindness smiled upon this wrong,
And, taking 'vantage of my gentleness,
They planned their treason, and I smiled amen.
The seeds they sowed have ripened with my years,
And 'gainst a brother they have raised the hand
That should have led him to immortal fame.
Oh! I could love him, but an innate hate,
A secret canker gnawing at my heart,
Envies each joy I had bestowed on him
With willing hand, had fortune smiled on me.
Yet he is innocent. Children unborn,
Issue unconceived, are not more guiltless.
The people love him—it should glad my heart,
Yet every shout rings in my ear a groan.
Nourmahliel loves—and I should give him joy,
Yet every smile that beams to glad his heart
Sends a cold chill of horror into mine,
Making joy—sorrow, laughter, burning tears.
It is unjust, yet I am powerless—
I am not master even of myself.

We must confess that we cannot see the point of the expression, "While Manuel filled the *vacant chair of state,*"—how it could be vacant while Manuel *filled* it we cannot imagine; yet it is a mere trifle, and may have a meaning beyond what we perceive.

We have alluded to a fierceness in the character of Nourmahliel rather incompatible with our ideas of female gentleness. The following extract from Act I, Scene 3, speaks for itself:

"There are traitors here
Whose treason beams so boldly from their eyes,
Whose overt acts are black with treachery,
Thou can'st not fail to see their deadly aim.
And yet he feasts them—*I would starve them all.*
Had he the spirit of my woman's rage,
He'd tear them piecemeal, leaving not the trace
Of their existence 'mid the things of time.
Oh! I would wed this feeble hand of mine
To the dark fiend that o'er destruction smiles,
And blot such villains from the face of earth,
Annihilate their very memories,
Save in the annals of unfading shame."

The soliloquy, of which the following is a portion, has the great fault we have often mentioned; it is too long.

VALDEZ.

Toil! toil! and study; and hour after hour
Within the storehouse of thy memory,
Lay up to winter all thy gathered fruits.
Poor child of science, Earth rewards thee not;
The spell that's o'er thee had its birth beyond
The little limits of this transient world.
The wasting tiller of the fertile brain,
Mortal Creator—sage philosopher,
May starve, vain cumberer, while the earth enriched
Smiles to repay his hours of midnight toil.

* * * * *

Once found I pleasure in the joys of life;
My soul was filled with earthly melody,
The work of mercy was my spirit's choice,
And I was singled for my charity.
The envious world looked upon me with pride,
Tongue vied with tongue to emulate my praise;
And, when the whisper of the watcher told
The palsied tenant of the dreary couch
That hopeless pined beneath his agony,
'Count Valdez comes'—there was a beam of hope,
An unknown stranger on the brow of pain.
In the lone hovel by the bleak hill-side,
Where wan despair in stern attendance sits,
On crowded streets with houseless poverty,
Ay, in the cell of penitence and crime,
These feet have wandered, and these limbs reclined,
This tongue with censure mingled words of peace,
Gilded with hope, reproof came gratefully,
And on the ocean of the passion's strife
Bade rage be quiet and remorse be still;
And to uplift the fallen, aid the weak,
Became the holy burden of my time!

* * * *

The world was thankless, and ungrateful men
Laughed into scorn the errand of my life.
Still I persisted—still I labored on
In mercy's vineyard, 'till my very kin,
They in whom nature should have fostered love—
(Why, why this undeserved agony,
Why, why, oh God, these unremittent pangs!)
Ay, even they, whose blood within my veins
Is boiling o'er at their ingratitude,
They fell upon me—crushed my spirit down;
This was the zenith of my misery,
It was enough, their work was finished then:
The last sad stroke fell heavy on my heart,
Love, Hope were vanquished, and confusion thence
Held its wild orgies o'er the mental wreck,
Till vengeance fell upon the tempting field
And lighted all in its great sacrifice!

A pretty thought is expressed in the following:

CALIPPUS.

Lords, we'll indulge in revelry till morn,
The rising sun shall find our goblets.

ZAIERA.

Dry!
And we like bubbles o'er the ruby sea,
Shall ride as thoughtless as the silver wave!

There is also much truth, and no little poetry, in the remarks of Nourmahliel:

"There is a thing that men call Honesty,
'Tis a chimera—phantom of the brain,
A will-o'-wisp of the beclouded mind,

Which leadeth man in fancy's ideal realm,
Yet ever keepeth a respectful space
Between itself and its poor votaries.
Show me the man, that I may worship him,
That e'er hath reached this spirit of his dreams;
Who lives for others—sacrifices self—
And makes this Honesty his rule of life."

We will conclude our extract with the story of Heclah, told by her to Nourmahliel, who grieves for the death of Valdivira:

"Thou hast not known the history of my life,
Nor dreamed my being had a brighter place
Than that in which we have so often met.
(*Showing a casket of jewels.*)
Look on these jewels; once, these orient pearls
Vied to outshine the beauty of my brow,
And vainly urged their peerless purity.
These clustered rubies, diamonds so bright,
And changeling opal, with their gathered hues,
All were eclipsed by nature's lavish hand,
That blended here its matchless coloring,
Casting my lot among the beautiful,
Made the bright Lelia to be flattered—lost!

* * * *

As thou art now, was blooming Lelia fair,
Singled from thousands but to be admired,
A thing for men to look upon and love,
Face, form and feature, nature's proudest work.
The breezes toying with her tresses, seemed
But to spare the rudeness of their force,
And play with them more gently than the rest.
Sorrow ne'er came to blight her thoughtlessness,
Pain never checked the wildness of her laugh,
And care ne'er mingled with her merriment.
As beauty sat unrivalled on her cheek,
So grace enchanted paid its tribute there.

* * * *

Oh! there was one, upon whose guilty soul
Hang all the curses I have given birth;
May he be bowed beneath the weight of years,
And live to creep through an unhonored age
Of ceaseless torture to a lingering death.
Or—may he fall at zenith of his pride,
His body, poisoned with some loathsome plague,
His mind disturb'd with memories of the past—
I will not curse him—justice waits him *there*.

* * * *

One that smiles on thee,
E'en as he smiled destruction upon me.
His hand consigned the living unto death,
Made thee a mourner at the bridal hour,
To work the end of his dark purposes:
King Manuel fell, and others of his kin;
Would'st thou believe Count Valdez were so base?
Could'st thou conceive such abject heartlessness?
Can'st picture to thy mind so dark a fiend?

* * * *

THE LATE ELECTION.—NEW-YORK POLITICS.

The election is over. Washington Hunt is chosen governor of the State of New-York by a majority of votes; but a majority so small, and for many days so doubtful and precarious, as scarcely to furnish for his friends matter of congratulation at the final result. The language of the king of Epirus, on his first triumph over the Romans, might be appropriately used by Mr. Hunt: "Another such a victory, and I am undone."

Besides the election of their governor, however, the opposition have secured in the state other and more substantial triumphs. The new Assembly is overwhelmingly whig; the Senate, all the members of which hold over, has a whig majority of two, thus giving our opponents a large majority on joint ballot in the legislature, and securing the return of a whig to the Senate of the United States, in place of our present able, indefatigable and patriotic member, Daniel S. Dickinson. Lamentable as this result no doubt is, in our view of the case, it was inevitable. Perhaps it is an idle waste of time now to discuss the means which have been used, and to indulge in any speculations as to the causes that have produced it. We cannot, however, resist the inclination to do so, and briefly to throw out a few suggestions that occur on a careful review of the late political campaign.

And first it may be remarked, that from an examination of the result, it is impossible to say where the real majority lies, or which party has, in fact, carried the State. The majority of the representatives to the Legislature, elected by Assembly Districts, are whigs. The Congressional delegation, elected by Counties or Congressional Districts, is equally divided—seventeen being *nominally* democrats, and seventeen *nominally* whigs; Messrs. Church, Benton, and Angell, three of the candidates on the democratic state ticket, are elected by handsome and decisive majorities. Mr. Mather, the candidate for Canal Commissioner, barely runs in, and by a most meagre majority—while Seymour, the Governor, is defeated.

The first and most obvious inference from this result is, that the Democratic Party has not been, during the canvass, really *united.* The State ticket has, no doubt, been pretty generally supported by both "sections of the party," (using a somewhat ambiguous, though common phrase,) but the result in the Assembly Districts proves that the union has been a mere *truce*—an agreement upon candidates, not generally upon principles—a coalition, not a thorough and effectual consolidation of the party upon the national platform.

It is unnecessary to go into the history already but too well known—of the schism created by certain designing demagogues and disappointed aspirants in the Democratic Party, on that most contemptible of all modern humbugs—the *lana caprina* of Mr. Benton—the "Wilmot Proviso." These men, having at Buffalo consummated their political perfidy—having erected altars to unknown gods, and kindled upon them strange fires, drew with them in their secession from the party such a proportion of the "masses," as to ensure the defeat of the Baltimore nominees for the pre

sidency, and thus accomplished the sole motive which could have influenced the leaders in the crusade in which they engaged. The efforts which have since been made to reunite the party upon broad and national principles—to purge it entirely of the anti-slavery and sectional elements which the supporter of the "northern man with southern principles" had labored to instil, have been no doubt honestly made, but we cannot say that they have been successful. The injury was too deep for so rapid a cure. The wound has been cicatrized, not entirely healed. The State Convention of last year, which sent out the first union or coalition ticket, was, in our judgment, a failure. We should pronounce its course a political error. The resolution of Mr. CHATFIELD, on the slavery question, which was adopted as the basis of union, was indefinite and vague. It might be interpreted both ways, like the words of the Delphian Oracle—but it established nothing, and settled nothing. We presume, however, it accomplished the object of the mover, who was placed upon the ticket and elected Attorney-General, by the aid of the anti-rent vote, while his colleague, Mr. LOTT, for Comptroller—a national democrat—was defeated. In our judgment that Convention should have reaffirmed, in its fullest extent, the national democratic doctrine upon the slavery question, leaving the seceders to come in upon the platform or stand apart, in pharisaic complaisance, as they deemed proper.

The mischief has been put partially counteracted by the late Convention of this year. The resolutions of that Convention, introduced by Mr. O'CONOR, of New-York, lay down a broader and more definite platform. The first two are as follows:

1. *Resolved*, That the Democratic Party of New-York are proud to avow their fraternity with, and their devotion to the great principles of the Democratic Party of the Union, as declared at the National Democratic Convention held at Baltimore in 1840, '44 and '48, and they look forward in hope and confidence to the complete triumph of the party in 1852.

2. *Resolved*, That we congratulate the country upon the recent settlement by Congress, of the questions which have unhappily divided the people of these States.

This was striking at the very foundation of the Buffalo platform. The few in the Convention who were unwilling to walk with Mr. O'Conor "arm in arm to the funeral," opposed these resolutions—the second one not being, as was alleged, "historically correct." The great body of the Convention, however, sustained them—some twenty only voting with Mr. J. Van Buren in the negative—not enough to form even the nucleus of another Herkimer gathering. The Abolition organs of the minority, the New-York Evening Post and Albany Atlas, publicly ridiculed and repudiated the resolutions—thus continuing alive the agitation, denouncing the principles upon which the very candidates they professed to support were nominated, and voting the ticket with a mental reservation. Mr. WAGER, of Oneida, moved an amendment to the resolutions, approbating the course of DANIEL S. DICKINSON in the Senate. Mr. HART, a warm political friend of Mr. Dickinson, now elected to Congress from New-York, moved the previous question, we believe, under a misapprehension, supposing it would bring a direct vote on the amendment. The President of the Convention, applying the rule of the New-York Assembly, decided that the previous question cut off the amendment. Here lay another

grand error of the Convention. A test vote on Mr. Dickinson would at once have sifted the minority from the Convention, and have left the battle to be fought in the Assembly districts upon its true principle. The return of Mr. Dickinson to the Senate should have been made an issue in the contest. The result certainly could not have been more adverse than it is, and it would not have left the erroneous impression that the *united* democracy of New-York had failed to sustain that eminent statesman against Sewardism and Abolitionism. Besides, it had the effect of patching up a hollow truce between the two wings of the Whig Party, the Seward and Fillmore divisions as they are familiarly termed, composed of elements as discordant as those which pervade the two divisions of the Democratic Party. The result, so far as the Assembly is concerned, has been substantially a triumph of Sewardism and sectionalism—of a sentiment which we believe to be foreign and repugnant to the views of a large majority of the electors of the State—brought about in this instance by errors, by misapprehensions, by mutual distrust, and by accidental causes. It needs no seer to predict that the "National Whigs" cannot long remain united in bonds of fraternity with the anti-slavery majority of that party. If the slavery agitation is to be renewed; if the war upon the Constitution is to continue, all loyal and patriotic men of all parties will unite upon broad national grounds in defence of our institutions as they now exist, and as our fathers made them. The war, perhaps, is inevitable, and let it come!

Another striking fact in the late election is this:—Of the only two national democrats on the State ticket, one, Mr. Seymour, is defeated, and the other, Mr. Mather, barely elected, while Messrs. Church, Benton, and Angell, the other three, all of whom belonged to the Utica organization, have large majorities, and this, too, notwithstanding the vote against Mr. Church in New-York city is 4,545, and in favor of Mr. Seymour is 1,053. The inquiry is naturally suggested, what influence has brought about this result? In order to give an intelligible answer that may be understood beyond the confines of our own State, a word of explanation is necessary.

In some of the most populous counties in the State, Albany, Rensselaer, Columbia, Delaware, and Schoharie, the subject of the manorial titles to large tracts of land, which tracts are held by the tenants under perpetual leases from their landlords, has furnished the ground of controversy, dispute, and in some cases of lawless violence. The efforts on the part of the tenants have been to impeach the title of their landlords, and to destroy a system which they profess to regard as a remnant of feudalism. Instead of pursuing this object through the courts, they have vainly looked to the legislature for aid, and have in some cases taken the law in their own hands. The tenants have refused to pay their rent.—Officers of the law have been assaulted in the execution of their duty by bands of armed and disguised men—robbed of their papers—and even in one or two instances shot down in cold blood. Instead of endeavoring to allay this excitement, and to bring back these misguided citizens to a sense of their duty, wicked and designing men have labored to fan the flame, to give impetus to the movement, and to organize a distinct political association on the basis of anti-rentism. This has actually been done, and startling as the fact may appear, the "anti-rent" party has almost controlled the elections in the State for several years past. In 1846, the whig candidate, Gov. Young, having obtained this nomination, was elected over

Silas Wright, while his associate on the ticket, the present Governor, Hamilton Fish, was defeated by a large majority. Even members of Congress are nominated and elected with reference to their real or supposed sentiments in favor of the lawless principles of this most abominable of all political organizations. The whig member elect from the Delaware and Ulster district, Mr. Schoonmaker, was elected by anti-rent votes; so of the whig member, Schoolcraft, from the Albany district; while in Otsego, that strong democratic district, Mr. Snow, a national democrat, has barely escaped defeat.

The State election last year was entirely controlled by the anti-rent vote. Portions of both tickets, whig and democratic, were nominated, and the portions so nominated, elected. The following table will show the difference caused by the anti-rent vote in the nine principal anti-rent counties:

FOR COMPTROLLER.

Hunt (Whig) on anti-rent ticket	32,402	
Lott (Democratic,) not on anti-rent ticket	30,226	
Majority for Hunt		2,176

FOR JUDGE COURT OF APPEALS.

Jewett (Democratic) on anti-rent ticket	34,125	
Spencer (Whig,) not on anti-rent ticket	27,167	
Majority for Jewett		6,958
Difference caused by anti-rent vote		9,139

The vote at the present election exhibits a similar result. The anti-rent ticket comprised the "Free-soilers" of both nominations. Messrs. Church, Benton, and Angell, from the democratic ticket, were adopted, and in place of Messrs. Seymour and Mather, the names of the whig candidates, Hunt and Blakeley, were substituted. The following table of majorities in nine anti-rent counties explains itself:

	Seymour.	Church.	Hunt.	Cornell.
Albany		527	965	
Rensselaer		829	331	
Columbia		571	15	
Greene	221	412		
Schoharie	401	947		
Delaware		3632	787	
Otsego	693	1160		
Sullivan	36	883		
Ulster	619	782		
	1970	9763	2098	
Hunt (Whig) majority over Seymour				128
Church (Democratic) over Cornell				9763
				9891

The difference in favor of Messrs. Seymour and Cornell, caused in New-York by the Union ticket, but little exceeded half this vote. The consequence is, that the demagogues who controlled the anti-rent Convention, have defeated our candidate for Governor, nearly defeated our candidate for Canal Commissioner, and have elected the entire Free-soil portion of the State ticket.

It is idle to attempt to disguise the fact, that anti-rentism is but another of the *isms* which Mr. Senator Seward and his associates of the Tribune and Albany Evening Journal (with their natural allies of the Post and Atlas, and the minority at the Syracuse Convention who could not endure the resolutions) are endeavoring to engraft as an element into the Constitution of a new northern and sectional party, embracing all the isms, and based upon the one idea. The entire anti-rent vote is literally at the command of the Free-soil interests. The public would be surprised at the audacity of the proceedings of the Convention which nominated the anti-rent ticket, and the character of the men who controlled it. No national democrat, so far as we know, was present; no representative of that portion of the Whig Party who refuse to follow Mr. Seward. An editor or sub-editor of the Evening Journal, just returned as a delegate from the Whig Convention which had nominated Mr. Cornell for Lieutenant-governor, meets at this anti-rent conclave a "free soil democrat" just returned from the convention which nominated Mr. Seymour. The democrat sells out Seymour for Church; the whig barters away Cornell for Hunt. That staid and sober organ of the "Silver Grays"—the Albany State Register—and particularly of Messrs. Fillmore, Granger, and Duer, it is true, vindicated the character of Mr. Hunt, and declared, if he accepted the nomination, he should not have its support; but Mr. Hunt is a curious manager, as well as an ingenious letter-writer, and contrived at once to gain the anti-rent vote, and not to lose the support of the "Silver Grays."

How long are these things thus to remain? How long is this unnatural coalition between the friends and the enemies of the Constitution and Union in both parties to continue? How long is a lawless political organization in a few counties to be used by corrupt politicians as the tool and instrument of forwarding the fell designs of Abolitionism? It strikes us that the answer to these questions is plain. The remedy is in the hands of the people. The city of New-York of itself can rebuke not only, but entirely defeat the conspiracy, so far as it affects the State election. The action of the great Union meeting at Castle Garden was but partial. Had the Union ticket gone forth with the *prestige* that a full and hearty endorsement by that meeting would have given it, the effect would have been electrical. Sewardism, Abolitionism, and Anti-rentism would have met their just rebuke together.

The ten thousand anti-rent votes can be met and counterbalanced by a majority of twenty thousand in the city of New-York alone. The time has come when an anti-rent nomination should be a brand upon the forehead of any candidate, unless that nomination be hurled back in scorn, and signally, and forever, and at once repudiated. No tampering, no evasion, no silence, as was the case when the late interrogatories were put by Tammany Hall to the free soil and anti-rent state candidates. Let the question be met boldly and at once, or the candidate promptly repudiated. He who courts, or countenances, this "higher law" influence, should be placed out of the pale of the true democratic church. Let him find his support, where his sympathies are enlisted, among those who justify the slavery and anti-rent agitations by a "higher law than the Constitution."

MILITARY RANK.*

"The *prestige* of military life is wearing away, and a new generation of men has found, that honor and respectability may equally belong to all professions."—"*The Merchant:*" An Oration; by George R. Russell.

An evidence that "the *prestige* of military life *is* wearing away," is found in the vote by which punishment by flogging was recently abolished in the navy and commercial marine of the United States. Almost to a man, every officer of the line in the navy whose voice could be made to reach members of the national legislature, declared "that the abolition of flogging must destroy the efficiency of the navy, by depriving the officers of the most potent means of preserving discipline in ships of war." But their voices were unheeded; and in that fact they may read that the *prestige* and influence of military men are no longer powerful over the judgment of legislators. They may read; but it is suspected they will not perceive, that the time has come when their prejudices alone cannot control the action of the representatives of the people. It is in vain they attempt to cajole the public by managing the head of the navy department, to pack a board of captains to decide a question which each is known to have prejudged before it was referred.

A board of five post-captains has been convened to ascertain whether an assimilated rank, or a definite position in naval or military organization, should be given to medical officers, pursers, steam-engineers, and others in the navy. This board seems to be organized as a court, with power to decide the question submitted to it for investigation; for, it seems that a surgeon and purser were ordered to appear before it to advocate the claims of the naval staff, or as they are pleased to say, the "civil branch," and two lieutenants to advocate the claims of the line of the navy, or as they say, "the sea-officers or military branch," as if all officers whose vocation is to serve at sea, were not sea-officers.

But the surgeon and purser declined to stand before a board, composed of men of the line, whose old class prejudices have been recorded already against the very reasonable demands of the staff, because they could not thus have a right to protest against any conclusions of the board which they may believe to be erroneous or unjust. Had those staff-officers been made members of this inquest, the reports of the board might have been received as the result of a fair investigation. As it is, Congress will know how to appreciate the labors of an *ex parte* packed junto, and probably ask to know why those equally interested should be excluded in the discussion and examination of a question, the sole right to decide which those captains seem to have arrogated to themselves. But the decision is not with them, it rests with Congress; and it is hoped, every member will look narrowly to the question before he records his vote.

The pamphlet before us is well printed in clear, large type, and written

* A Brief History of an existing controversy on the subject of Assimilated Rank in the Navy of the United States. By W. S. W. R. 8vo., pp. 108. C. Sherman, Printer, Philadelphia.

in a spirit of entire fairness to both parties. The author sets forth the meaning of several military terms, the understanding of which seems essential to a full comprehension of the subject he is discussing. He urges, that "precision in the use of terms is essential to perspicuity; no law can be explicit if stated in words of uncertain meaning."

The author shows that the navy consists really, though not in name, of a *line* and *staff corps*, like the army; and is in fact an army trained to fight in ships, instead of forts on land.

It appears that for many years the staff of the navy, which includes surgeons, pursers, chaplains, engineers, professors, &c., have been asking to be assigned a definite position in the navy, in order to know what are their rights and privileges in common with the line of the navy, erroneously called "sea-officers." They do not claim a right to interfere in the duties or command of these "sea-officers," or to be excused from any kind of service. But the engineer thinks he should be entrusted with the management of the engine of a war-steamer, and be independent of the lieutenants and midshipmen in his own engine-room. He supposes that he does not require to be ordered by a lieutenant or midshipman to oil this or that part of the machinery; but that as long as he keeps the engine in running condition, and obeys the legal orders of the captain, he does all that is necessary on his part for the efficiency and discipline of the vessel. So, the purser thinks that he can keep his accounts and settle them at the proper time and place, without being required to obey every lieutenant and midshipman in the ship: he urges that, within his limits, he is the fiscal agent of the people, and as such he gives heavy bonds, that the money entrusted to his keeping shall be honestly disbursed. And the surgeon believes he can care for the wounded, and prescribe for the sick, without being ordered by lieutenants to use this or that splint, or give this or that medicine. The author of the pamphlet before us contends, that efficiency only requires that the head of each staff department in a ship should be subject to the orders of the actual captain of the vessel, or his deputy, when he himself is absent.

It appears, however, that at present these staff officers are subject to the orders of almost every commissioned line-officer in the navy, which does not seem to be necessary.

The object of assimilated rank, a military technical term, is to determine the degree of subordination of staff officers to officers of the line, while it excludes the said staff officers from any right to command line-officers, or in any way interfere in the sphere of their peculiar duties.

Several secretaries of the navy are quoted in favor of establishing an assimilated rank; but the attempt to do so by executive regulation, has failed, owing to a spirit, either of insubordination, or a disposition to quibble on the meaning of the orders issued on the subject, by officers of the line. This is clearly established by the statements of our author, and the quotations given in the body and appendix of the pamphlet.

While the question remains undecided, it is likely to disturb that harmony which should ever exist among members of the same brotherhood. Whatever concerns the harmony of a military body, concerns its efficiency; and under this view, the question becomes one of much greater importance than it appears at first sight. It is hoped Congress will, therefore, during the approaching session, find time to decide it forever on equitable grounds, without regard to prejudices, or the mere dictum of old captains, or old surgeons.

Space does not permit us to go further into the question, which is perhaps altogether too technical for general readers; but as it is supposed to involve the rights of a valuable, though comparatively small number of our fellow-citizens, it deserves the consideration of every well-wisher of the navy, and every advocate of justice and right.

PACIFIC RAIL-ROAD.*

The necessity and importance of an Internal Rail-road connection between the Atlantic and the Pacific States of this Union, are not only strongly impressed upon the public mind, but the current of events, always rapid upon this wonderful continent, is become so accelerated, as to make prompt action upon the subject of vital interest to the Union. The enterprize is justly regarded as gigantic,—so much so, that even American energy, accustomed as it is to grapple with colossal undertakiegs, seems to hesitate at the work. Gradually, however, as the athlnte measures with his eye a daring leap, until his bold mind, familiarized with the novel magnitude of the exploit, manfully essays it, the American mind, fresh from the completion of lines of canals and rail-roads, of such gigantic proportions as to have extorted signs of surprise and admiration from the old world, has expanded to the capacity of the National Rail-road, and demands its completion. After all, what is this Rail-road that it should have caused the American people to pause for breath? If we turn from what has been already done to what is still to do, we find that half the distance from New-York has already been virtually accomplished. Thus from New-York to a point where it is proposed to bridge the Mississippi, is 1,141 miles. From that point to the Pacific, is 1,820 miles. The entire line from New-York to Galena, on the Mississippi, is in such a state of forwardness as to be completed within two years, when a passenger leaving New-York upon the Erie Rail-road may pass 1,200 miles in seventy-two hours to Galena, by continuous rails. From that point, 1,800 miles of rails will land him upon the shores of the Pacific—in eight days from ocean to ocean. The cost of Rail-roads in the western countries is, from the nature of the ground, less than in the eastern states, and the extension from the Mississippi to the Pacific will cost perhaps less than the 1,200 miles from New-York to that point may cost. If this enterprize is colossal, the means of doing it are no less gigantic, and if there is truth in the aphorism of Sterne, that "God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," so also has he given means and energy, proportioned to the great work laid out for the American race upon this continent. In the case of this Rail-road there exists as the property of the Federal Government, an immense amount of land, amply sufficient, if promptly and judiciously made available, to construct this road. And we regard as one of the chief benefits of the road, that such an application of the lands is the only mode

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* Reports of Mr. Bright from the Senate Committee on Roads and Canals, and of Mr. Robinson from the House Committee.

by which the balance of the splendid domain can be made available to the people. Its practical effect is the same as would be that of a new Mississippi river running west to discharge itself upon the bosom of the Pacific, bearing thither the produce of those rich prairies for the use of Asia, and in the purchase of the products of the East.

The immense migration to, and rapid settlement of our Pacific possessions, have hastened events, and brought them to a point where it becomes necessary almost immediately to decide on the adoption of some plan for the construction of a more direct and ready means of communication than any now existing. And it appears that some means of rapid intercourse directly across the continent, by which our Atlantic slope and the Mississippi valley can participate in the rich resources and local position and advantages of our Pacific slope, by which the Pacific side can share in those of the Atlantic side, and in the benefits and glory of our government and institutions, is become indispensable.

Of the progress and position of the Pacific states, the world and its history does not afford a parallel. The discovery of the rich mines has caused thousands of people to hasten there, sufficient in numbers, almost immediately, to form a nation; and they are not wanting in capacity for any enterprise. Thousands and thousands will continue to be drawn there from Asia, (China generally,) and from all Europe, such a population as has never before been congregated and associated together; and there are, and will be found, all nations, kindred and tongues, enjoying alike with equal rights both religious and civil liberty; and possessing energy, industry and skill in all the arts, they will soon be able to supply all their own wants in the products from the soil of their different climes, the products from the sea and in manufactures, and a surplus besides. Their position gives to them the command of the commerce with the islands of the Pacific, with China, and with all Asia. Separated as we are, our interests may be said to be distinct. The Rocky Mountain range which separates us from each other, seems to be a geographical and commercial division of the whole world; the Mississippi basin going to the Atlantic slope, and with it to Europe, for markets and exchanges, while the Pacific slope must exchange with and find markets in China, all Asia, and the islands of the Pacific. This seems to be an arrangement or decree of nature; and can man change all this? If he cannot, then is it not almost certain that our Pacific slope must separate from us, and form an independent nation? But it is now evident, the people of the whole country have decided that we shall undertake this great change in nature's arrangement, by opening a great highway up through the Rocky Mountains, by which the Atlantic slope, the depot for the commerce of the country with Europe, shall be united with the Pacific slope, the depot for that with Asia, facilitating the interchange of commodities between the two, and an immense population of consumers in the intervening valley.

We can, in common with the public, see the immense importance of this stupendous enterprize, as well as the vast results to be produced by its successful accomplishments; but the undertaking of such a mighty work may involve difficulties and dangers under our institutions, which might jeopardize not only the work itself, but also the government and our national institutions; considerations which, with us, would outweigh all the splendid expectations of the work.

This is not a new subject; it has been for a long time before the public,

discussed and commented upon in every quarter. As an individual enterprize, involving no constitutional difficulties, we have and shall continue to favor it, and urge its adoption by Congress; but as a government work in any way, either to commence in the states or in the territories, it presents insuperable objections, and such we believe will be the determination of every sound democrat. The objections to a government work of any kind, and much more so to one of the magnitude and importance of this, are so many and so great, and are so obvious to every democrat, that we need not here specify them: suffice it to say, that the evil of Executive patronage is already so great as to excite the fears of every patriot, and a little reflection must convince any one that so extensive an addition to it, as would be created by the construction of this work, is quite inadmissible.

In our former numbers we have expressed our reasons on this subject, and fully explained the only plan—which as it appeared to us could be rendered feasible—and that, the sale of the public lands to Mr. Whitney, as a basis for means, as proposed and provided for by the Bill reported to the Senate by Mr. Niles, Chairman of a Select Committee at the first session of the 30th Congress. The sale of the land to Mr. Whitney would have been positive, while the construction of the road by him would have been but an individual enterprize. This plan would avoid and obviate all the constitutional difficulties to which a government work might be subject in relation to means, as well as those objections that would inevitably attend the constructing, operating and managing of the work by the government.

Congress, by the Constitution, have full powers to dispose of the public lands, and to make the terms and conditions; but beyond this, Congress has no power over the lands, which, once sold, become subject to their owners under the laws of the state in which they may be located. This point is so clear, that it requires no argument. The government lands are daily purchased for improvement, by agriculture and otherwise, on a small scale; and there is no apparent difference in principle between this and selling them on a larger scale, to be applied to the construction of a Railroad which will, beyond a doubt, facilitate the settlement of the country on its entire line.

And we are pleased to find that both Mr. Robinson, Chairman of the House Committee on Roads and Canals, and Mr. Bright, Chairman of the same Committee in the Senate, have reported to the respective bodies the same bill, with but few modifications, that was reported by Mr. Niles; the adoption of which by Congress would, in our opinion, relieve the subject from all embarrassment.

We have before us the able and lucid reports of these two committees, the sound democratic views and principles of the chairman of which, are well known to the country. The two reports are able and clear; they argue the same points, give the same facts, and arrive at the same conclusion, only in a different manner; but they both render the whole subject so plain, that we think those who read may understand. They carefully examine not only Mr. Whitney's plan, but with it the whole subject of a communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and decidedly and unhesitatingly pronounce against all the plans except that of Mr. Whitney.

Panama, Nicaragua and Tehuantepec, they decide against, because they

could not accomplish the objects desired. The distance by either of these routes between Europe and Asia being 2,250 to 3,500 miles greater than the present route around the Cape of Good Hope; while between New-York and China, or other Asiatic ports, the saving in distance would not compensate for the increased expenses on the voyage out, for transhipments and transit across from ocean to ocean; besides, all vessels on the return voyage would take the Cape route, as the always favorable fair-trade winds would make that the cheapest, and shortest as to time; and our vessels, which all go nearly empty, return loaded. Other objections are made to these routes: that the climate would damage and destroy animal and vegetable products; that they are out of, and one side of, our country and of all our interests; could never be under our control; and the building up of commerce there, would benefit other nations quite as much as our own.

Then is taken up all the plans which have been submitted for a Rail-road directly across the continent, and they examine them as compared with Mr. Whitney's plan.

The First.—The proposition for a government work directly by the government.

The Second.—The loan of the government credit of $98,000,000, with a donation of a strip of land ten miles wide, and for the entire length of the road, to a company to be incorporated for the object.

And Third.—The setting apart a specific portion of the national revenue from the sales of the public land, and leaving the work still in the hands of the Government.

All of which plans are pronounced by both committees to be unconstitutional and impracticable. The latter plan, while possessing all the difficulties of the two former, is rendered impossible; because the lands, as now being disposed of for other objects, could not be made in this manner available for this plan. And the committee say, "but the insurmountable difficulties presented by these three plans are superseded by substituting *the principle of private enterprize and private responsibility*, as proposed by Mr. Whitney's plan; and as there is no other plan before Congress, which does not depend upon the public treasury, either directly or indirectly for means, which Congress will not sanction, nor would the committee recommend it, Mr. Whitney's plan must therefore be adopted, or the work must be abandoned."

The latter alternative, we confess, we should regard with regret; not alone on the ground that, in such a case, the interoceanal traffic will be driven through that route, across the Isthmus, for the control of which the English Government have been guilty of more duplicity, fraud and villainy, in the course of more than seventy years, than has, perhaps, marked its foreign policy upon any other single object; but because the home trade, and the value of that vast domain which, of right, belongs to the settler, free of cost, depends upon such a work. On a tract of eight hundred miles, in a westerly direction from the lake, a vast body of settlers, of all nations, is pressing with ceaseless vigor. As the lands contiguous to the great water-courses are taken up, and new comers are driven more and more towards the remote interior, the land, no matter how fertile may be its qualities, loses its productive value. It is absurd for any legislature to propose to give to the landless man a free farm, if that farm is so remotely situated that the man's labor bestowed upon it can pro-

duce no results beyond his bare subsistence. Such a farm is not worth the labor bestowed upon it; and the demagogue who proffers it, but insults the intelligence of the settler. If, however, by appropriating a portion of the public domain, the remainder can be made available to the settler, a real homestead will have been created for him. Manufactures, and all branches of industry, will spring up on the line of the rail-road, affording markets for the produce of the districts commanded by lateral works. The experience of the great rail-roads now in operation is, that, as the aggregate business increases, the distance travelled by each passenger and ton of freight diminishes. The Massachusetts rail-road returns show, that in 1846, there were transported 3,990,318 passengers, at an average distance of 20 miles each; through the consolidation of local business, the aggregate numbers increased, and the average distance decreased, until in 1849 the former was 8,742,579, and the latter 16 miles. The travel more than doubled, and the average distance declined 25 per cent. If this was the effect in a country already densely settled by a manufacturing population, how much more effective will the same influence be in such a country as that west of the Mississippi! To understand this rightly, it is to be taken into consideration that the natural resources of the Mississippi valley are such as to designate it as the inevitable, *ultimate seat of manufactures for the world.* Nations and sections may struggle by means of protective laws, and all sorts of idle absurdities, the nostrums of charlatan demagogues, to obtain and retain branches of business, for which their natural advantages have not fitted them: but the laws of trade are inviolable. That country which is possessed of the greatest number of the materials necessary to manufactures, will be the ultimate manufacturer; and the time is at hand when the world will scarcely believe that such a state of things could, by any possibility, have existed, as to have permitted raw materials to go to England from one continent, and food from another, for the production of goods to sell in a third. Why should flour and wool go from Michigan to Lowell, to meet cotton from New-Orleans, and coal from Pennsylvania—all to be wrought into fabrics for sale in Kentucky? Here is a costly transportation of goods *from* the mill to the consumer, occasioned by three costly transportations of materials *to* the mill; yet all these materials are, in the very prodigality of nature, thrown together in the neighborhood of Kentucky in profuse abundance, and of unsurpassed qualities; stone, clay, timber, coal, iron, copper, lead, land, food, wool, hemp, flax, and cotton—with abundance of materials for glass, fire brick, and all the accessories of minor productions, are here lying together, waiting only the action of labor and capital to combine them into the best and cheapest fabrics that ever yet left the hand of man. Such being the resources of the district, it will inevitably become the centre of supply for wrought fabrics; and the rail-roads and canals, which now carry goods into that region, bringing food and materials from thence, will soon earn their freights in distributing the goods there manufactured in the Atlantic States. There will be but *one* transportation, that of goods *from* the great valley. For this inevitable reversed system of distribution the Atlantic States are reasonably well provided; but that vast region of country west of the Mississippi, whence the growing manufactures of the valley of the Mississippi must draw half their supplies, and in which it must find an expansive market for fabrics, must depend upon that great Rail-road, the construction of which we think depends upon Mr. Whitney's success.

The Atlantic slope will maintain a large commerce with the European world, the West Indies and South America; and the Pacific slope holds a similar relation to Asia and Western South America. But in the great valley will beat the heart whose pulsations will quicken every channel of trade branching from the great arteries that lead West and East and South. The first is formed of the Mississippi, and the last has already numberless Rail-roads. The West must depend upon Mr. Whitney.

We have in a former number of this "Review" stated at length the plan on which Mr. Whitney proposes, that through him the lands shall be appropriated to the construction of this road: we will here briefly recapitulate. We have said that the distance from the Mississippi to the Pacific is 1,800 miles. The first 800 miles of this route is through first quality farming lands, wanting nothing but a communication to make them available. Here then supervenes some 800 miles of an almost uninhabited desert before the arable lands of the Pacific slope are reached. Even if the lands of the valley should be settled, and a road through them built by private enterprize entirely, the prolongation of the road through the desert could scarcely be expected for a long period after the Pacific states shall have grown into importance. It is necessary therefore that the road through that desert region should be built by the lands this side of it. The process of settlement should step by step open the communication. The plan of Mr. Whitney for this object is very simple and effective. He asks that the government lay out for sale to him a strip of land sixty miles wide to the Pacific. This strip, through the centre of which longitudinally, the road runs, to be divided into ten mile sections; each of these sub-divided into five mile sections. Mr. Whitney will then on his own resources build ten miles of road. When it is completed to the satisfaction of the government commissioners, he sells the first section of five miles by sixty miles, containing 192,000 acres. For this he in the end pays the government ten cents per acre, or $19,200; it is worth at the present rate of bounty scrip, $138,240, but the building of the road through will enhance its value, so that it will reimburse the outlay. The government will then have possession of ten miles of road and a five-mile section of land. Mr. Whitney then builds ten miles more of road, and to meet the outlay, sells the third five-mile section, and so on. Now the 800 miles of good land will embrace 160 of those five-mile sections, and on the completion of the road, 80 of those will have been sold, and the government will hold a road 800 miles long, 80 alternate five-mile sections of land through which the road runs, and will in the end have received $1,600,000 cash from Mr. Whitney. Through the action of the road the eighty sections still held by the government, will be vastly more valuable than those before sold. Mr. Whitney then builds ten miles of road in the desert region, and goes on to sell the first five mile reserved section to meet the expense. It is obvious, that the fund so furnished must be ample to extend the road until the good lands of the Pacific region are reached, when the first process will be renewed, and the whole communication ultimately established. The road will then have been built, and the government will have received nearly $8,000,000 for the land used in its construction, while the property of all settlers will have been quadrupled by the communication. So stupendous a national work can under no circumstances be constructed on terms more advantageous to all parties, and the golden opportunity should by no means be lost.

EDGAR ALLAN POE.*

Lo! By the grave I stand of one, for whom
A prodigal Nature and a niggard Doom
(*That* all bestowing, *this* withholding all)
Made each chance knell from distant spire or dome
Sound like a seeking Mother's anxious call,
Return, poor Child! Home, weary Truant, home!—COLERIDGE.

Awake *him* not! Surely he takes his fill
Of deep and liquid rest, forgetful of all ill.—SHELLEY.

IN the Fine Arts Department of the Royal Dublin Society, by the left stairs leading to its Exhibition Gallery, there hangs a large picture; a tablet is underneath with this inscription—"*Painted by* JAMES BARRY, *a pupil of this institution.*" Well may the society be proud of it. Well may Ireland be proud. It stands there a monument of the institution and of the painter. It is a Shaksperean painting; immortal as the mind that gave the idea for its conception on canvass. It is an historical picture. The subject from Cymbeline. The scene, Jachimo in the chamber of Imogen. We have learned to love that vestibule, and the schools below and the gallery above to which it leads. They were the scenes of our early ambition and our pride; struggling and toiling in the one to make a display, and mayhap gain a reward upon the walls of the latter. For hours we have gazed upon Barry's fine picture, until we were unconscious of any but its presence. For hours we have been in Imogen's chamber, and wondered how we came there—were we there before she retired to rest, or when giving up her book and herself to sleep, she commended herself to the protection of the Gods,

"From Fairies, and the tempters of the night!"

No; she has been asleep while we were there. The book with its unstirred mark (save where Jachimo read the left-off sentence) has been there since we were present. Came we in another trunk, or partook we of the interior of that hairy-leathered covered chest, into which the wily Italian is hasting? No; he envies the scene too much to allow any else to partake of it knowingly. Did the maid Helen steal us in? No; she is too faithful. Yet we have been there—ay, and so indelibly is the perfumed breath of the sleeping 'lily' stamped upon our senses, that while we write, a censer seems to be swinging at our window, careering fragrance through our book-musty atmosphere. Ay; we were there, and kissed those coral lips, and heard Jachimo in rhapsodical delight mutter,

"Rubies unparagon'd,
How dearly they do't;"

and almost hated him that he took the words from our mouth. Can we

* The Works of the late Edgar Allan Poe, with notices of his life and genius. By N. P. Willis, J. R. Lowell, and R. W. Griswold.—2 vols. New-York: J. S. Redfield, Clinton Hall, 1850.

telegraph our soul o'er the ocean? Can we not *feel* thousands of miles away, as well as transport our name or our thoughts there instantaneously as they arise? We can. Imagination—mind—the soul—is an older telegraph than it of the wire and electricity. And not only doth it annihilate present time and space, but it dissolves centuries, and takes to the ark. We pray in it a thanksgiving, that the deluge hath spared us. So the memory of that chamber blanks the mind to all else, and we have floated against the current of existence, back into that moonlit room again. The tapestry around the bed falls in the same rich drapery of "silk and silver." The highly-wrought carvings on the chimney-piece, which, by the way, lies 'south the chamber,' are 'another nature.' So perfect are they—the chaste Diana, bathing; reality!—"motion and breath left out." In the back of the chamber the moon throws a deathlike gray tint upon the marble table, and the basin, and vessels of ablution; and there is the "divine Imogin" herself.

> "O sleep, thou ape of death, lie dull upon her,
> And be her sense but as a monument."

The 'adornment of the bed' is gracefully disordered, as though the sweet sleeper had disturbed dreams of her beloved Posthumus. The pillow, rising at either side her head, seems like a dimpled cheek, hilarious in gallantry that it supported such a world of loveliness. She is thinking of her love and joy, and her arms, like messenger angels, seem sent out to return him to the heaven of her heart. Her breasts heave, as though a revolution shook Elysium, and we can see all that's passing in those palpitating globes through their very translucence, as Jehovah can grasp the earth in a glance. Her tresses wander from their night-band, as though, partaking of her feelings, they were anxious to shelter, beneath their silky trellis, the loved of their mistress. See on that left breast, which the goddess of sculpture or Jachimo has left bare,

> "A mole, cinque-spotted, like the crimson drops
> I' the bottom of a cowslip."

The 'yellow Jachimo' maketh a note of *that*. The little table and embroidering basket was by the bed-side. The book—the tale of Tereus—with the leaf marked

> "Where Philomel gave up."

And the taper, the flame of which is so conscious of the sleeper's loveliness, that it 'bows towards her.' At the other end, some distance from the bed, is the trunk, for the safety of which, "that her lord had interest in it," she had pawned her honor. It is a stout trunk, and has traveled, too, for the hair is worn down to the leather in some places. The iron handle at the end betaketh of a little rust, and the nail-heads have lost every trace of the nailer's hammer. They have lost the irregularities and angularities of youth, and are polished into steady middle age. Many and many a time have we counted every nail in this trunk; and what would Cloten give for the sight—not at the trunk, for an intimate lord of his sayeth, that he could not

> "Take two from twenty for my heart,
> And leave eighteen."

So the nail-heads would be a very limbo for him. But into the chamber—Ah! we fear he would be less discreet than we,—than even Jachimo, who, all temptations considered, was an "honorable man!" But stay; the Italian, minute as a modern appraiser's clerk, has taken an inventory of the chamber, and as the sunset glides of an avalanche the golden bracelet he slides off her white arm, and with his treasures—his pencil and tablet in his left hand—his right supporting and opening the upraised lid, he steals cautiously backward—that he might keep his gaze on her—into the trunk. His body is bent, inclined forward, one foot is in the trunk—and we are breathless with excitement lest she should awaken. Since he has done so well, we wish him safety; besides, we believe her sleep, her blessed sleep, is her protector. We would not answer for the heated blood of Italy, were she awake and looked like woman; then he would be a demon—but she is asleep, and looks an angel. He is a man.

Why we have dwelt thus long on this grand painting, the great effect of which, no doubt, was partly owing to its being one of the earliest great works of art we saw, and partly the feeling of enthusiasm and brotherhood it created in the breast of a student in the same institute that had sent it forth, and felt proud of the artist as its pupil—why we have dwelt on it, that since our fortunes were cast on these shores, the same feeling of identification with a poet, or a painter, or his conjurations, has alone been felt in the perusal of Poe's works. We have left our earthly sphere, and travelled in balloons, experiencing all the horrid sensations that atmospheric changes produce on the human frame. We have rotted away in a mesmeric stupor as M. Valdeman, and have been drowned in the stygian abyss of the south pole, by the potency of Edgar Poe's will. We have actually been dead—*dead*—stupified into all the horrid realities of his powerful recitations and conceptions, and have awoke, hours after the book had fallen from our hands, thanking Heaven that the sensations produced did not affect our sanity—felt our arms, legs, head—to be sure we *felt*, and walked out into the open air, that we might see living people, and green leaves, and children playing, to tone down our excitement; and think calmly on the lulled, yet highly-wrought intellect—a few pages of the scintillations of which had so transformed us for the time. Those feelings made us look back through the book of life for markings of a like sensation, and we found the leaf turned down at Barry's picture, and one or two other chapters of national pride and national sorrow. Every person has such markings in his life-book—such beacons on his life-journey. Yet in all the vicissitudes of fortune, and the many million-million milestones and beacons in humanity's various journeys, every mortal, though he be of five-score, can steer, without jarring with any one else to his earliest joy—mark as a stolen bird will steer through a populous forest to the next, in which it first broke its shell.

(To be continued.)

POLITICAL PORTRAITS WITH PEN AND PENCIL.

ALEXANDER W. BUEL, OF MICHIGAN.

In presenting to the readers of the "*Democratic Review*" the following sketch, the writer is induced to believe that there are many circumstances in the life of the subject of the memoir well worthy of perusal, whether he is regarded as the qualified and examined college student of ten years, the successful lawyer of twenty-one, the youthful state legislator, or the still young representative in Congress of an enlightened constituency; and that the youth of our country, who may aspire to distinction, either as scholars or statesmen, will here find a fit subject for study, and a high example for imitation.

Hon. Alexander W. Buel was born in Poultney, Rutland county, Vermont, in December, 1813. He is the son of Mr. Ezekiel and Mrs. Sally Buel, the former of whom was a native of Litchfield, Connecticut, whence he early emigrated to Poultney, Vermont, and there united himself in matrimony to Miss Sally Thompson, of a highly respected family of that name, and which settled at an early day in the history of the country, at Goshen, Connecticut, one branch of which subsequently settled at Poultney. In 1814, the father of Alexander, with his family, removed from Poultney to Castleton, in the same state, which contained one of the oldest and most flourishing academies and medical colleges in the north; both of which still exist. To this last removal of his parents, probably, is to be attributed much of his ultimate good fortune, since they were in very ordinary circumstances, and here found greater facilities for the education of their son. It was the more fortunate for him, too, that this change of residence occurred, as, from birth he was subject to a physical deprivation, which plainly pointed the parents to some one of the learned professions for the future occupation of their son, and made his thorough education the constant aim of his parents.

From earliest infancy, young Buel manifested a singular precocity, a desire for knowledge, a spirit of perseverance and energy, by which in manhood he has been peculiarly characterized. His education was commenced at a very early age, and he exhibited from the first the germ of an expansive mind and a growing genius; he was blessed with a tenacious memory, and stimulated by a thirst to excel.

Young Buel attended the common, or district school of his village, until about his eighth year. At this age he commenced his academical studies, preparatory for admission to college, under the immediate tuition of Mr. Henry Howe, now residing at Canandaigua, in the state of New-York; a highly talented, pious, and estimable man, and who has for more than twenty years been the principal of the Canandaigua Academy. For two years young Buel's entire existence seemed engrossed in his much-loved studies—his books his companions, his progress his reward, and knowledge his aim.

In 1824, at the age of ten years, our student had passed through all

the requisite branches to entitle him to admission to college. His industry and perseverance in study will be better understood when the reader is informed, that during the two years of his preparatory course, besides his academical studies, he read largely of ancient history from authors like Rollin, Gibbon, Josephus, and was never absent from his recitations unless from sickness, and was usually first amongst his classmates, although they were always much his superiors in age. In the year last mentioned, being qualified for admission to college, young Buel, accompanied by his academical teacher, Mr. Howe, repaired to Middlebury College, at its annual commencement, and presented himself—much to the astonishment of professors and tutors, for admission. He then passed the usual examination for entrance as a freshman. Although now admitted to college, yet his old teacher and friends, in consideration of his extreme youth, desired him not yet to enter upon his regular collegiate course, and graduate at the early age of fourteen, as he would have done had he continued it. To their opinions he deferred, and the ensuing three years were devoted to miscellaneous literary and classical studies of a higher grade, such as are usually pursued in college.

But few, if any of his fellow pupils being so far advanced in the classics as himself, he was usually the only member of his class, and often left to pursue his own course, without limitation of lessons, or the competition of classmates. He therefore proceeded at his own rapid rate, and so well versed was he at this time in the classics, and especially in the Latin, that the simpler authors in that language were read by him with nearly the same ease and fluency as his vernacular. It is known that he often made but a single lesson of an entire book in Cæsar's Commentaries, and he seemed to be master of the principles of the English Grammar without having ever pursued it in school as a study for a single day.

Up to this period, but one specimen of Mr. Buel's composition has been preserved; that being an oration in Latin, delivered at the close of the academic year, 1827, just prior to his departure for college; and having been favored with access to Mr. Buel's papers and manuscripts, the writer of this can testify to the truthfulness of his early high attainments.

Mr. Buel was now thirteen years of age. His original design was, to have entered Middlebury College, where he had passed examination three years previously, and where, also, his elder brother Julian G., now deceased, had graduated in 1823, with the highest honors of his class. But, being attached to his recent teacher, Mr. Foote, who had just been appointed tutor in the Vermont University, at Burlington, and who desired to take the young student with him, he was persuaded to accompany him to that institution, which—though qualified for a higher class—he entered a sophomore, in 1827; it being advised, that he should not graduate at an earlier age than that of sixteen. This admission was contrary to the University regulation, which prescribed fourteen years as the requisite age of a freshman; but, in this instance, was waived. At this institution he remained one year, during most of which time he occupied a college-room with, and thus enjoyed the daily society of, one of the Professors—Joseph Torrey, then professor of languages, and now professor of moral and intellectual philosophy in the same institution.

The sphere of the young student was now changed and enlarged, and this fact but increased his thirst for knowledge. By diligence and perseverance he won the plaudits of all as a scholar, while, by his naturally

amiable and truthful deportment, and regularity of habits, he secured the good-will and friendship of both professors and students. There were but few studies at this time which he could not master, in spite even of his youth. He was successful in mathematics, and particularly so in geometry; but his fondness for the languages was ever predominant. At the close of the year he left for home, with a strong desire to continue his education in the college of his earlier choice, where, four years previous, he had been admitted freshman. Accordingly, in 1828, he entered junior at Middlebury. The effects of his untiring devotion to study now began to be discovered in a hitherto robust, but now impaired constitution, from which he has ever since been a sufferer.

Before he had passed beyond the age of fifteen years, young Buel availing himself of the usual college winter vacation, to become the teacher of a common school at Clarendon, Vermont; moved by a laudable desire to aid in supplying the means of his own education; and the avails of this effort—his first pecuniary fruits—were entrusted to his father for that purpose.

We have now arrived at that point in our sketch, so interesting to the student,—the close of college-life. We have seen the subject of it almost in infancy, and at an age perhaps never before recorded of such a case in this or any other country, successfully examined for admission to college, yet still, from choice, continuing in an advanced course of academical studies; and at last, at the immature age of sixteen years, in August, 1830, passing the golden portals as a graduate, ranking amongst the first of his class.

If it be asked, "by what means was this rapid and precocious advancement made?" We answer—to a large share of natural endowment, were added the aids of extraordinary industry and perseverance, love of study, a rigid code of rules for the division and use of time, regularity of hours, and abstemiousness from all excesses. Indeed, for many years after leaving college, Mr. Buel invariably rose at four o'clock in the morning throughout the year—retiring at ten in the evening with the greatest punctuality. The world was now before him. Thenceforth he was to make his way through life unaided; and his first act was to take upon himself—in September, 1830—the superintendence of a classical academy at West Rutland, in his native state. Here he fitted large classes wholly, or in part, for college—a rare achievement for a youth of sixteen or seventeen years! In November, of the following year, he accepted an invitation to become principal of a classical academy at Fort Covington, in the northern part of the state of New-York. Here, too, as formerly, he frequently gave instruction to persons far his seniors in years, some of whom have since occupied prominent public stations. At this period he began more fully to develope his varied talents. Possessing classsical qualifications beyond competition, with an extensive fund of general information, and being almost a proficient in the sciences, he not unfrequently appeared before the public with scientific lectures and essays. It was here that he commenced the study of the law; devoting to Blackstone a few spare hours each day, under the auspices of Jabez Parkhurst, Esq., a man of high standing in his profession, and great purity of character. Although he was now in active life, resting upon his own responsibility, he did not, in the least, abate his habits of study; on the contrary, if possible, he was still more laborious in his application. His morning hours, as also for

years subsequently, from four o'clock until breakfast hour, were specially assigned to the languages, amongst which, were the Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, German and French. His year at Fort Covington expired in December, 1832; he then returned to his father's residence at Castleton, where he continued his legal studies, and nearly completed them with his elder brother, Julian G., to whom we have already alluded.

At this time Mr. Buel possessed a wide-spread reputation as a linguist, and, much against his inclination and former purpose, was persuaded to become a teacher of Latin and Greek in the Castleton Academy—taking charge of the advanced classes which were fitting for college. These having certain hours for recitation, created no very serious interference with his legal pursuits.

During this period of his residence at Castleton we note an interesting fact of his early life; which, though seventeen years have elapsed, has never, until within the past year, been known to any person save himself, not excepting even his own family, or most intimate friends. In the year 1833, a prize of $500 was offered by a committee of distinguished gentlemen in the state of New-York, for a series of the best Lectures, or Essays, on the subject of "*Application of Science to Art.*" At the head of this committee stood the name of the Hon. Benjamin F. Butler. Mr. Buel, then at the age of nineteen years, was bold enough to enter the lists for the prize, where competitors of known and public reputation were expected to meet. He prepared a series of Essays, covering several hundred foolscap pages, which, over the signature of "Una Manu,"* were forwarded to Mr. Butler, who acknowledged their receipt in highly complimentary terms, by letter of —, 1833: expressing the opinion that they seemed well adapted to the purpose intended. Years elapsed, but no tidings reached "Una Manu" as to the fate of his Essays. After their long sleep, they have, during this present year, been restored to their author, and must now be to him a most agreeable reminiscence of youthful study and ambition.

Amidst his varied occupations, as teacher of the languages in the academy, and as a student at law, we next find him engaged in a most novel and remarkable philological investigation—having for its object, to illustrate the composition of the English language, and to arrange all its words, and each part of speech, in tables, or classes, according to the language from which they are derived; thus showing the aggregate number of words, as also, the aggregate of each part of speech derived from each particular language. A little reflection will satisfy any one of the great labor necessarily involved in such an undertaking, although a small table may embrace the result. This table has been preserved, but never given to the public. So novel an investigation as this, is not known to us as having ever before been undertaken; and its results could not fail to be of great interest. Mr. Buel, in some of his public discourses, has made some very remarkable and exact statements concerning the composition of our language, such, indeed, as no one would presume to make without authority. We here learn that his authority was only known to himself, it being the result of his own research—the fruit of his early industry.

In the year 1834, Mr. Buel determined to remove to Detroit, and in October of that year, alone, and with no fortune, save the few dollars of

* By one hand.

his juvenile earnings, he started westward, and in the same month arrived at Detroit, the place of his destination. Though a stranger in a strange city, he soon made friends and acquaintances. Being naturally frank, he soon won the confidence of others; and in less than two months after his arrival he was appointed Deputy Register of the Court of Probate, discharging, however, all the duties of Register. This was his first official trust. Perceiving that a large portion of the native population of the city was French, and that it was rapidly increasing with a German immigration, he perfected himself further in his knowledge of the French and German languages, so as to speak them readily; in the latter of which, he has often publicly addressed his German fellow-citizens. This enabled him early to extend his acquaintance: rendered his counsel often necessary as well as useful, and prepared the way for the lawyer, as well as the politician and statesman.

Mr. Buel completed the few remaining months of his legal studies in the office of the Hon. B. F. H. Witherell, and in the spring of 1835 was admitted to practice at the Detroit bar. Simultaneously with his admission he was favored with a flattering and compensatory practice. In a few years he attained the choicest practice of his profession. He was soon found in all the courts of the state, in law and chancery, and of the United States; and was often opposed by, and associated with, the ablest members of the bar, and in cases of the first importance. In the fall of 1835, Mr. Buel cast his first vote, at the first election held under the constitution of his adopted state. This election was the more important, as it gave birth and direction to the future parties and politics of the state. Carrying with him from Vermont the political opinions of his father, his vote was given for the *entire Democratic ticket.* Amidst all the excitements and assaults to which his party has, at times, been subject, he has never been known to waver in his political faith.

In October, 1836, Mr. Buel was united in matrimony with Miss Mary Ann Ackley, of West Rutland, Vermont, the parents of whom were both deceased; a young lady of piety and great personal attractions, and endowed with those qualities which adorn the wife and mother, and give happiness to home. By this union he has had four daughters, who, educated in part, thus far, under the supervision of the father, evince much of his youthful talents, and all of whom now survive.

During the year 1836, Mr. B. was appointed attorney, or legal adviser of the city of Detroit, which office he filled for one year; and in the fall of 1837 he received the first token of that popular favor which he has since so largely enjoyed. Now but little beyond his majority, without the slightest anticipation on his part, he was nominated by the democracy to represent the city of Detroit in the legislature of Michigan. The election proved a very close one, each party succeeding in part; but among the successful candidates was Mr. Buel. The legislature convened in January following, and the House of Representatives for that year has never since been surpassed in talent and ability; containing such men as the Hon. Robert M'Clelland, Hon. Kinsley S. Bingham, and Hon. Jacob M. Howard, all of whom, by a singular coincidence, have been since honored with seats in Congress; two having been predecessors of Mr. Buel, and the first three, himself included, having successively held the office of Speaker in the legislature of Michigan.

In the commencement of his legislative career Mr. B. occupied a high

position; he having been chosen Speaker *pro tempore*, on the organization of the House of Representatives, and afterwards appointed chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, which was composed chiefly of the ablest members of the House, such as Messrs. M'Clelland and Howard, certainly a high compliment to the youngest member of the House. He was afterwards made chairman of two very important select committees —one upon establishing the Geological Survey of the State in Departments; the other, upon changing the locations of the Northern and Southern Rail-roads of Michigan, which were then under the control of the State. As the head of the Judiciary Committee, Mr. Buel enjoyed the confidence of the House, and acquitted himself with great ability and satisfaction. One of the most important and exciting measures of the session was the Senate bill for the establishment of a mammoth State Bank—which, though properly belonging to the Committee on Banks, was, nevertheless, referred to the Judiciary Committee. This scheme was violently urged by the horde of bank speculators, then to be found in nearly every part of the State, who had caused an amendment to be proposed in the House, authorizing the directors to purchase up the stock and assets of other banks in the State to the amount of FIVE MILLIONS OF DOLLARS. Mr. Buel at once saw that the object of this was the relief of a host of smaller institutions, already substantially bankrupt, nearly all of which failed within a year after; and of which, numbering in all about 70, but one now survives. This measure met with great hostility from the democratic masses. He, however, reported the bill to the House, with a variety of amendments, and though strongly opposed by Mr. Howard, the able leader on the Whig side of the House, and by many able democrats, as well as the entire moneyed interest of the State, Mr. Buel firmly placed himself in opposition to the scheme; and it was finally defeated, after a long and violent struggle. The defeat of this bill hastened the exposure of the true state of things, and one bank explosion followed another, until the people of Michigan, at last, found that purer financial atmosphere, in which they have attained their present prosperity.

Mr. Buel's conduct on the Bank question, at so early a period of his life, speaks high for his democracy, and gilds his first appearance as a legislator more brightly than can any language of ours. After the adjournment of the legislature, he published a series of articles over the signature of "Democritus," addressed "*To the advocates of Paper Money;*" which attracted great attention, and were answered in the leading Whig journal of the city, by "WARREN," who, it was understood, had been his leading Whig opponent in the House.

As chairman of the Committee on the Geological Survey, Mr. Buel made an able and scientific report, setting forth its probable benefits; and amongst these, the manufacture of salt, in which his predictions and arguments have been verified. A bill was also reported by him from that committee, for establishing and dividing the Geological Survey into its various departments, of mineralogy, geology, &c., which bill became a law, and one of the distinguishing acts of that Legislature.

As chairman of the Select Rail-road Committee, before mentioned, he had a most difficult and laborious part to perform, and which can only be appreciated by those cognizant of the then existing state of affairs in Michigan, relative to its internal improvements, and the question of permanently locating the Northern and Southern Rail-roads. As he resided at

Detroit, he stood indifferent as to the interest between the contending parties, and was, consequently, appropriately called on to lead in this committee. After weeks of daily and nightly labor in the examination of over one hundred witnesses, Mr. B. presented a long and able report, accompanied by a bill. He was opposed by most of the leading talent of the body, including the three distinguished gentlemen before named. Under such circumstances, the bill was lost by a meagre majority.

The course and views of Mr. Buel have since been successfully vindicated by the silent progress of events, and fails not to impress us with the forecast and sagacity displayed by him upon that question.

In 1843, Mr. Buel was appointed prosecuting attorney for the county of Wayne, which includes the city of Detroit. This appointment was, in a professional light, one of importance, giving him a prominent legal position before the bar and the public, well calculated to try his talents in a new field, and imposed upon him public responsibilities of a high and oftentimes delicate character. Such was his success as a public prosecutor, that whole terms of a court were known, sometimes, to have passed, with a score of convictions, and without a single acquittal. This was owing chiefly to his cautious discrimination in presenting cases before the grand jury, his great industry in the preparation of them, and his judgment in conducting his trials.

His first official term as prosecuting attorney expired in two years, when, in 1845, he was re-commissioned without opposition, and at the close of his second term, in 1847, he declined the office for any further period. No court has ever invalidated one of his indictments, although many of his cases found their way to the Supreme Court of the state; and his services in defence as well as prosecution were now eagerly sought for in important causes, in remote parts of the state.

Though, as we have seen, thus actively engaged in his profession, Mr. Buel's industry and system had given him ample time for literary pursuits of the most elevated character. He had delivered various public discourses upon some of the most profound subjects, discovering rare and varied attainments in literature, displaying a research and learning which have elevated him to the reputation of one of the most accomplished scholars of the country. Amongst his miscellaneous literary enterprises, undertaken during the active period of his professional life, are to be found a translation from the French of one of the oldest works extant, by one of the Jesuit fathers, concerning the early history of the Iroquois tribes, and of New France, (Canada,) and also some finished translations from standard Italian and Portuguese poets. These interesting translations yet sleep amongst his manuscripts, and may yet be given to the public.

Upon the formation of the "*New England Society*," at Detroit, in 1846, Mr. Buel was chosen its first orator—a post which has since been honored by such as General Cass and ex-Senator Woodbridge. His address, delivered December 22d, of that year, has been regarded by those who heard it, or have read it since published, as one of the most chaste, finished, and eloquent addresses ever made upon the landing of our Pilgrim Fathers.

As an illustration of Mr. Buel's strong and highly cultivated imagination, we quote a passage from the address. After recurring to the winter

scene of the landing at Plymouth, he thus personifies the spirit of the Reformation, as an aged mother conducting her child to a new home:—

"I behold the spirit-form of the Reformation. An aged and giant mother, bearing aloft the sacred oracles of God, and Nature's scroll of Freedom; she steps upon the ice-bound coast; points her mighty child to a new home, then quickly flies to her suffering children of other climes. Away beyond—o'er many a mountain chain, as far as eye can reach, another 'deep and dark blue ocean' rolls—'tis New England in her *birth*, and New England as she *is* to be. I see, also, in the view, her dashing streams, her thousand hills and dales, and her beautiful valleys; whilst her evergreen, but snow-bearing mountains, pierce the heavens, and, looking down upon earth, as if with the hand of Omnipotence, hang out from the clouds their everlasting crags."

We now come to the celebrated Oregon controversy, in which Mr. B. was brought prominently before the country, by his efforts and new researches in vindicating our right to the whole of that country; some of which were published, and others deposited in the Department of State at Washington. First he maintained, that, prior to the acquisition of the Louisiana territory by the United States, England had never claimed title beyond the highlands of Hudson's Bay, and that, beyond this limit, she was *estopped* in her claim by her former admissions, that the country in dispute had ever belonged to Spain until she ceded it to France, in 1800, by whom, in 1803, it was ceded to the United States. To this point Mr. B. found, in his own valuable library, an authority not hitherto noticed by any of those who had as yet investigated the subject—it being a large historical work, published at London in 1746, which was first publicly quoted from by Mr. B., in a discourse before the "Detroit Young Men's Society," delivered January 15th, 1846. By this work he showed, to use its own language, that, "North of New Mexico, the Spaniards, if they please, may call the country theirs *as far as the pole*;" that "the *eastern* side of the Mississippi is the property of the Indians subject to Great Britain, and the *western* side belongs to the Indians who are under the dominion of the Spaniards;" and that "it is very well known, that the *Spaniards* possessed the *west* side of North America, and the *English* the *east*, long before the French had a settlement in the country."

But, pending this contest, the great point to which Mr. Buel more particularly directed his efforts, and for which he is entitled to high credit and distinction, was the new proofs he produced, from the same work, touching the establishment of the forty-ninth parallel of latitude as the boundary between the British and French possessions in North America, by commissioners under the treaty of Utrecht. On one hand, it had been contended by General Cass, in the United States Senate, as also by others, that commissioners, if ever appointed under that treaty, had never actually established that or any other line of boundary; that they had never acted; or at least, that there was not to be found, either in the archives at Paris, or in any work of history, any direct evidence or statement that the commissioners had established the forty-ninth parallel, or any other line, as the boundary. On the other hand, Colonel Benton, and others holding his opinions, maintained, that the commissioners *did act* by establishing the boundary on the forty-ninth parallel, although the evidence thereof seemed to have become chiefly lost, they relying, for such opinion, mainly upon maps of the last century, some of which contained the "*omi-*

nous dotted line" of the forty-ninth parallel, with an allusion to it as the boundary; whilst some contained only the silent line itself, and others set forth no line along this parallel. Colonel Benton planted himself especially on D'Anville's map of 1752, in Postlewait's Dictionary, as the oldest authority on the subject that had as yet been produced. But this map was afterwards shown to be a copy, the original of which had been seen by Mr. Greenhow, and contained *no* dotted line. Meanwhile, Mr. Buel had continued his researches. He found in the work already produced from his own library, a map of North America *without* the "dotted line," and of course six years, at least, older than D'Anville's, so much relied on by Colonel Benton, and probably reaching back, in its origin, near to the treaty of Utrecht itself, as the accompanying work had now passed its third edition. Besides, this map was sanctioned as authority by the name of its author, HERMAN MOLL, a distinguished geographer of the last century, and who is certified in the king's license to be "the most accurate and correct geographer of the age." Mr. B.'s investigations concerning the maps were given to the public through the press over his own signature, April 14, 1846.

But there was still another question about the evidence. It was contended by some, and yielded by others, that there was no living original history of the fact, that commissioners had ever met and run a boundary line under the treaty of Utrecht. None such had been brought out by Mr. Greenhow, who had investigated this question of the forty-ninth parallel more thoroughly than any other person in the country, nor by the elaborate discussions of the question in Congress. But still Mr. B., in his investigations, was rewarded by discovering that a boundary had been determined on under the tenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, as shown by the following remarkable language, which he quoted from the work alluded to, and had found twice used by the author:—

"And Commissioners did afterwards settle the limits by an imaginary line, drawn from a promontory, situate on the Atlantic Ocean, in fifty-eight degrees, thirty minutes, and running from thence south-west to the lake Miscosink, or Mistazin, and from thence south-west, indefinitely, to the latitude of 49; all the countries to the north being assigned to Great Britain, and all on the south between that line and the line of St. Lawrence or Canada, to France."

These latter researches were at once communicated by Mr. Buel to General Cass, while the contest was yet waxing warmly, who, in his speech, delivered in the Senate, June 1st, 1846, made use of them, as furnished, at the same time acknowledging their author in complimentary terms. Thus, the points proven by Mr. B. were, 1. That a line was established by commissioners under the treaty of Utrecht. 2. What that boundary was; and 3. That it extended down TO the 49th parallel, and not indefinitely ALONG that line. These new historical researches, with the proper deductions and arguments, were embodied by Mr. Buel in the form of a document, entitled, "*Was a boundary line between the British and French Possessions in North America ever established by Commissioners under the Treaty of Utrecht—and if so, to what extent?*" and forwarded to Hon. James Buchanan, then Secretary of State, on the 24th July, 1846, accompanied by a letter of Mr. B. of the same date, the receipt of which was acknowledged by the Secretary in honorable terms. This document and letter are now to be found amongst the archives of the State Department.

Thus it was that Mr. Buel brought to light at least one historical authority, setting forth the action of the Commissioners under the treaty of Utrecht, and of a date reaching back nearly to that of the treaty itself. When he made his various researches known, he displayed throughout the greatest modesty, but at the same time a meritorious boldness, deep reflection, and a rising statesmanship, in thus planting himself firmly upon their authority, and grappling with the mightiest intellects of the country, upon a question at that time so full of mystery, and the decision of which was supposed to involve the alternative of peace or war with Great Britain. It is needless to add, after what has been written, that Mr. Buel stood most firmly by the ground of General Cass, in maintaining the American title to the whole of Oregon.

Following the Oregon controversy came the Mexican war. We have space only briefly to notice Mr. Buel's course and opinions concerning that momentous event of Mr. Polk's administration. Nowhere in the Union did President Polk possess a more firm, faithful and consistent champion of his administrative policy than Mr. B. At its very outset, over the signature of "AMERICANUS," he gave to the public, through the press, a series of articles, in which he successfully defended the following propositions:—1. "The United States would have been justified in declaring war against Mexico prior to the late commencement of hostilities on the Rio Grande. 2. Mexico commenced the war, and without sufficient cause." The following paragraph shows the patriotic spirit in which those articles were written, and the severity with which he treated the Whig complaint, that our country was in the wrong:

"Let him who does not love his country better than to indulge in such murmurs, flee from the indignation which awaits him; let him go over to the enemy whom he in fact serves, and in whose bosom he will find a welcome response to all he can say against the cause of his country. This is no time for the settlement of party disputes. We may, and must have, parties amongst ourselves; but, in the great struggle of nations, ON OUR SIDE, LET THERE BE BUT ONE PARTY, AND THAT PARTY OURSELVES."

At the November election in 1847, Mr. Buel was again elected to the legislature of his State—the first which convened in its new capitol, at Lansing. On the opening in its session, in January following, he was nominated, almost unanimously, in caucus, for the Speaker's chair, which, ten years before, he had filled as Speaker *pro tempore*, and was subsequently selected by the unanimous vote of his party. The close of the session was marked for its extraordinary excitement and personal virulence, originating in the most exciting of all legislative questions—bank-charters, and other acts granting exclusive privileges. The bank question was again upon him, as ten years previously. The storm of party and personal feeling raged fiercely, and much of it was directed against the Speaker—as one of his decisions had endangered the passage of every bill of the character alluded to; thus throwing upon him a weighty responsibility. Following the decision of nearly all his predecessors, in which, however, they had been overruled, he decided that, under the Constitution, acts of incorporation could not be passed by two-thirds of a quorum; but only by two-thirds of all the members elected. His decision was appealed from, and the point debated with great earnestness. It was scarcely doubted that the chair would be overruled, as it had been

in years past; but Mr. B. briefly defended the grounds of his decision, when, to the surprise of all, he was sustained by the decisive vote of 42 to 17. This result threw the bank-supporters into the utmost confusion. A second and third appeal was subsequently taken from like decisions, but the Speaker was sustained upon each, with the same result, showing the great confidence reposed in him as a presiding officer; and the more so, as a large majority of the House was known to favor warmly the passage of the bills thus endangered by his decisions. It is but just to add, that, during the entire session, not one of Mr. B.'s decisions was reversed, on appeal; and when the strife was over, he received, by vote, the unanimous approbation of the House, and left the chair with the acknowledged reputation of having been a most successful and accomplished Speaker.

In 1846, Mr. Buel became a candidate for nomination as a representative to Congress from the 1st district of Michigan. It is not surprising that Mr. B. failed, though by but a few votes; opposed, as he was, by the entire influence of both State and National patronage, then mostly centred in Detroit, and by the great popularity and influence of his competitor, then in office. Mr. Buel had the satisfaction, however, of having secured, in the convention of his own city and county, an entire delegation to the district convention, in his favor; and the demonstrations which followed this partial success, fully attested the spirit of the contest, and the enthusiasm with which he was supported where he was best known.

On the 6th of September, 1848, Mr. Buel, by a large majority, on the first informal ballot, and then unanimously by acclamation, was nominated by the Democracy of his district as a candidate for representative in Congress, to fill the place then occupied by the Hon. Robert M'Clelland. During the campaign Mr. Buel addressed his fellow-citizens at different places, for several weeks, speaking once in each day, and frequently twice. As a popular speaker, Mr. B.'s reputation had preceded him, and men of all parties usually assembled in large meetings to hear him. His district was generally democratic by a decisive majority; but in the general *melee* of parties in that year no one could calculate results with certainty. His Whig opponent, the Hon. George C. Bates, of Detroit, stood at the head of his party in the State, as a popular and eloquent orator, and had taken such extreme ground on the slavery question as Mr. Buel could not occupy; whilst, from another quarter of the district, emerged the free soil, abolition candidate. Thus was Mr. B. thrown into a triangular fight, of the most dangerous character.

As to the "Wilmot Proviso," he held that it was useless and inexpedient, and upon this point he was bitterly opposed by both Whigs and Abolitionists. In short, he stood upon the National Democratic platform, and upon the doctrine of "*non-intervention.*" He defended, with all his ability and eloquence, General Cass, the veteran leader, to whom he had been a neighbor and devoted as a personal friend ever since his return from France. Mr. B. might have easily strengthened himself for the moment, by yielding to the anti-slavery prejudice, but his firmness and wisdom did not forsake him, and he magnanimously declared, that if he *must be sacrificed for this adhesion to the Presidential candidate, he was ready for such a result.*" Much of the general interest and bitterness of opposition which were concentrated upon General Cass, was reflected upon Mr. B., from his position and supposed political relations. "Mr. Buel *must be*

defeated!" was the cry of the opposition; but he was triumphantly elected.

Mr. Buel was not to take his seat until the meeting of the 31st Congress in 1849, and the meantime was spent in arranging his professional business, and making preparations for the larger sphere of action in which he was about to appear. We find him at this time deeply interested, as he had ever been, in the project of the great rail-road to the Pacific; and in reply to an invitation to attend the Railroad Convention held in St. Louis, in October, he thus writes:

"The two oceans of this continent are now bound together by the American name, but no one can insure a preservation of the bond, without a union by laws and institutions. Such a union is among the inevitable results of the measure. It is a great work,—the work of half a generation—and cannot be commenced too soon. At least, let the plan be matured with all practicable despatch."

Mr. Buel took his seat in Congress on the first day of its session, December 3, 1849—the first session of which will ever stand out boldly in the legislative history of the country. It can never be forgotten by those who witnessed its excitements, participated in its proceedings, or realized the perils which attended it, and threatened the peace and safety of the Union. From the commencement of the session, Mr. Buel proved himself true to his character as a democrat, by recognizing his allegiance to the usages of his party, and sustaining, to the last, the Hon. Howell Cobb for the Speakership, and all the other caucus nominees of the democracy during the extraordinary and protracted struggles of parties in the organization of the House.

In forming the standing committees, Mr. Buel was placed upon that of Foreign Affairs: one of the most important and honorable committees of the House. This appointment was a high compliment to Mr. B., as a new, and one of the youngest members. From this position, his attention was naturally directed to those subjects, for the examination of which he was by nature and education best qualified.

On the 29th of January following, Mr. Buel may be said to have made his first appearance in Congress, by submitting the first written report made by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, being one of great interest, having relation to the belligerent right as applied to the commerce of neutrals residing in an enemy's country. Our limits will not allow but a brief statement of the case. Certain British subjects—and therefore neutrals—merchants, doing business in Mexico during the Mexican war, despatched the schooner "William" to Monterey, in California, laden with a Mexican cargo. On the arrival of the vessel at that place, it had fallen into the possession of the American arms, and the vessel and cargo were seized by order of Commodore Biddle, and condemned as lawful prize, in the exercise of the belligerent right, and under the doctrine, that the commerce of neutrals residing in an enemy's country is impressed with the hostile character of that country, and consequently liable to seizure, like the commerce of the enemy. But circumstances were alleged to exist which would justly except the case from a strict application of the principle mentioned, and the owners preferred a claim to Congress for the value of the vessel and cargo, on the ground of an unjust and unlawful confiscation of their property. Mr. B. analyzed the case; applied the principles of international law with great clearness and force to all the facts, and utterly

demolished all those pretensions which were speciously presented in justification of the voyage. He showed that the principle above mentioned was, from necessity, inflexible, and that no country had enforced it more rigidly than England, even against her own subjects. But the ground chiefly relied on by the claimants, in support of their case, was, that the prize court, which had tried and condemned the "*William*," was incompetent, without authority, and that all its proceedings were illegal and void. This seemed, at first, to present many intricate questions. Mr. B. met the objection, not with abstruse inquiry into the questions of jurisdiction, but simply by supposing the ground to be true. From this it would follow, that our government had, and could have at that time, no *competent* prize court on the Pacific coast. He then applied the principle, that "where the prize cannot be brought before a prize court, the captor has a right, at his peril, to *destroy* the same;" so that, the property in that case must have become lost to the owners, unless they, in an action against the captor, and trial upon the merits, could show, that under the law of nations it was not originally liable to capture and confiscation. But the ground assumed by the claimants, as to the illegality of the court, and invalidity of its proceedings, is thus still more effectually disposed of:

"If the case can come legitimately before Congress for investigation, it must come upon its merits; it must come here, as it would before a court of competent jurisdiction—to be governed by the principles of international law, and tried by the facts, as they existed at the time of the capture. Congress will not sit as a court of appeal or review, to try the case of the "*William*" on the proceedings and alleged errors of the court which condemned her, but as an independent tribunal, to investigate it upon its original merits. If the committee, upon examination, were to come to the conclusion, that the court *was* without power and jurisdiction, and that all its proceedings *were*, in the language of the petitioners, a "mere nullity," the claimants would still not be entitled to relief, unless they could show that their property was not liable to capture. But the committee are clearly of the opinion that it was so liable; and they do not, therefore, perceive how that liability can be changed or removed, by inquiring into the constitution and proceedings of the court. No errors of judicial proceeding can alter the facts as they exist, or divest the case of the question of liability to seizure. If the "*William*" was once liable to capture, she could not be made less so by any irregularities in the mode of her confiscation. That liability being established, the loss follows, and as certainly, as if, for want of a competent prize court, she and her cargo had been destroyed upon the ocean."

The writer deems it fitting to notice, in this connexion, the deep *interest* which Mr. Buel has for many years taken in the political affairs of Europe. He does this, that it may serve as an introduction to his first speech in Congress, and show, that his speech was the result of no sudden reflections, but consistent with his true character, and his settled and oft-expressed opinions. He had watched the ball of revolution with the most earnest attention, and wherever occasion offered, had not hesitated to express his sympathy with the struggling millions. In an address before the Detroit Young Men's Society, January 15th, 1846, he seemed to foresee the revolutionary storm of 1848. He spoke of the "approaching crisis in the affairs of Europe," and said, "time is urging it onward with unfailing certainty. It is the war of monarchism and republicanism." And with his eye upon France, he said, "It is not too much to hope or believe, that the republicanism of France will yet be omnipotent in the councils of Europe."

In two years afterward, that hope was nearly realized in the French revolution of February, 1848, and the French Republic, which immediately lighted up the fires of revolution all over Europe, which burned brightly and successfully, till at last extinguished in the smoking ruins of Hungary. In March, 1846, Mr. Buel addressed the Detroit Irish Repeal Society, and closed with the following words: "We should not be unmindful, that we are bound to Ireland by no common ties of sympathy. Let us not forget, that, in 1783, England let *us* go free, that she might the more effectually enslave *Ireland*. *Our* gain was, perhaps, *her* loss. England loved America, but she loved Ireland more; *and that love has been Ireland's greatest curse!*" During the same spring, Mr. Buel addressed his fellow-citizens both in the German and English, upon the occasion of their assembling to commemorate the French Revolution of February preceding, where he exposed its influence upon Germany, and in developing the revolutions which soon followed there and throughout Central Europe. On the 27th of July, of the same year, he addressed his fellow-citizens, who were assembled to express their sympathies upon the occasion of the condemnation of the Irish patriot, John Mitchell, who had just been condemned to imprisonment in one of the old British hulks at Bermuda. He thus eloquently maintains the power of human sympathy: "It has revolutionized more than one tyrannical government; has caused more than one kingdom to shake, and levelled the throne of more than one despot with the dust. It has more than once arrested the fatal blow; more than once unbarred the prison door; more than once broken the bonds of oppression, and set the captive free."

Still cherishing his sympathies for European freedom, on the 29th of February last, Mr. Buel made his first oratorical effort in Congress; being his speech on "*Hungarian Independence.*"

From the scenes of sectional strife and excitement, which had now reached their highest point in the House of Representatives, Mr. Buel turned aside to build up an altar of patriotism, and offer up to the Goddess of Liberty his prayer for European emancipation. It was a singular coincidence, that, while the American Congress was angrily debating over the dissolution of this great Republic, Mr. B. was pressing its example upon the oppressed nations of Europe, as the happiest and freest government on the face of the globe;—he was urging the then conquered patriots of Europe to "fight on," "fight on;" and declaring that their contest would "yet go on to a victorious end." The speech displays the greatest familiarity with its subject, and what more peculiarly distinguishes it, are the fervor and enthusiasm that inspire the speaker, as he descants upon the wrongs of "Unfortunate Hungary."

Mr. Buel was so fortunate as to lead the way in the choice of his subject. General Cass in the Senate had spoken of *Austrian*, whilst he spoke of *American* wrongs, towards "ill-fated Hungary." The House being in Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union, on the resolution to refer the President's annual message to the appropriate standing committees—

Mr. Buel obtained the floor, and offered the following amendment to the first resolution, which refers so much of the President's message as relates to our foreign affairs to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, viz.:

"With instructions to inquire whether, at that period, in the late struggle between Hungary and Austria, when the latter sought the intervention of Russia,

with a powerful army, Hungary had not in fact triumphed over Austria; and whether the President, by neglecting at that period to recognize the independence of Hungary, did not depart from the settled policy of the country in recognizing *de facto* governments, disappoint the friends of freedom, and do violence to the sympathies and wishes of the American people."

After finishing his introduction, in which he happily alludes to the duty and destiny of the American Union, expressing the belief "that it is not to be, and cannot be dissolved," he lays the foundation of his argument, with the fact of the triumph of Hungary before the Russian intervention, and here fortifies himself with the following memorable words of Mr. Clay, in the Senate, on the subject of the Austrian Mission—"*But for the intervention of Russia, Hungary would have succeeded: Hungary had succeeded; Hungary had triumphed in the contest with Austria!*" Mr. B. regarded the occasion which called for the recognition of Hungarian independence, as surpassing in importance all similar occasions in the history of our government; because Hungary was the "great central hinge upon which all future European revolutions were likely to turn." He next describes the geographical relations of Hungary to the adjoining countries of Europe, displaying a full knowledge of this branch of his subject, and its importance; following this with an exposition of the nature of the government of Hungary, and the designs of Austria for its entire overthrow and absorption in the empire. Then comes the war, with all its scenes of blood and carnage—its battles and victories—the Austrians are expelled, and Hungary triumphs. Says Mr. Buel in this place:

"The Emperor saw his last great foothold in Hungary preparing to yield. Presburg was about to fall before his very eyes, and under the walls of his proud capital; Vienna trembled, and the whole empire of Austria shook with the pent up fires of revolution. The Austrians were now, like the English at Waterloo, crying out for succor, and all depending upon its speedy arrival. They exclaimed with alarm, 'Why don't the Russians come?' 'why don't they come?'

"Let us now, Mr. Chairman," said he, "turn from these scenes of triumph to ourselves—to the American Executive and cabinet. What were they doing whilst Hungary was sending her money to Venice and preparing to march to the relief of that republic? What did they or the President's agent in Europe do, whilst the Sultan, yes, the Sultan, was openly expressing his sympathies for Hungary? What did they do whilst even the autocrat of Turkey was loudly protesting against the march of Russian troops through his territories to the conquest of Hungary? Nothing, nothing. No kind protest or recognition fell from their lips. With tomb-like silence they listened to the burning appeal of Hungary, *whilst the grave of Washington spoke louder than his* LIVING MODEL. The voice of the dead was heard even above that of the living."

Mr. Buel contended that the prayer of Austria for help, and the Russian intervention, with an army of about 200,000 men, both admitted the triumph of Hungary, as well as her ability to maintain her independence; that the question of independence was solely one between Hungary and Austria, and that now was the time, when the independence of the former should have been recognized; and that such recognition ought not, according to the message of the President, he held contingent upon the establishment, by Hungary, of a "*permanent*" government. This view Mr. B. sustained by referring to the South American, Mexican, Greek, Texan and French republics; fortifying it further, by appealing to our own conduct in the early days of our own revolution, when we asked, and obtained a

recognition of our independence before we had achieved many victories, and in fact before we had really passed its threshold. He next ridicules the doctrines put forth in the manifestoes of the Austrian and Russian Emperors against the revolutionists, and exposes in detail the ambitious purposes and progress of Russia, and the disastrous consequences to the liberty of Europe involved in the conquest of Hungary. Said he:

"Wherever Austria is in Europe, there henceforth is Russia, and the influence of the latter must now be felt in Germany, Venice, Lombardy, and the Roman States. One short step over Germany will place her upon the banks of the Rhine; one, over Sardinia, at the foot of the Alps. This is the result of Russian intervention in the Hungarian struggle, but not the whole result."

Finally, Mr. B. answers most triumphantly the objections, if any, that could have been brought against the recognition of Hungary, at the time of her triumph over Austria, and concludes with the following noble and eloquent sentiments:

"Why should we limit the blessings of popular freedom to our own hemisphere? The republican principle knows no mountain, river, or ocean boundary. It traversed the ocean more than two centuries since, and found a home on the icy coast of New-England. It has worked out here its legitimate effects. It came to us from the Old World; and now let it return, to work out its legitimate effects there."

During the late session, Mr. Buel devoted much time and attention to the commercial interests of the lakes, collecting new and interesting statistics on the subject, and exposing the immense commerce of the great northern valley of the lakes. His views and investigations upon this subject may be found in his speech on "*Northwestern Defence*," and his elaborate report of "*Views*," on the interesting national question of the free navigation of the St. Lawrence—which was presented to the House in May last. This document has attracted the general notice of the press, and tended much to arouse the public attention to the importance of that measure. In this report, Mr. B. fully proves our right to the free navigation of the river St. Lawrence, under the laws of nature and of nations, discussing at length the whole subject with great acuteness and ability. He showed himself, by this effort, master of the question, displaying a familiarity with the laws of nations bearing upon it, as well as a careful examination of the international treaties of Europe, which, in like cases, provide for the free navigation of its navigable rivers.

That this measure will yet be accomplished, there is but little doubt. England desires reciprocal trade between the Canadas, Nova Scotia and New-Brunswick, and the United States; but in the debate which ensued upon the introduction of his report, Mr. B., intent upon the accomplishment of his favorite scheme, at once boldly took the ground, and declared, that the United States, in granting reciprocity of trade with the British colonies, ought to insist upon a simultaneous recognition by England of our right to the free navigation of the St. Lawrence. Though no vote on this proposition was taken, yet it manifestly received the general favor of the House, as the true ground; and, if adhered to, it will, sooner or later, give success to the measure of free navigation. A recent number of the London Times takes strong ground in favor of Mr. Buel's position, in a lengthy and leading editorial upon the subject. It substantially

adopts his views, and concedes to him the argument. The writer has been favored with the perusal of private letters from London, showing that the subject will probably be brought before Parliament at its next session by Lord Palmerston, and copies of Mr. Buel's report have been sent for, to be placed in the hands of every member of Parliament. The American Minister, Mr. Lawrence, has spoken in high terms of this document; and, it is understood, is interesting himself in the measure. Thus are Mr. B.'s efforts already producing valuable fruits.

On the 14th of June, Mr. Buel also made a report from the same committee, upon the subject of French spoliations, committed on American commerce prior to September 30, 1800—a question involving property to the amount of millions, and an intimate knowledge of the early history and treaties of the Government.

His argument was, in brief, that the claims for these spoliations were admitted by France; that she presented counter-claims for violations of our early treaties with her, whereby, to use his own words, "WE HAD PREFERRED OUR OLDEST ENEMY TO OUR OLDEST FRIEND, and that these counter-claims were admitted on the part of the United States; that by the Convention of 1800, these claims and counter-claims were mutually released or set off, and thus the claims of the citizens of the United States were appropriated to pay her debts to France. In this view of the case, Mr. B. was fortified by the opinion of Mr. Madison, when Secretary of State, and also by the opinions of Mr. Webster, Mr. Everett, Mr. Edward Livingston, and many others of like distinction, who had preceded him in examining and reporting upon this subject.

On the 25th of June, the bill for granting land to the soldiers of our various wars being under discussion, Mr. Buel, in a short speech, most eloquently advocated its passage. Said he:

> "I know of none who are more justly entitled to share in the mere liberality of the Government, than the soldier, who offers his life in the defence of his country; who perils health, and all that is dear to him, for the protection of those who, shunning the battle-field, remain quietly and safely at their homes."

In this speech, Mr. B. particularly advocated the adoption of an amendment, whereby the benefits of the bill would extend to those who might have been prevented from serving the minimum period of six months, provided for in the bill, by having been captured as prisoners, and discharged on condition of not serving again during the war. This amendment was intended to apply to the case of many who had served gallantly on the Northwestern frontier, in the war of 1812; and, in the language of Mr. B., to "do equal justice to those who, WHILST ENDURING THE SOLDIER'S TRIALS, WERE PREVENTED FROM REAPING THE SOLDIER'S REWARD."

On the 31st of July, Mr. Buel made the last speech of any considerable length delivered by him during the 1st session of the 31st Congress, which was upon "*Northwestern Defence*"—the Fortification Bill being under consideration in committee of the whole. The bill contained a small item of appropriation to complete Fort Wayne, near Detroit. A motion had been made to strike this item out of the bill, and, pending the discussion, a very sweeping and denunciatory attack had been made upon it, reflecting in the severest terms upon Detroit—its history, and the character of its people. Being disinclined to engage in a controversy of a personal nature, Mr. B. yet felt it would be unjust to himself, as well

as his constituents, were he to remain silent. This speech was characterized throughout for its manly and elevated bearing towards his assailant, and a comprehensive knowledge of the general merits of the bill.

Mr. B. was peculiarly happy in one of his allusions to the city he represents. Turning to the honorable member whose attack he was repelling, he remarked:

"Is he so ignorant as not to know, or so regardless of political ancestry as not to care to know, that Detroit can claim for itself an honor which but few cities can claim—an honor which was claimed by primitive ATHENS, that of being a *mother-city*, THE MOTHER-CITY OF THE NORTHWEST? Was it not to this point that the earliest emigration of the Northwest was directed? Was it not at this point, where the waves of civilization first touched the Northwest, as they gradually swept over the continent?—one entering the St. Lawrence, followed its waters upward to Detroit, bearing upon its bosom such men as Hennepin, Charlevoix, and Lahontan; whilst another moved on from Plymouth Rock, with such spirits as Winslow, Brewster, Standish, and Carver, who, or whose descendants at a later period, met the earlier French pioneers at Detroit, whence, with hand joined in hand, and heart with heart, they long sent forth their children, as from a fruitful mother, to subdue and populate the wilds of the Northwest. And, sir, let me add, that her distinction is reflected upon the State to which she belongs. Her honor of a mother city gives to Michigan the honor of a MOTHER-STATE IN THE NORTHWEST—I mean in regard to its primitive settlement and civilization."

We have thus alluded to the most prominent occasions when Mr. Buel appeared before the House. He was always, however, attentive to its general business, and especially to measures of local interest to his constituents, and ever ready to speak when, and only when occasion seemed to require it. In the settlement of the great slavery question, he was one of the most active and influential among the newly elected members. He advocated the passage of all the peace measures of that eventful session, and voted for all, save the Utah bill, for which he would have cast his vote had he not been prevented by sickness. Without making speeches upon them, he openly avowed his opinions, and they were as well known in advance as those of any other member. At his own election, about 3,000 votes had been given for the candidate of the Abolition party, and about 10,000 votes in his State had been given for the Presidential candidate of the same party; yet Mr. Buel feared not responsibility, and his was the only vote in the House, from Michigan, recorded in favor of those bills—the California Bill excepted.

One of the recent public testimonials with which Mr. Buel has been honored, was his recent appointment as orator before the alumni of Middlebury College, upon the occasion of their late semi-centennial celebration. This occurred on the 21st day of August, 1850—just half a century since the founding of that institution, and twenty years from the day of his graduation. The circumstances of the occasion, being of extraordinary interest, called together the alumni of the college from every part of the Union. During their meetings for business, which continued for several days, and their final gathering at the festive board, Mr. Buel presided. His address fully sustained his reputation as a scholar and orator.

On the 2d October last, Mr. B. was unanimously renominated for Congress, *viva voce*, on the first vote—so marked an approval of his course in Congress seemed to render his election a certainty. On the 4th October, Mr. Penniman was nominated by the Whigs, without any expectation of

his election. Five days afterwards, a fugitive slave was arrested at Detroit under the recent law. The negroes, incited by the Abolitionists, armed themselves for resistance, and it was deemed necessary to call out the military, to suppress disturbance and sustain the laws; all this led to great excitement. The Abolitionists, who had as yet made no nomination, seized upon it, and obtained a written pledge from Mr. Penniman to an absolute repeal of the law, which led, for the first time in the district, to a union between the Whigs and Abolitionists. This eventuated in Mr. Buel's defeat, although he received the same vote as in 1848, and carried Detroit, the city of his residence, by the largest majority ever before given for any candidate.

Though defeated, Mr. Buel has lost none of the confidence and popularity which have heretofore sustained him. The Democracy of the State seem more attached to him than ever, and his late defeat may yet prove his greatest fortune. A large number of his political friends, just prior to his departure for Washington, tendered him a public dinner, in which many prominent Whigs of Detroit participated, as a token of their approval of his course in sustaining the Union and the Constitution. The dinner was attended by many of the most distinguished men in the State. To the sentiment proposed in honor of the course pursued by Mr. B. in sustaining the compromise and other prominent measures of the session, he responded in a speech of about an hour's length, and concluded with the following noble sentiment—"THE UNION WAS BORN BY FRATERNITY, AND IT MUST LIVE BY FRATERNITY, OR PERISH FOREVER." At the close of his speech he was presented by the committee of arrangements with a copy of the Constitution of the United States, neatly printed on parchment, and bearing the following inscription:—"Presented to HON. ALEXANDER W. BUEL, REPRESENTATIVE in the 31ST CONGRESS, as a testimonial of regard for his consistent support in CONGRESS of the CONSTITUTION of his COUNTRY, at a PUBLIC DINNER given to him by his fellow-citizens at DETROIT, November 19, 1850."

In concluding this sketch, we desire to refer to its subject as he is seen in every day life, by those who best know him. Mr. Buel, in stature, is of medium size, slender form, in his motions quick and easy, and in bearing and language dignified and impressive. In the presence of strangers he is exceedingly reserved and modest, whilst he delights in the society of his friends and acquaintances, and amongst them he is ever frank and conversational. In disposition, cheerfulness is largely developed; and although his countenance often bears an expression of absorbing thought, yet, when he is addressed, it is always lighted by a smile. He enjoys much the pleasures of society; but his habits of study allow him few opportunities for such enjoyment. In his deportment he is unassuming; and in manners, simple, familiar, and gentlemanly. As a companion, he is agreeable; as a friend, firm and true; as a man, characterized for his high integrity both in private and public life; and as a philanthropist, his heart is never closed against the good of his fellow man. His continuous studiousness is constantly enlarging the reservoir of his knowledge, and strengthening his intellect. Few men of his years possess more friends, and none those, who have adhered with greater constancy and devotion. His friends, once gained, have seldom forsaken him. Such has, thus far, been the brilliant course of Mr. Buel, and it plainly points to one still more brilliant in the future.

FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL REVIEW.

THE general abundance of money continues to increase in most of the Atlantic cities, and from every quarter of the Union exchange is largely in favor of New-York. At this season of the year, after the sales of fall goods have taken place, and before the new crops come forward to any considerable extent, bills on almost all sections are at a higher discount than towards the close of February, when the weight of the crops has come forward, and the spring sales of goods have not yet taken place. Thus the rates of internal exchange on leading points are now, as compared with the rates current in February last, as follows:

RATES OF EXCHANGE IN NEW-YORK.

	October, 1849.	Feb. 28, 1850.	October 29.	Nov. 22.
Charleston	½ *a* ¾ dis	par *a* ⅛ dis	¾ *a* 1 dis	¼ *a* ½
Savannah	⅛ *a* ¼	"	¾ *a* 1 "	¼ *a* ½
Mobile, specie checks	½ *a* ¾ dis	par *a* ¼ "	½ *a* ¾ "	par.
New-Orleans	1¼ *a* 1½ "	par *a* 1¼ premium	1¼ *a* 1½ "	par.
Louisville	1 *a* 1½ "	1¼ *a* 1½ dis	1½ *a* 1¾ "	1½ a 1¾
St. Louis, specie checks	2 *a* 2½ "	1¼ *a* 1½ "	1½ *a* 1¾ "	1½ *a* 1¾
Cincinnati	1½ *a* 2 "	*a* 1½ "	*a* 1¾ "	1¼ *a* 1¾

New-Orleans is the great regulating point for the western trade. It is there that the produce of an immense region gathers from a thousand tributaries upon the bosom of the Mississippi, and finds sale at New-Orleans. The credits, based on those sales, are the means by which payments for goods, purchased in New-York and Eastern cities, are made. At this season of the year when, through abundant capital in Eastern cities, manufacturers and jobbers have granted long credits, to urge greater sales, the balance becomes adjusted. The large and early sales of last winter have matured payments, and specie comes now pretty freely from the West, to supply the export demand. Foreign exchanges are comparatively as follows:

	October 1849.	February 28, 1850.	October 29.	Nov. 22.
Sterling	9¾ *a* 10¼	8½ *a* 9¼	10⅜ *a* 10¾	9½ *a* 9¾
Francs	5.20 *a* 5.22	5.22 *a* 5.25	5.15 *a* 5.16¼	5.20 *a* 5.18¾
Mexican dollars	1 *a* 1½ prem	¾ *a* 1 prem	2½ *a* 2¾ prem	2½ *a* 2¾
Five-Franc Pieces	94½ *a* 94¾	94 *a* 94½	95½ *a* 95¾	95½ *a* 95¾
Napoleons	3.85 *a* 3.87	3.85 *a* 3.87	3.83 *a* 3.85	3.83 *a* 3.85

It will be observed that Mexican dollars have advanced, under the export demand, nearly two per cent. since February, and are now 1¼ a 1½ per cent. higher than at the same time last year. Five-franc pieces are also 1 per cent. higher; but foreign gold—that is to say, Napoleons have fallen two cents each—say ½ per cent., at the same moment that silver has advanced. In this we observe, not the effect of commercial exchange, but the changing value of the two metals, as influenced partly by the California supplies of gold, and by the currencies of Europe. The demand for silver has produced exports as follows, in the last three weeks, as compared with the same weeks last year:

EXPORTS SPECIE, OCTOBER 5TH TO 9TH NOVEMBER, FROM NEW-YORK.

	1849.	1850.
Five-francs	$130,666	$243,606
Mexicans	321,473	771,746
United States halves	474,043	270,428
Sovereigns	710,129	282,795
Other silver	22,780	190,613
Total	$1,659,091	$1,759,218

This demand has raised the price over last year, and accelerated the current of silver from the interior, where it finds its way, in the hands of immigrants, to the seaboard, where it is in demand to return to Europe. This silver is displaced by the double process of gold and bank paper in circulation. Thus the receipts from California at the mint, according to the last returns, were about $26,000,000,—which have partly gone into circulation, and partly into bank vaults. The banks have also, according to estimates based on their returns, put in circulation $20,000,000 of notes, making probably together $35,000,000 of gold and paper, which have been added to the circulation of the country. This has partly been absorbed by the increased amount of business done, but has also displaced a considerable amount of silver which is going to Europe. The whole exports of specie from this port have been, since January, $7,790,212, and from Boston about $400,000. Of these sums $6,000,000 have been silver, displaced by the circulation of small bank notes and gold dollars. These specie currents, caused by the operation of banks and gold production, enter into the exchanges, but their effects should not be confounded with the operations of commerce. The importation of gold from California has been large during the month, and every month the inadequacy of the Philadelphia mint becomes more manifest. The coinage has been as follows:

	Silver.	Gold.	Total.
January 1st to September 30th	$314,800	$17,013,872	$17,328,672
October 1st to 31st	314,600	2,669,055	2,703,655
Total	$349,400	$19,682,927	$20,032,327

The mint has received nearly $6,000,000 more than it has been able to coin, and this excess is increasing to the heavy damage of national interests. The coinage of silver has been $34,600 during the month, and the export of American halves from this port has been $270,428, or eight times as much as the coinage. The demand for exchange continues fair at rates which would not admit of the export of gold or of American coin; but the prices of foreign silver are now so high in this market as not only to prevent their going to the mint, but to draw them from every hiding-place in the country. There is also a continued export of United States stocks, which assists exchanges.

From abroad the accounts are of a continued demand for produce of almost all descriptions at rising prices, and breadstuffs as well as cotton go forward far more freely than last year. New-Orleans and New-York are the leading points at which concentrate the products of the country for sale and export; and at both these points the bank movement indicates an increase in loans and a decrease in specie, as is seen in the ollowing table:

BANK LOANS AND SPECIE, NEW-ORLEANS AND NEW-YORK.

	New-Orleans.		New-York.	
	Specie.	Loans.	Specie.	Loans.
September, 1849	$7,322,725	$8,811,023	$8,022,246	$49,922,265
June, 1850	5,440,242	9,084,297	10,739,957	58,674,637
October, 1850	4,547,592	9,835,452	9,056,135	61,159,071

The general movement all over the commercial world is one of expansion *and* increase of credits. The supplies of gold from California up to this time have been confirmatory of the reports respecting the inexhaustibility of the mines, and calculations as to the prospective value of annuities and fixed rents already enter into extensive financial operations. A rapid deterioration of the value of gold, as compared with other products of industry, will cause an immense revolution in the value of property, and greatly depreciate the value of existing contracts. Thus the English Government, with its enormous debt—the *interest of* which, at the present value of gold, represents an over-burdening amount of the products of industry—would find itself relieved of half its burden if all *prices rise* under the influence of increased supplies of money. A person who now is in the receipt of £1,000 annuity would find his income reduced one-half—that *is to* say, he could get only half as much for it. All producers of exchangeable values, on the other hand, would find their means largely increased in proportion to their obligations. Half the amount of labor will be required to pay present debts and taxes. These considerations have already produced an upward movement in many enterprises here and in Europe; and the question of a continued and enhanced speculation, such as the world has never before seen, or a revulsion and distress, depends upon the continued product of the California mines.

The crops of all descriptions in the United States promise more than ordinarily well, with the exception of cotton, in relation to which complaints are uniform. That is an article of such indispensable necessity to the very existence of England, as well almost of the commerce of the Atlantic, that its money value must rise in a degree that will more than compensate for diminution of quantity; and the prospect for large sales of farm produce is good. The abundance of breadstuffs and the facilities for transportation are such as to make a range of prices equal to last year of greater profit to the growers; and the prospect from abroad indicates that the English demand will much exceed that of last year from this country. The quantities of breadstuffs taken for consumption in Great Britain were as follows:

BREADSTUFFS CONSUMED IN GREAT BRITAIN.

	Years.			Seven months.	
	1847.	1848.	1849.	1849.	1850.
Wheat	2,851,983	1,865,294	4,509,626	2,517,092	2,038,209
Indian corn	3,615,219	1,582,255	2,249,571	1,518,721	974,711
Other grain	3,331,060	2,450,988	3,950,825	1,951,436	1,904,100
Total, qrs	9,798,262	5,899,037	10,710,012	5,987,249	4,917,020
Flour, cwt	6,810,843	1,227,754	3,937,219	2,182,085	1,401,914
Indian meal	1,452,147	233,880	102,181	88,293	8,401
Other meal	856,222	37,086	65,707	42,300	3,888
Total, cwt	9,119,212	1,498,723	4,105,107	2,312,718	1,414,203

It will be observed that in the five last months of the year 1849, about half the whole quantity of flour and wheat was imported, while the bulk of Indian corn was imported in the first months of the year. This arises from the fact that when the potatoes in Ireland first come in, they are eaten in preference to corn; but when they begin to give out, corn is substituted. In the case of wheat, the English farmers hold back their supplies where they are able, and the continental ports crowd in supplies before the closing of the ports. Last year was one of good crops in England and Ireland, as well as in western Europe, and prices ruled very low in France and other countries whence England drew her supplies. The United States were, nevertheless, enabled to supply a considerable portion of flour and wheat. This year, for the first seven months, rather more breadstuff was entered for consumption than was imported, reducing stocks; and the new crops, both in Great Britain and western Europe, are short. In Ireland 163 returns from 90 districts have been made, and result in showing that the quantity of land planted with potatoes this year is double that of last; but the prevalence of the rot has cut off one-half, thus leaving about the same quantity of food. The wheat crop is three-fifths of an average only. One-half the land planted with potatoes, thus lost, yielded last year much other food. In England the wheat crop, although of good quality, is short in quantity; and throughout the north of Europe the same fact is admitted, while the coarser grains of Europe are short. In France, which has always been a great wheat-consuming country, political troubles and high taxes have compelled people to eat a lower class of food; and while the high prices of 1847 stimulated greater production of wheat, less has been consumed, and the quantity sent to England has been the greater. This year some reaction has taken place, and France cannot spare so much. Odessa is a chief source of supplies, and the exports thence for several years have been as follows, in chetverts of six bushels each:

EXPORTS OF WHEAT FROM ODESSA.

	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.
To Great Britain	863,639	708,918	897,904	844,245
To North of Europe	127,116	103,451	52,727	36,046
To Mediterranean	1,733,630	1,963,468	1,108,466	834,451
Total chetverts	2,124,385	2,775,837	2,059,097	1,714,138

Thus, while the aggregate export has been less, the removal of the English duties has caused larger quantities to go directly thither. The largest receipts of wheat into England were—from France, 452,488 quarters; Prussia, 616,984 quarters; Odessa, 551,378 quarters; from the United States, 108,742 quarters wheat, and 1,779,362 cwt. of flour—equal to 556,000 quarters. Consequently the United States supplied 664,000 qrs., *or more than any other nation, in a year when prices were the lowest!* This year our ability to supply is greater, and that of all other nations less. A rise of some 4s. per quarter is looked for in England. In this view our farmers have a prosperous year before them, and our merchants and manufacturers have a firm foundation for the debits in their favor. When we consider the commanding position we have attained, and contemplate the fact, that there are a set of men who wish by legal enactments to crush our intercourse with foreign nations, we can scarcely believe in the existence of such folly.

The revenues of the Federal Government have partaken of the prosperity which marks commercial affairs generally The amount of customs for the

quarter ending September 30th—being the first quarter of the fiscal year 1851—has been larger than ever before, and is nearly $10,000,000 in excess of the ordinary expenditure. For four years the quarter's revenue has been as follows:

FEDERAL REVENUES—QUARTERS ENDING SEPTEMBER 30TH.

	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.
Customs	$11,106,257	$8,991,935	$11,450,000	$14,764,043
Lands	896,884	482,710	370,000	317,083
Miscellaneous	58,533	133,270	175,000	425,264
Loan	6,915,078	10,127,200	1,246,500	116,050
Revenue	$18,976,752	$19,735,114	$13,241,500	$15,662,440
Expenditure	16,469,194	17,866,105	8,910,186	6,480,954

The customs revenue of the quarter has been nearly at the rate of $60,000,000 per annum, forming an enormous tax upon the farming and industrial interest—not so much in the mere amount paid as in the obstruction the mode of levying offers to the interchange and sale of the products of labor. It is also an immense tax upon manufactures and commerce. Thus the operations of the assistant treasury in New-York have been for four months, as follows:

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS AT NEW-YORK ASSISTANT TREASURY.

Receipts.	July.	August.	September.	October.
Customs	$4,216,379	$3,492,800	$2,502,934	$2,210,328
Post-Office	82,909	38,975	57,888	50,634
Patent fees	1,820	1,520	2,629	1,622
Miscellaneous	46,299	41,495	12,594	53
Total	$4,347,302	$3,574,790	$2,576,045	$2,202,637
Payments	1,477,390	1,458,266	4,129,084	3,631,000
On hand	4,959,060	7,075,584	5,529,545	4,161,182

The amount of money thus retained in the treasury by means of these high customs duties averages $5,500,000 through the busy season, but without affecting the money market; because the activity of specie thus created preserves a general healthy tone. Nevertheless, it is a considerable cash sum withdrawn from the service of commerce, and amounts at legal interest to a tax of $385,000 per annum upon the cash capital of New-York employed in commerce. Where this money is advanced on account of foreign consignments, it is a source of profit, inasmuch as interests and commissions are charged the consignor; but where it is advanced by importers of small means on their own account, it is a severe tax.

The large exports of the farm produce of the country, probable for the coming year, will return in the shape of dutiable goods at probably higher prices than they have borne during the past year; consequently under the *ad valorem* system the same quantity will bear a higher tax. The prices of goods will be higher in consequence of the rise in raw materials, and the active demand for consumption.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

SPLENDID HOLYDAY BOOKS—At the approaching season, when the amiable custom of exchanging memorials of friendship and esteem is generally observed, there is no more desirable or appropriate article for presents than the illustrations of modern art combines in the shape of books of good character. By these means the creations of the mind are conveyed for the amusement or instruction of the reader through the combined action of the fine arts, and unlike toys or jewels, they continue a permanent source of enjoyment to the possessor. In this country, perhaps, more than in any other, are books made the tokens of friendship, and the beauty and cheapness of the holyday publications can scarcely be surpassed. Among the most judiciously selected and elegantly executed of these works, are those of Messrs. E. H. Butler & Co., of Philadelphia, as follows:

PROVERBIAL PHILOSOPHY: A Book of Thoughts and Arguments. Originally Treated: By Martin Farquhar Tupper, Esq. D.C.L., F.R.S.

This admirable work of Mr. Tupper has acquired an enviable reputation, and is become an indispensable portion of every well selected library. It is produced in three styles, by Messrs. Butler & Co. An elegantly bound small quarto, large type, splendidly illustrated, with sixteen characteristic illustrations, as Memory, Subjection, Pride, &c., &c. A new 32mo.; brevier type; with a portrait, and view of Albury, the author's residence. Elegantly bound in Turkey morocco, arabesque, and muslin, richly gilt. Also, a new duodecimo edition. With an Essay on the Philosophy of Proverbs, and additional notes. Splendidly illustrated with twelve characteristic illustrations. Each and all of these editions are exceedingly attractive in appearance, and the style in which the engravings, being mezzotints, are executed, is highly creditable to the artist.

THE FEMALE POETS OF AMERICA; with Portraits, Biographical Notices, and Specimens of their Writings. By Thomas Buchanan Read. Fourth edition, with additions and alterations. E. H. Butler & Co., Philadelphia.

This elegantly bound imperial octavo is in the richest style of art, and embellished with ten portraits and three splendid illuminations. It comprises sketches of 79 Female Poets of America, with selected specimens of their writings. Several volumes purporting to be sketches of the Poetesses of America have appeared, but it would seem that the present one has the peculiar merit of being reliable authority in relation to the information it imparts. Personal acquaintance with many of these daughters of genius, enable us to verify as well the portraits as the notices. The whole forms a most admirable and beautiful work of reference for all who would—and who would not? become as it were personally acquainted with the most brilliant of their fair countrywomen. The selections are by no means those which best illustrate the powers of the fair authors, inasmuch as many of such pieces are too voluminous to bring within the compass of the volume. Mr. Read seems to have discharged his trust, however, with ability and impartiality.

THE CHRISTMAS TRIBUTE AND NEW YEAR'S GIFT. A Souvenir for 1851. By Uncle Thomas. Embellished with nine splendid engravings, by Sartain. E. H. Butler & Co.

The sayings and doings of Uncle Thomas have, in a long series of successful holyday publications, become quite popular with expectant youth. The descriptions of sports, with beautiful steel illustrations, are well calculated to prove attractive in seasons of enjoyment.

THE CABINET OF MODERN ART. A Collection of Twenty-Five Subjects, (Engravings,) from Modern Masters, executed in the highest style of mezzotint; illustrated by appropriate articles in prose and verse. E. H. Butler & Co.

This is a beautiful collection of Engravings, illustrative of sentimental, romantic and sympathetic stories of a most judicious selection. The edition, bound in richly gilt morocco or muslin, is very tasteful in its appearance.

THE SNOW FLAKE. A Christmas, New Year, and Birthday Gift, for 1851. Elegantly bound in Turkey morocco or arabesque, with gilt edges. Splendidly embellished with nine beautiful mezzotinto engravings, by Sartain.

This delightful annual is now so widely known and justly appreciated, that there need but to be said that the new engravings by Sartain are superior in style, and the literary contents of the volume fully equal to any former publication.

CHRISTMAS BLOSSOMS AND NEW YEAR'S WREATH, for 1851. Edited by Uncle Thomas. Bound in elegant style, and embellished with six splendid illustrations, engraved expressly for this work. E. H. Butler & Co.

The great and deserved success which has attended the holyday publications of Messrs. Butler & Co. have induced them to extend the number by the addition of the annual now under notice. Its literary merits, and artistic qualifications, are such as to recommend it fully to the favor of the public at this season.

THE LIFE OF JOHN RANDOLPH, OF ROANOKE. By Hugh A. Garland. 2 volumes. D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway.

Among all the eminent men who have in the United States occupied the public gaze during the first half century of our existence as a nation, perhaps no one has been more familiar to the popular mind than John Randolph, of Roanoke. His eccentricities, rather than his eminent abilities, have been the medium through which he has been most extensively known, and probably these circulate more anecdotes of this nature of him than of any other of our public men. Under such circumstances, it is scarcely possible but that a very erroneous idea should have been entertained of the true nature of the man. That such has been the fact, the perusal of these two volumes from the gifted pen of Mr. Garland, will satisfy every reader; yet not so much from what Mr. Garland tells of him, as what we see for ourselves in his own voluminous letters to his bosom-friend and confidant, Dr. John Brockenbrough, of Virginia. This correspondence, spread almost daily over a period of 22 years, ended in 1833, with the life of Mr. Randolph. The life of that great man is a political history of the United States presented in a most attractive manner, and as such is indispensable to every citizen, no matter of what particular color may be his political creed. We shall in a coming number take up this most interesting book more at length.

ICONOGRAPHIC ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SCIENCE, LITERATURE AND ART; systematically arranged; by G. Heck. The text translated and edited by Spencer F. Baird, A. M., M. D., &c. New-York: Rudolph Garrique. 1850.

The numbers of this great work continue to appear in regular succession, and to maintain the high reputation it has everywhere attained. It must become the indispensable Encyclopedia for every private library.

THE PRE-ADAMITE EARTH: Contributions to Theological Science. By John Harris, D.D., author of "The Great Teacher." Third thousand, revised and enlarged. Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, 59 Washington-street, Boston.

That this great work should reach several editions, does not surprise the reader who has followed Dr. Harris in his bold and intellectual researches into the remote regions of abstract truth. All the leading facts of Geology, and their harmony with the teachings of the Scripture, are stated in a succinct and lucid manner. It is a valuable contribution to Biblical science.

THE COUNTRY YEAR BOOK: OR, THE FIELD, THE FOREST, AND THE FIRESIDE. By William Howitt. Harper Brothers.

This is a sort of companion to the popular "Book of the Seasons," and is descriptive of country life in England, with the legends, holydays, rural customs, and all the enjoyments and habits incident thereto.

THE FOOT-PRINTS OF THE CREATOR. By Hugh Miller, author of "The Old Red Sand-Stone." With a memoir of the author, by Louis Agassiz.

Mr. Miller has attained a very high rank in the scientific world as a geologist, and the singularly graphic powers of description which he displays, makes his work attractive to the general reader. The work is regarded as one of the most perfect refutations of error that ever the exact sciences have produced. The interest that attaches to geological science increases as it progresses, and Mr. Miller has done much both to advance the science and make it attractive.

THE GALLERY OF ILLUSTRIOUS AMERICANS. Published from Brady's Gallery.

M. B. Brady has issued, from a daguerreotype taken at his establishment, a capitally executed lithograph of Jenny Lind, the most accurate of the many portraits offered of the Swedish Singer. Its softness and finish are free from the hard traits of the early engravings after daguerreotypes. We have also from the same publisher the Tenth of the Gallery of Illustrious Americans—a portrait of President Fillmore, not inferior to the best of those hitherto issued in this series. It is a happy example of force and ease, and fully vindicates the capabilities for art of the daguerreotype in the best hands. The letter-press is a neat and satisfactory memoir of the President, from the pen of Mr. Lester.

THE WORKS OF EDGAR A. POE. J. S. Redfield: New-York. 1850.

These books have been in our hands some time, but press of matter prevented our giving them the notice they claim. They are handsomely printed, and have a neatly executed portrait of the unfortunate author. We shall devote a lengthened article to the review of thos e works.

A PEEP AT THE PILGRIMS IN 1636. A Tale of the Olden Times. By Mr. H. V. Cheney. Phillips, Sampson & Co., Boston.

The adventures of the early Pilgrims, so full of devotion, self-denial and romantic incident, struggling as they did in a strange land against the perils of the wilderness, and the enmity of that extraordinary race of men now nearly passed away, to found the greatest empire the world has ever witnessed, afford a fruitful source whence to draw materials for attractive tales, and Mr. Cheney has wrought them up with great effect in the tale before us.